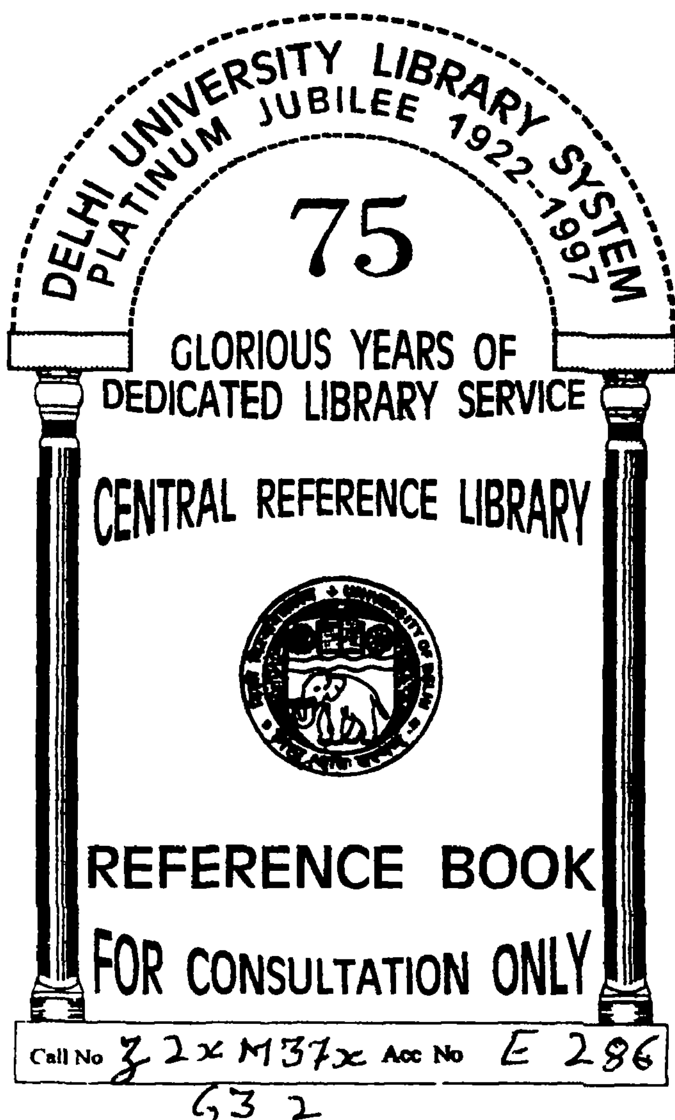

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COLLECTED WORKS

OF

SIR R. G. BHANDARKAR

VOL. II

COMPRISING REPORTS ON SEARCH FOR SANSKRIT MSS. DURING 1882-91, RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL WRITINGS ETC.

EDITED BY

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Editor, Virāṭaparvan

etime, of the Deccan College and the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute

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PREFACE

The sudden and long-protracted illness of Mr. N. B. Utgikar, the Editor of the Collected Works of R. G. Bhandarkar, has prevented him from reading the proofs of the Indexes of this volume The Indexes, themselves were left incomplete by the editor, and have been completed by Mr G N Shrigondekar, B. A., of the Publication Department of the Institute. Mr. Utgikar, I am glad to add, has recovered remarkably well from a very bad attack of paralysis, and it is to be hoped that he will be able to write an Introduction to the first volume of the Collected Works which will, however, be the last to be published.

Ṛṣipañcamī, Śake 1850
(20th August, 1928)

V. G. PARANJPE,
Superintendent, Publication Dept.
of the B. O. R. Institute.

ABBREVIATIONS

Ait Br = Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa.

Am = Amarakośa.

Anuv. = Anuvākyā.

Āśv Śr. = Āśvalāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra.

Bh. = Bhagavadgītā.

Bib. Ind Ed. = Bibliotheca Indica Edition.

Gött gel. Anz. = Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen.

Gṛ Sū. = Gṛhyasūtra.

Ind. Anti. = Indian Antiquary

J A. O. S = Journal of the American Oriental Society

JBBRAS. = Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.

Mah. = Mahābhāṣya.

Pāṇ. = Pāṇini.

Rājtaran. = Rājataranginī.

Rāya. = Rāyamukuṭa.

Ṛv. = Ṛgveda.

Śārṅg. = Śārṅgadharapaddhati.

Taitti. S. = Taittirīya-Saṁhitā.

Up. = Upaniṣad.

Z. D. M. G. = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT ON THE SEARCH FOR SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS DURING THE YEAR 1882-83[1] AND ON THE STATE OF THE PRESENT COLLECTIONS OF MANUSCRIPTS.

EXPENDITURE

From the beginning of the official year to about the middle of September last[2], I was in sole charge of the operations in connection with the Search Thereafter, the work, as well as the funds, were divided between Professor Peterson and myself. Out of the grant of Rs. 8,000, I had up to September spent Rs. 2,500, and the balance, after deducting Rs. 548, which had to be set apart for Inscriptions, was Rs. 4,952. Out of this, one-half or Rs. 2,476 was placed at the disposal of Professor Peterson and the other half was entrusted to me. Of this I spent Rs. 2,455-0-6, so that, in all, my expenses during the year amounted to Rs 4,955-0-6 Manuscripts of the value of Rs. 439-0-9 paid for out of this amount were, as stated in the last year's Report, included in the list then submitted, wherefore the results now to be reported, have cost Government Rs. 4,515-15-9

Of this amount, Rs. 3473-13-0 were paid for the 772 Manuscripts purchased this year and the remainder, Rs. 1,042-2-9, was spent on the salaries and travelling expenses of the agents and Śāstrins employed for collecting Manuscripts and cataloguing Private Libraries.

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1 Originally published in 1884, at the Government Central Press, Bombay [N. B. U.]

2 The original Report is dated 6th September 1883. [N. B. U]

MANUSCRIPTS PURCHASED IN GUJARATH AND IN THE MARATHA COUNTRY

The catalogue of these Manuscripts is divided into two sections, in the first of which are entered Manuscripts collected in Gujarath, and in the second those purchased in the Maratha Country. The Gujarath section comprises Nos. 1—486 and the other, Nos 487—772

I will now give a brief analysis of the collection noticing all the particulars of a literary and historical importance, which from a hasty examination of the Manuscripts, I have been able to gather.

VEDAS

Under the head of Vedas including Upaniṣads are entered two complete copies of the Vājasaneya Saṃhitā, one in each section (Nos. 12, 13 and 495), and one of the Pada text of the Kāṇva Śākhā of that Veda (No 489) Nos. 3 and 4 are complete copies of two of the four principal song-books of the Sāma Veda We have also in this class, Manuscripts of eight out of the fourteen Kāṇḍas or divisions of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and double copies of some of them

No 14 is a copy of a part of Uaṭa's Bhāṣya or commentary on the Vājasaneya Saṃhitā The fragment begins in the middle of Chapter II, and extends up to about the end of Chapter XXI; but a good many intermediate leaves are wanting No. 16 is a copy of the latter part of the same work, and begins with Chapter XIX, and comes down to the end, one intermediate leaf only being lost. This was transcribed in the Samvat year 1431 corresponding to 1375 A. D., and is one of the oldest paper Manuscripts we possess. No. 14, and No. 15 (which is another fragment of the first part extending from Chapters XII to XVIII) also look as old if not older, though they bear no date.

ŪAṬA'S DATE

The date of No. 16 itself shows that Ūaṭa or Uvaṭa, the author, must have flourished at least five hundred years ago, but there is a statement in that Manuscript as well as in No. 14 which enables us to determine the precise period when he lived. In the colophon of Manuscripts of this author's works and at the end of some of the chapters, a couplet occurs, in the first line of which the name of his father is given as Vajraṭa and the place where he lived as Ānandapura. The sense of the second line of the couplet as it usually occurs in Manuscripts of the Mantrabhāṣya is "This commentary on the Mantras was composed *after a mature deliberation of* [*the sense of*] *words and sentences.*" But in the Manuscripts I am speaking about, instead of the words in Italics, we have in several places "while Bhoja was ruling over the earth" or "while Bhoja was governing his kingdom."

Ānandapura has been identified with Vadanagar in Upper Gujarath, and though Hwen Thsang, the Chinese traveller, tells us that in his time the district in which the town was situated formed part of the kingdom of Malwa, still it is questionable whether the town belonged to the kings of that country in the time of Bhoja, especially since a powerful kingdom had been established, a good many years before Bhoja came to the throne, at Anahilapaṭṭaṇa not far from Vadanagar. But the point is placed beyond doubt by another couplet occurring at the end of the tenth Chapter of No 14, in which Ūaṭa tells us that "he composed the Mantrabhāṣya while living in Avanti and while Bhoja was ruling over the country." This shows that though Vajraṭa, the father of our author, lived at Ānandapura, Ūaṭa himself lived in Malwa at the time when he wrote his work. The Bhoja therefore mentioned by him must undoubtedly be the celebrated prince of that name who ruled over the country from about 996 to 1051 A. D.

UPANIṢADS

No. 487 is entitled Aṣṭottaraśatopaniṣad or the Hundred and Eight Upaniṣads. The original Upaniṣads formed parts of the Vedas and these are really works of great antiquity; but treatises of this nature gradually multiplied, many of them being devoted to the exaltation of particular deities and to the furtherance of such other sectarian objects. Most of them are referred to the Atharva Veda, a circumstance partially due to the fact that the literature belonging to this Veda was not clearly defined and specified by the ancient scholars of India. The number of Upaniṣads extant is now estimated at about 250.

But at some period which cannot be very distant, 108 of these were chosen as the best, and their names given in one of them entitled Muktikopaniṣad and their study enjoined. The Upaniṣads in our No. 487 are the same as those mentioned in the Muktikopaniṣad, and are written and arranged exactly in the same order But out of the 108, two—the Taittirīya and the Mantrika—have dropped out somehow, though their names are given in the table of contents attached to the Manuscript.

[illegible]arath section also contains thirty-six treatises [illegible] class, and some of them are different from those enumerated in the Muktikopaniṣad Besides these we have detached copies of several of them. It is not often that so many Upaniṣads are found in a single collection of Manuscripts.

VEDĀṄGAS AND SACRIFICIAL MANUALS

In the class of Vedāngas and Sacrificial Prayogas or Manuals, there is in the Gujarath section a copy of Devayājñika's Bhāṣya or commentary on the Anukramaṇikā of the Vājasaneya Saṁhitā (No. 25), and in the Maratha section, a copy of two chapters of his commentary on Kātyāyana's Sacrificial Sūtras (Nos. 504 and 505) Of this last a copy of four chapters was procured by me last year. There is also a Manuscript of the first three

chapters of another Bhāṣya on this Sūtra by an author whose name is not given.

Last year's Collection contained copies of the commentaries of Karka, Gadādhara, and Harihara, on Pāraskara's Gṛhya Sūtra and this year one of Jayarāma's commentary on the same (No. 512) has been added.

There are Manuscripts of dependent treatises also such as the Pratijñā Sūtra, the Bhāṣika Sūtra, Yājñavalkya Śikṣā, &c. (Nos. 26, 28, and 513—521) In the Maratha section, there are Manuscripts of several sacrificial Manuals belonging principally to the Vājasaneya Śākhā (Nos. 522—541).

ITIHĀSAS, PURĀṆAS, MĀHĀTMYAS AND STOTRAS

The object in making collections of Manuscripts is, I apprehend, not only to procure copies of rare works but also to secure materials for critical editions of such as though not rare are of great importance, or for the determination of the correct text of any particular passage in them, whenever a weighty issue hangs on it. In making [illegible] purchases I have always this object in view In the department of [illegible] therefore, I have on no occasion rejected a good Manus[illegible] the whole or a portion of the Mahābhārata offered for sale, though the work has been printed once in Calcutta and twice in Bombay. But in all cases I paid a good deal less than the ordinary price. One copy of the Mahābhārata was purchased in 1879 at the rate of one rupee for a thousand Ślokas, and a copy of each of the ten books of the epic with commentaries, at the rate of Rs. 1-8-0.

In this year's Collection in the Gujarath section there are Manuscripts of eleven books, two of which, from the dates given in the colophon, appear to be 300 years old. The others also look as old though they bear no dates. They were paid for at the rate of Rs. 1-8-0 (Nos. 56—67). In the Maratha section there is a copy of the whole of the Mahābhārata with the

exception of the Śāntiparvan or the twelfth book, and a copy of the Harivaṁśa (Nos. 565, 566 and 579). These are about two hundred years old, and the price paid was Rs. 1-12-0 per thousand, which was the uniform rate at which a large lot of Manuscripts was purchased at Nasik

In this class there are also Manuscripts of the Vāsiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa, the Mārkaṇḍeya, the Viṣṇu and the Vāmana Purāṇas; and of a good many Māhātmyas of shrines or rivers, such as the Māhātmya of Jagannātha in Orissa, of which we have two copies, one engraved on Tāla leaves and the other written on paper, and the Prabhāsa Māhātmya.

DHARMAŚĀSTRA OR RELIGIOUS AND CIVIL LAW

As belonging to the Smṛti branch of the literature of the Hindu Law, religious and civil, I have to announce the acquisition of a valuable commentary on the Manu Smṛti by Rāghavānanda (No. 110). There are also old copies of the Yājñavalkya Smṛti, and of Vijñāneśvara's commentary on it—the Mitākṣarā—one of which was transcribed in Samvat 1535 or 1479 A.D., that is more than 4.0 years ago (No 106).

We have a somewhat mutilated Manuscript of a work entitled Jñānabhāskara (Nos. 96-97), which consists of a dialogue between Sūrya, the Sun deity, and Aruṇa, his charioteer, and another of that part of it which treats of the duties of widows.

Of digests and manuals, which form an extensive branch of the modern literature of the subject, we have an old copy of the Madanapārijāta (No. 599)—which is considered a work of much importance—and treatises on the domestic rites of the followers of the White Yajurveda entitled Saṁskārabhāskara (Nos. 115 and 611) by Khaṇḍabhaṭṭa, the son of Mayūreśvara, and Saṁskārapaddhati (Nos. 114 and 610) by Gangādhara. Madanapārijāta is so called because its author Viśveśvara was patronized by a prince named Madanapāla whose history is given in the introduction to

the work. This introduction Professor Aufrecht gives in his notice of the work in the Oxford Catalogue.

Nos. 614, 615, and 618 are commentaries on works detailing the duties of the followers of Madhva, the originals of which were written by Madhvācārya himself. The last of these Manuscripts contains the original also Nos. 616 and 617 also belong to that sect. Besides other works which are well known we have a large number of Manuscripts of rituals employed on special occasions.

POEMS, PLAYS, FABLES, ETC

Among the poems and plays and the commentaries thereon, collected this year, may be mentioned a large fragment of Ekanātha's commentary on the Kirātārjunīya (No. 136), eleven cantos of the Raghuvaṃśadarpaṇa by Hemādri (No 161); an anonymous commentary on the first eight cantos of the Kumārasambhava (No. 139); four different glosses on the Meghadūta (Nos. 157—160); a complete copy of a commentary on the Naiṣadhīya by Narahari (No. 146); two commentaries on the Khaṇḍapraśasti (Nos. 149 and 620); two old copies of Kādambarī (Nos. 134 and 135); a Manuscript of the Pañcatantra more than five hundred years old (No. 147), and two poems entitled Rukmiṇīśavijaya and Tīrthaprabandha by Vādirājatīrtha with commentaries (Nos. 622, 623, 632 and 633) There is a copy of the Madhvavijaya or the triumphant career of Madhva (No. 627); but several of its leaves are missing.

The last three works belong to the Mādhva sect, and Vādirāja, said to be the same as Kavīndra, was one of Ānandatīrtha's successors, being the eighth in the list given [later on]. He died in 1261 Śaka or 1339 A D.

GAṄGĀDĀSA AND NARAHARI

One of the commentaries on the Khaṇḍapraśasti is by Guṇavinaya, a Jaina, and the other by Gangādāsa, who in a stanza at the end of each section, gives Pociya as the name of

his father and Mahālakṣmī as that of his mother. He assumed the name of Jñānānanda after he had renounced the world and become a saṁnyāsin or recluse. The stanza is given by Professor Aufrecht in his notice of this work, but it is worthy of observation that the line, in which his having become a recluse is mentioned, occurs for the first time in the stanza at the end of his commentary on the Rāma-Avatāra, or the seventh incarnation of Viṣṇu, so that he seems to have assumed that condition after he had finished his commentary on the first six avatāras or incarnations.

The commentary on the Naiṣadhīya also contains at the end of each canto a stanza in which the author gives his name as Narahari, and states that he was the son of one Svayaṁbhū "whose feet were incessantly adored by the king of Triliṅga" by his wife Nālamā, and that he was treated with kindness by Vidyāraṇya, the Yogin, who probably was his guru or preceptor The king of Triliṅga or Telaṅgaṇa, alluded to here, must very likely be a prince of the Vijayanagara dynasty, and if the Vidyāraṇya mentioned by the writer was the same as Mādhava, who, when he renounced the world, assumed that name, our author flourished in the latter part of the fourteenth century during the reign of Harihara.

MINOR POEMS

GĪTA-RĀGHAVA OF PRABHĀKARA

Of the minor poems one is the Gīta-Rāghava which is one of the several imitations of Jayadeva's Gīta-Govinda, the hero here being Rāma instead of Kṛṣṇa The author's name is Prabhākara. He was the son of Bhūdhara, and wrote his work in Saṁvat 1674.

BHĀVAŚATAKA OF NĀGARĀJA

Another small poem is the Bhāvaśataka by Nāgarāja. It consists of a hundred and one verses, some of them in the Prakrit, in each of which a certain person is represented to be doing a certain thing in a certain condition, and the reason why he or she does so, or the inner sense of the verse, is meant to be found out by the reader It is, however, given at the end of the verse Nāgarāja, the author, is spoken of at the end of the poem as a king who was the ornament of the Ṭāka race and in whom the goddesses of Prosperity and Learning having ceased to quarrel, lived in harmony with each other " He was the son of Jālaya (?) whose fame was sung by a host of bards, and who was a praiseworthy offshoot of the Ṭāka race" Jālaya's father was Vidyādhara who belonged to the Kārpaya (?) gotra and obtained very great prosperity by worshipping the feet of Kedāra. The Ṭāka race here mentioned is probably the same as that to which Madanapāla, the patron of the author of the Madanapārijāta, noticed above, belonged. It was a family of petty Chiefs whose capital was, as stated in the introduction to the latter, a town of the name of Kāṣṭhā situated on the Yamunā to the north of Delhi.

BHAIRAVAŚĀHANAVARATNA BHAIRAVAŚĀHA

Another small poem entitled Bhairavaśāha-navarasa-ratna (No. 152) contains 41 verses depicting the nine Rasas or poetic sentiments. The hero is a prince named Bhairavaśāha of the Rāṣṭrauḍha or Rāṭhor race, who was the son of Pratāpa and whose capital was Mayūrādri In the Kīrtikaumudī, a Pratāpamalla of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa race is mentioned as a dependent of the Cālukyas of Anahilapaṭṭaṇa. Rāṣṭrakūṭa is the Sanskrit form of Rāṣṭrauḍha or Rāṭhor, but whether this Pratāpamalla was the same as the father of our hero cannot be determined with certainty. Bhairavaśāha is in some of the verses called

Bahirammaśāha which looks like a thoroughly Mahomedan name. But it is not impossible that a Rajput may have adopted it.

RĀMAŚATAKA OF SOMEŚVARA

We have also a copy of a poem called Rāmaśataka (No 166), which contains a hundred verses in praise of Rāma, the seventh incarnation of Viṣṇu In a verse at the end, which is the 101st, we are told that the poem was composed by Someśvaradeva in half a Yāma or an hour and a half Who this Someśvara was is not stated in the Manuscript, but in another copy of the poem since procured, he is represented as the Purohita or priest of 'Gūrjareśvara' or King of Gujarath. This Someśvara, therefore, was the same as the author of the Kīrtikaumudī who was the chaplain or priest of Lavanaprasāda and his son Vīradhavala, the founders of the Vāghelā branch of the Cālukya dynasty of Gujarath, and the line about the poem being written in half a Yāma occurs, word for word, in an Inscription composed by him found at Dabhoi in the territory of the Gaikvad, (Kathavate's Kīrtikaumudī, Intr., p ix).

VYAKARAṆA OR GRAMMAR

In grammar I have to announce the acquisition of another copy of the Mahābhāṣya with the commentary of Kaiyaṭa (No. 185) It wants the first Pāda only, but in other respects it is a very good Manuscript. There is also a fragment of a commentary on the Siddhāntakaumudī (No 189), by an author not much known, named Rāmakṛṣṇabhaṭṭa.

The works of Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita and Nāgojibhaṭṭa with their commentaries, which, along with a portion of the Mahābhāṣya, are exclusively studied by modern Pandits who devote themselves to grammar, are also well represented in this year's Collection as they were in last year's

Of works belonging to other systems of grammar, we have Bopadeva's Kavikalpadruma and a voluminous commentary

on the Sārasvata by Rāmabhaṭṭa, the son of Narasiṁha, and another entitled Sāradīpikā, both of which however are incomplete (Nos. 193 and 194)

KOŚAS OR LEXICONS

Among the Kośas or lexicons collected this year there is a Manuscript of Halāyudha, four hundred years old (No 645), and a copy of the Anekārthatilaka by Mahīpa (No. 202).

In the Gujarath section there is a Manuscript entitled Anekārthadhvanimañjarī (No 199), and in the Maratha section, another entitled Nānārthamañjarī, (No 648) On examination I find that they are both copies of the same work In No. 199, the name of the author is given as Mahāchapaṇaka, cha being put for kṣa, and the work is referred to the Kāśmīra Āmnāya or Kāśmir literature.

In the group of Jaina works there is a copy of the Siddhaśabdārṇava by Sahajakīrti, a lexicon that is quoted by Mallinātha and mentioned by other writers (No. 466).

POETICS AND METRICS

PUÑJARĀJA, AUTHOR OF THE KĀVYĀLAMKĀRAŚIŚUPRABODHA

In the class of Poetics and Metrics we have a mutilated copy of a work, unknown before, entitled Kāvyālamkāraśiśuprabodha by Puñjarāja (No 210), an old Manuscript of Rudrabhaṭṭa's Śṛngāratilaka, two copies of the Kāvyaprakāśa with fragments of commentaries, two works of Appayadīkṣita; and Bhānudatta's Rasataranginī, of which about a leaf is wanting at the end, and his Rasamañjarī.

Puñjarāja was the son of Jīvanendra and is spoken of as the ornament of the Mālava circle and as belonging to the family of Śrīmāla He is therefore, the same as the author of the commentary on the Sārasvata grammar.

DHVANIPRADĪPA, ANOTHER WORK OF THE SAME

Puñjarāja mentions another larger work of his, entitled Dhvanipradīpa

BHANUDATTA

In the sixth chapter of the Rasatarangiṇī, Bhānudatta excuses himself from giving details about certain points, because he says they are given in the Rasamañjarī From this it is clear that the author of both was the same ; but there is some question as to his native country In Professor Aufrecht's copy of the Rasamañjarī, it is spoken of as 'Vidarbhabhūḥ,' or the land of the Vidarbhas, and the Manuscript before me agrees with his. But Dr. Burnell in his Catalogue of the Tanjor Manuscripts, calls him Maithila Bhānudatta, i e , Bhānudatta, the native of Mithilā, and the copy of the Rasamañjarī purchased by me in 1879 and another procured since the close of the year, have Videhabhūḥ instead of Vidarbhabhūḥ, i e , the land of the Videhas of which Mithilā was the capital. That Vidarbhabhūḥ is a mislection is shown by the fact that the author represents the river of the gods or the Ganges as flowing through his country , while the country of the Vidarbhas, which corresponds to the modern Berars, is situated to the south of the Narmadā.

ANANTA PAṆḌITA

The commentary which accompanies our Rasamañjarī is called Vyangyārthakaumudī and was composed by Ananta Paṇḍita, the son of Tryambaka Paṇḍita The father of this last was Bālo Paṇḍita, and his again was Nīlakaṇṭha Paṇḍita The family lived at Puṇyastambha, the vernacular Puṇtāmbem, situated on the river Gautamī or Godāvarī. Puṇtāmbem is a town in the Ahmadnagar District The commentary was written at Kāśī or Benares in the year 1692 for Candrabhānu, who was king of Kāśī at the time Candrabhānu was the son of Vīrasenadeva and grandson of Madhukaraśāha, who was the son of Kāśīrāja.

The date given by the author must be understood as referring to the Vikrama era, for if we take the era to be the Śaka, the Vikrama year corresponding to 1692 Śaka will be 1827, while the Manuscript itself was transcribed in 1817 Vikrama.

PIṄGALA'S PRAKRIT PROSODY

There are in this class incomplete Manuscripts of a work on Prakṛt prosody attributed to Piṅgala and of a commentary on it by Manoharakṛṣṇa.

VEDĀNTA

ŚAṀKARĀCĀRYA'S SYSTEM

WORKS BASED ON THE UPANIṢADS

Our acquisitions in the department of the Vedānta have been very valuable this year. First, we have Śaṁkarācārya's Bhāṣyas or commentaries on the Bṛhadāraṇyaka and seven other Upaniṣads (Nos. 247 and 227—230), and Nārāyaṇa's Dīpikās or glosses on forty-six treatises of that class (No. 233) Then there is a copy of Ānandajñāna's gloss (No 248) on Śaṁkarācārya's Bhāṣya on the Bṛhadāraṇyaka; of the Vārtika or commentary in verse (No. 249) on the same Bhāṣya by Sureśvarācārya who was a pupil of Śaṁkarācārya, and of a commentary on the fourth chapter of this Vārtika by Ānandajñāna (No 250) Similarly there are copies of Śaṁkarācārya's exposition of the Mahāvākyas, or the great Upaniṣad texts declaratory of the identity between the supreme and the individual souls (Nos 256 and 661)

WORKS BASED ON THE BRAHMASŪTRA

We have also got Ānandajñāna's voluminous commentary (No 266) on Śaṁkarācārya's Bhāṣya on the Brahmasūtra which is very valuable, and which I now use for my lectures on the

Bhāṣya, a portion of which has to be got up by students who take up English and Sanskrit as an optional subject for the B.A. Examination.

I may also mention a copy of the second half of the Saṃkṣepaśārīraka, or substance of Śaṃkarācārya's Bhāṣya (No 268) by Sarvajñātman who was a pupil of Sureśvarācārya and grandpupil of Śaṁkarācārya. There is also a copy of a commentary by one Rāmatīrtha (No 269) on the fourth or last chapter of this work.

"A PRINCE OF THE RACE OF MANU"

In a stanza at the end of the Saṃkṣepaśārīraka, the author tells us that he wrote his work while "the prosperous king, the Āditya or Sun of the race of Manu, who belonged to a Kṣatriya family and whose orders were nowhere disobeyed, was ruling over the earth." Who this Āditya of the race of Manu was, it is difficult to determine But princes of the early Cālukya dynasty, which ruled over the Deccan from the Narmadā to Mysore, spoke of themselves as belonging to the Mānavya gotra, or, as the word might be interpreted, to "the race of Manu," and there were several of them the second part of whose name was Āditya, such as Vikramāditya, Vinayāditya, and Vijayāditya. But the sovereignty of the country was wrested from them by another family known by the name of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas before the Śaka year 675 or 753 A D , while Śaṃkarācārya, the preceptor of our author's teacher Sureśvara, is said to have been born in 710 Śaka or 788 A D.

The Cālukyas, however, were not exterminated by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and they probably governed a small province as their dependents. But our information with regard to them after the extinction of their power is very scanty. There were two princes among them of the name of Vikramāditya, and perhaps Sarvajñātman alludes to one of these If, however, the description given by him is considered hardly applicable to

a minor chief, and the family of Manu spoken of by him was really the early Cālukya dynasty, Śaṁkarācārya's date must be pushed backwards to about the year 680 A.D., so as to place his grandpupil in the reign of at least the last king whose name terminated in the word Āditya, viz., Vikramāditya II. Vikramāditya II ceased to reign in Śaka 669 or A.D 747. If, on the other hand, we place Sarvajñātman in the reign of the first prince whose name terminated in the word Āditya, i. e., Vikramāditya I, who was a powerful monarch and who ceased to reign in Śaka 601 or 679 A. D., Śamkarācārya must be referred to about the end of the sixth century

WORKS BASED ON PURĀṆIC ORIGINALS

Among the Vedāntic works based on Purāṇic originals may be noticed the Yajñavaibhavakhaṇḍa (No 666), with a commentary by Mādhavācārya, the pupil of Śamkarānanda, and the Brahmagītā said to form a part of the same Khaṇḍa with a commentary by the same author (No. 260).

Of those based on episodes of the Mahābhārata we have Śamkarācārya's Bhāṣya or authoritative commentary on the Bhagavadgītā, one copy of which is 472 years old (No. 252), and his Bhāṣya on the Viṣṇusahasranāma.

INDEPENDENT TREATISES

Of the independent treatises on the subject composed by the great teacher we have copies of eight, most of them w. h commentaries (Nos. 225, 231, 232, 243, 244, 261, 656, 667), and of those composed by his followers we have ten (Nos. 222—224, 235, 237, 238 &c)

THE SYSTEM OF MADHVA

In the Maratha Section of the Collection, there are fifty-five Manuscripts (Nos 668—722) of forty-four different works expounding the system of the Vedānta promulgated by

Madhva who is also known by the names of Ānandatīrtha, Pūrṇaprajña and Madhyamandāra.

SUCCESSION LIST OF THE HIGH-PRIESTS OF THE MADHVA SECT

Ānandatīrtha was the pontiff or head of the congregation he founded, and the members of his sect have kept a regular list of his successors to the present day together with the dates of their death Copies of the list, however, found in the possession of different persons, differ from each other in a few respects. It appears that in the older lists the year of the cycle of sixty years in which each High-priest died was alone given, and from this was determined the Śaka year But this method is uncertain and liable to error, if in any case the pontificate of any one of these extended over more than 60 years.

I have compared three lists, one from Poona, another from Miraj, and the third lithographed at Belgaum, and found that the principal disagreement between the last two is due to this source The second however appears to be correct, since the third assigns to two successive pontiffs, i e, the eleventh and the twelfth, sixty and fifty-eight years The results of the comparison are given in [the following table] It will be seen from the list here given that Ānandatīrtha died in Śaka 1119 corresponding to 1197 A. D.

Succession list of the High-priests of the Mādhva Sect.

No.	Name	Date of death				Name before initiation	Place of interment	Notes
		Saṁvatsara	Śaka	Month	Day			
1	Ānandatīrtha ..	Pingala	1119	Māgha	9 ś.	Vāsudevācārya ...	Badarikāśrama	
2	Padmanābhatīrtha	Raktākṣi	1126	Kārtika	14 v	Subanabhaṭṭa[1] ..	Ānegundi ...	[1] Ānandabhaṭṭa, Bel.
3	Naraharitīrtha	Śrīmukha	1135	Pauṣa	7 v	Rāmaśāstrin[1]	Hampi[2] .	[1] Śāmaśāstrin, Bel. [2] Cakratīrtha, Bel.
4	Mādhavatīrtha ..	Vikṛti ..	1152	Bhādrapada ..	3 v.	Viṣṇuśāstrin[1] ...	Hampi[2] ...	[1] Govindaśāstrin, Bel. [2] Maṇṇūr, Bel.
5	Akṣobhyatīrtha	Plavanga[1]	1169	Mārgaśīrṣa	5 v	Govindaśāstrin	Malkheḍ ..	[1] Viśvāvasu, Bel., P. agrees with M
6	Jayatīrtha .	Vibhava ...	1190	Āṣāḍha	5 v	Dhoṇḍo Raghunātha ..	Do	Native of Mangaḷvedha.
7	Vidyādhirājatīrtha	Angiras ...	1254	Vaiśākha .	3 ś.	Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa ...	Yaragal	
8	Kavīndratīrtha .	Pramāthin	1261[1]	Caitra ...	9 ś.	Vāsudevaśāstrin	Ānegundi .	[1] 1257, M.; P. and Bel. agree in the Saṁvatsara.
9	Vāgīśatīrtha ...	Subhānu[1] .	1265	Do. ..	2[2] v.	Rangācārya[3]	Do	[1] P. agrees with M., Bel has Sarvajit and 1269 Śaka. [2] 3 v Bel. [3] Raghunāthācārya, Bel.

Succession list of the High-priests of the Mādhva Sect—continued.

No	Name	Date of Death: Samvatsara	Śaka	Month	Day	Name before initiation	Place of interment	Notes
10	Rāmacandratīrtha	Nala ...	1298	Pauṣa[1] ..	6 ś.	Mādhavaśāstrin	Yaragal	[1] Vaiśākha, Bel.
11	Vidyānidhitīrtha	Raktākṣi	1306[1]	Kārtika ...	11 ś.[2]	Kṛṣṇācārya	Ānegundi[3] .	[1] 1366 Śaka, Bel. [2] 4 v., Bel. [3] Yaragal, Bel.
12	Raghunāthatīrtha	Dundubhi	1364[1]	Mārgaśirṣa	1 v	Kṛṣṇaśāstrin[2]	Do[3]	[1] 1424, Bel. [2] Viṣṇuśāstrin, Bel. [3] Malkheḍ, Bel.
13	Raghuvaryatīrtha	Pingala .	1419[1]	Jyeṣṭha	3 v	Ramacandra-śāstrin ...	Do	[1] 1479, Bel.
14	Raghūttamatīrtha	Manmatha	1457[1]	Pauṣa ...	11 v	Do ...	Pināki[2] .	[1] 1517, Bel. [2] Tirākallur-Dakṣa-pinākini, Bel.
15	Vedavyāsatīrtha	Siddhār-thin ...	1481[1]	Caitra ...	2 ś.[2]	Vyāsācārya ..	Pinaguṇḍi ..	[1] 1541, Bel. [2] 3 ś., Bel
16	Vidyādhīśatīrtha .	Prajāpati	1493[1]	Pauṣa ..	14 v	Nṛsimhācārya ..	Ekacakra ..	[1] 1553, Bel.
17	Vedanidhitīrtha ...	Yuvan ..	1497[1]	Kārtika .	12 ś.[2]	Pradyumnācārya	Paṇḍharpur ...	[1] 1557, Bel. [2] 11 ś., Bel.
18	Satyavratatīrtha ..	Bahudhān-ya ...	1560	Phālguna	6 ś.	Janārdanācārya[1]	Sāṅgali ...	[1] Raṅganāthācārya, Bel.

19	Satyanidhitīrtha .	Sarvajit . .	1582	Mārgaśīrṣa	10 ś.	Raghunāthācārya[1]	Nivṛtīsaṁgama	[1] Raghupatyācārya, Bel.
20	Satyanāthatīrtha ...	Pramādin	1595	Do. ...	11 ś.	Do ...	Vīrcoḷa ...	
21	Satyābhinavatīrtha	Vyaya ...	1628	Jyeṣṭha ..	14[1] v	Narasimhācārya[2]	Nācārgunḍi	[1] 14 ś., Bel. [2] Keśavācārya, Bel.
22	Satyapūrṇatīrtha .	Parābhava	1648	Do	2 v.	Keśavācārya[1] .	Koḍtikollur[2] ...	[1] Kṛṣṇācārya, Bel. [2] Kollur, Bel. M. puts between 21 and 22 one of the name of Satyādhirājatīrtha, who occupied the seat for about ten days.
23	Satyavijayatīrtha...	Siddhār-[1] thin ...	1661	Caitra ...	12[2] v.	Do[3] ...	Āraṇi ...	[1] Pingala 1659, Bel. [2] 11 v, Bel. [3] Bālācārya, Bel.
24	Satyapriyatīrtha ..	Raktākṣin	1666[1]	Do. .	13 ś	Rāmacandrā-cārya	Bhāgyanagar.[2]	[1] 1664, M. [2] Mānāmadhuri, Bel.
25	Satyabodhatīrtha.	Śobhana	1705	Phālguna	1 v	Rāmācārya ..	Sāvnur ...	
26	Satyasaṁdhatīrtha	Ānanda ...	1716	Jyeṣṭha	2 ś	Do[1] ...	Mahiṣī .	[1] Rāghavendrācārya, Bel.
27	Satyavaratīrtha ..	Pingala .	1719	Śrāvaṇa ...	7 ś.	Kṛṣṇācarya ...	Santi[1] Binur ..	[1] Santī Bedanur, Bel.
28	Satyadharmatīrtha	Vikṛti ..	1752	Do. ...	13 v.	Aṇṇayyācārya . .	Hole Honur	

Succession list of the High-priests of the Mādhva Sect.—concluded

No.	Name	Date of death				Name before initiation	Place of interment	Notes
		Saṃvatsara	Śaka	Month	Day			
29	Satyasaṃkalpa-tīrtha ..	Plava ..	1763	Āṣāḍha	5 ś.[1]	Śrīnivāsācārya	Mahisur ...	[1] 15 ś., Bel
30	Satyasaṃtuṣṭa-tīrtha ...	Plava	1763	Phālguna	30 v	Bālācārya[1] ..	Do	[1] Ghuḷi-bālācārya, Bel
31	Satyaparāyaṇa-tīrtha ...	Rudhirod-gārin	1785	Āśvina ..	6 ś.[1]	Gurācārya ...	Santi Binur[2] ..	[1] 7 ś., Bel. [2] Gurlahosur, Bel.
32	Satyakāmatīrtha ...	Prajāpati	1793	Pauṣa	30 v[1]	Śrīnivāsācārya	Ātakur, then Raichur	[1] 6 v, Bel
33	Satyeṣṭatīrtha ...	Angiras .	1794	Bhādra-pada	11 ś	Narasiṃhācārya	Ātakur .	M omits all except the Dīkṣā name by mistake
34	Satyaparākrama-tīrtha ...	Pramāthin	1801	Āśvina .	6 ś.[1]	Śrīnivāsācārya ...	Chittāpur ..	[1] 8 ś., Bel.
35	Satyavīratīrtha	... .	...	..	..	Bodharāyācārya	..	Now living

M. represents the list procured at Miraj, Bel represents the list published at Belgaum ; P represents the list procured at Poona ś. represents the light half of a month, v represents the dark half of a month

LIFE AND DATE OF MADHVĀCĀRYA

Ānandatīrtha was born on the 4th of the dark half of Āṣāḍha in Kali 4220, corresponding to Śaka 1040, and in the Vilambin Samvatsara He was made a Samnyāsin by Acyuta-prekṣācārya and afterwards went to Badarikāśrama and came back in 1057 Śaka, Ānanda Saṁvatsara, bringing with him idols of Digvijaya Rāma and Veda Vyāsa. He was raised to the seat of High-priest in the presence of kings Padmanābhatīrtha, Naraharitīrtha, Mādhavatīrtha and Akṣobhyatīrtha were his pupils. Naraharitīrtha was sent to Jagannātha, in Orissa, to bring the original idol of Rāma and Sītā Ānandatīrtha went from country to country putting down the advocates of the doctrine of Māyā and others and established the Vaiṣṇava creed He died on the 9th of the light half of Māgha in 1120 Śaka current and the Pingala Samvatsara, having raised Padmanābhatīrtha to the seat of Pontiff in the presence of all his disciples

COMPARISON OF THE DOCTRINES OF ŚAMKARA AND MĀDHVA

The system founded by Ānandatīrtha is so bitterly hostile to that of Śamkarācārya, that its followers consider the latter teacher to be an incarnation of a Daitya or demon whose object was to deceive mankind According to Śamkara's system, the world is an unreality and the only reality is an unconditioned and blissful soul All conditions or limitations of which our soul is conscious, all feeling, even the sense of individuality, and the external world, arise from the development of a certain principle which consists of ignorance, and which represents the soul as otherwise than what it really is, and generates mere appearances. When this principle is got rid of, the soul is free from all limitations and the appearances are dissolved, and being free from all misery, it resumes its pristine condition.

This doctrine is condemned in unqualified terms by Madhva and his followers, who maintain that the world is

real, the feeling of individuality which separates one soul from another and from the inanimate world, represents something that is real, God as different from the individual souls and from the world is real, that the relation between the individual soul and God is like that between a servant and his master, and that by worshipping and serving this master, the individual soul is exalted and becomes like God in most respects. These are the speculative doctrines of Madhva. Practically he enjoins the worship of Viṣṇu who is represented as the supreme God.

THE THREE PRASTHĀNAS

The Vedānta has what are called three Prasthānas or sources (literally, *starting points*), *viz.* (1) *the Upaniṣads*, (2) *the Brahma*-sūtra by Bādarāyaṇa, and, (3) the Bhagavadgītā and such other episodes from the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas Hence it is necessary that each system should have its own way of interpreting these treatises , and accordingly each has its own Bhāṣyas or authoritative commentaries on them The works of Śaṃkarācārya on these three sets of originals existing in our Collection have been noticed, and I shall now proceed to examine those of Ānandatīrtha.

WORKS BASED ON THE UPANIṢADS

Out of the forty-four works mentioned above seven are Ānandatīrtha's Bhāṣyas on seven of the principal Upaniṣads, two of them having glosses by two of his successors. Our Manuscript of the Bhāṣya on the Bṛhadāraṇyaka, which is the largest of the Upaniṣads, is incomplete.

WORKS BASED ON THE BRAHMASŪTRA

We have a copy of Ānandatīrtha's Bhāṣya on the Brahmasūtra (Nos. 704—706); of what is called his Anuvyākhyāna of it, which is of the nature of an independent treatise expounding the

contents of the Sūtra (No. 709), and of the Aṇubhāṣya or a summary of the Sūtra (No. 708).

JAYATĪRTHA

Ānandatīrtha's treatises are generally very short, but there are large commentaries on them, principally by Jayatīrtha, the sixth in the succession list who died in 1190 Śaka or 1268 A D. Jayatīrtha's name before he was raised to the pontifical seat was Dhoṇḍo Raghunātha, and he was a native of Mangalavedha near Pandharpur In the Collection there are Manuscripts of Jayatīrtha's commentary on the Brahmasūtra Bhāṣya entitled Tattvaprakāśikā (No 679), and of two commentaries on this again, one entitled Abhinavacandrikā (No 669) by Satyanāthatīrtha (the twentieth in the succession list who died in Śaka 1595), and the other called Tātparyanirṇaya by Vyāsayati the fifteenth, who died in Śaka 1481 (No. 691). The first two, however, come down to the end of the second chapter, there being four in all, and the third is but a fragment. Jayatīrtha's commentary on the Anuvyākhyāna is called Nyāyasudhā, of which we have got about one-half (No 695).

No. 713 is a copy of the Bhāvprakāśa, a commentary by Nṛsimha on the last of Ānandatīrtha's works on the Brahmasūtra, the Aṇubhāṣya

WORKS BASED ON PURĀṆIC ORIGINALS

The works in our Collection of Ānandatīrtha's school on the third source of the Vedānta are three, viz., a commentary on the Bhagavadgītā (No 677), not by Ānandatīrtha, but by Vidyādhirāja, the immediate successor of Jayatīrtha, who died in 1254 Śaka or 1332 A.D.; the Bhārata-tātparyanirṇaya-pramāṇasamgraha (No. 712), and a small fragment of Ānandatīrtha's Bhāgavata-tātparyanirṇaya (No. 711).

The Bhārata-tātparyanirṇaya-pramāṇasaṁgraha is a collection of texts from the epics and Purāṇas supporting some of the

statements of Ānandatīrtha in his Bhāratatātparyanirṇaya. The name of the author is not given

INDEPENDENT WORKS OF MĀDHVA

Of the independent works of Madhvācārya, we have ten with the commentaries of Jayatīrtha, and in some cases a gloss on these latter by Vyāsatīrtha One of the most important of these is the Viṣṇutattvanirṇaya, of Jayatīrtha's commentary on which we have two copies (Nos 719—721)

Two more works of Ānandatīrtha have been noticed [above] in connection with Dharmaśāstra, so that we have copies of twenty-three out of the thirty-seven works attributed to him in certain memorial verses [making up the Grantha-Mālika-stotra] which are as follows .—

॥ श्रीवेदव्यासाय नमः ॥

॥ श्री० अथ ग्रन्थमालिकास्तोत्रप्रारम्भः ॥

कृष्णं विद्यापतिं नत्वा पूर्णबोधार्यसद्गुरून् ॥
ग्रन्थान्मध्वश्चकारासौ सप्तत्रिंशदमन्दधीः ॥ १ ॥
गीताभाष्यं चकारासौ प्रथमं तुष्टिदं हरेः ॥
भाष्याणुभाष्ये चक्रेऽथ अनुव्याख्यानमव्ययम् ॥ २ ॥
संन्यासपद्धतिं चक्रे न्यायशास्त्रनिकृन्तने ॥
प्रमाणलक्षणं नाम कथालक्षणसंज्ञकम् ॥ ३ ॥
उपाधिखण्डनं चक्रे मायावादस्य खण्डनं ॥
चक्रे प्रपञ्चमिथ्यात्वमानखण्डनमुच्चधीः ॥ ४ ॥
चकार तत्त्वसंख्यानं साधनं तत्त्वदर्शनं ॥
ग्रन्थं तत्त्वविवेकाख्यं तत्त्वोद्द्योतं हरेः प्रियम् ॥ ५ ॥
कर्मनिर्णयनामानं ग्रन्थं न्यायार्थसंहितं ॥
सुखतीर्थयतिश्चक्रे विष्णुतत्त्वविनिर्णयम् ॥ ६ ॥
ऋग्भाष्यं च चकारासौ सर्ववेदार्थनिर्णयं ॥
ऐतरेयं तैत्तिरीयं बृहदारण्यमेव च ॥ ७ ॥
ईशावास्यं काठकं च छान्दोग्याथर्वणे तथा ॥

माण्डूक्यं नाम षट्प्रश्नं तथा तलवकारकम् ॥ ८ ॥
चक्रे भाष्याणि दिव्यानि दशोपनिषदां गुरुः ॥
निर्णयं सर्वशास्त्राणां गीतातात्पर्यसंज्ञकम् ॥ ९ ॥
नरसिंहनखस्तोत्रं चक्रे यमकभारतं ॥
द्वादशस्तोत्रमकरोत्कृष्णामृतमहार्णवम् ॥ १० ॥
तन्त्रसारं चकारासौ सदाचारस्मृतिः [तिं] सुधीः ॥
श्रीमद्भागवतस्यापि तात्पर्यं ज्ञानसाधनम् ॥ ११ ॥
महाभारततात्पर्य-निर्णयं संशयच्छिदं ॥
यतिप्रणवकल्पं वा प्रणवार्थप्रकाशकम् ॥ १२ ॥
जयन्तीनिर्णयं चक्रे देवकीगर्भजन्मनः ॥
कृष्णस्य कृष्णभक्तोयं द्वैपायनकरावुभौ [*Sic*] ॥ १३ ॥
एतेषां पाठमात्रेण मध्वेशः प्रीयते हरिः ॥
इति ग्रन्थमालिकास्तोत्रं संपूर्णं श्रीकृष्णार्पणमस्तु ॥

INDEPENDENT WORKS BY THE FOLLOWERS OF MADHVA

We have also Manuscripts of eight independent works written by the followers of Madhva, and Viṣṇubhakticandrodaya (No 275) in the Gujarath section also belongs to this school

SYSTEMS OF RĀMĀNUJA AND NIMBĀRKA

DOCTRINES

Another system of the Vedānta was founded by Rāmānuja in the South, and by Nimbārka who was a Southern Brahman, in the North There is not much difference between the doctrines of these teachers According to them there is an unity of substance as well as plurality The individual souls and the inanimate world form one substance with God in so far as he animates them He is the soul of our souls and the soul of the world, and these are his body, and as the human soul with the human body forms one individual, so does the supreme soul with his body, viz, the world

and the dependent souls, form one substance. Thus we have unity But plurality also is true in so far as the distinction between the three—the supreme soul, the dependent souls, and the world—is never obliterated Practically, Rāmānuja enjoins the worship of Nārāyana generally, but Nimbārka seems to have attached particular importance to the Kṛṣṇa incarnation, and in this respect was a precursor of Vallabhācārya.

WORKS OF THE NIMBĀRKA SYSTEM

ŚIṢṬAGĪTĀ

We have no work expounding Nimbārka's system in the Collection, but there is a Manuscript of a tract, entitled the Śiṣṭagītā (No 83), in which all great persons from Brahmā, Śiva, and Vyāsa down to Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita and Caitanya are represented as having held a meeting at Kāśī and extolled the doctrines of Nimbārka, and recommended them to all mankind. According to one of the speakers, all inconsistent doctrines finally resolve themselves into those of Nimbārka as rain-water, wherever it may drop, finally reaches the ocean and is absorbed in it

There is a copy of another work belonging to the sect entitled Hari-guru-stavamālā (No 84), which contains Stotras referring to Viṣṇu in one or more of his forms and to the Gurus or leaders of the sects

SUCCESSION LIST OF THE NIMBĀRKA HIGH-PRIESTS

In connection with one of the latter sort, a succession list of the High-priests is given which contains forty names up to Govindadeva, the author of the work The first three of these are mythological persons The thirtieth from Nimbārka is a person of the name of Keśava Kāśmīrin who wrote a Bhāṣya on the Vedāntasūtra It is published in the Eighth Volume of the Benares Journal, the Pandit In the introduction Keśava

renders his obeisance to Nimbārka and speaks of Śrīnivāsa, his immediate successor, as the author of the principal Bhāṣya. He also mentions Sundarabhaṭṭa and others occurring in our succession list and his preceptor Mukunda.

SYSTEM OF VALLABHĀCĀRYA

Of the latest system of the Vedānta, that founded by Vallabhācārya, we have copies of five works (Nos. 270—274)

NYĀYA AND VAIŚEṢIKA SYSTEMS

COMMENTARIES ON THE SŪTRAS

The founder of the Nyāya system was Gautama of whose Sūtra, No 748 is a copy The Bhāṣya or authorised commentary on this is that by Vātsyāyana, a Manuscript of which was purchased by me in 1879 In the present Collection, there is a fragment equal to about one-fourth of the whole, of a more modern commentary entitled Nyāyarahasya (No 743) by Rāmabhadra, who represents himself as the son of Bhaṭṭācāryacūḍāmaṇi This person was in all probability the same as Jānakīnāthabhaṭṭācāryacūḍāmaṇi, the author of the Nyāyasiddhāntamañjarī, to be hereafter mentioned

The Sūtra of Gautama and that of Kaṇāda, the founder of a kindred system, the Vaiśeṣika, are however rarely studied in modern times The literature of the two systems, the study of a portion of which at least, is considered indispensable to one who wishes to become a Naiyāyika or Nyāya Paṇḍita, was developed in Bengal during the last six or seven hundred years.

LITERATURE CENTRING ITSELF ROUND THE TATTVACINTĀMAṆI

It centres principally round one book entitled Tattvacintāmaṇi by Gaṅgeśamahopādhyāya. Of the first and fourth part of this

we have Manuscripts in the present Collection (Nos. 731 and 732), and of a large portion of the third in addition to these two, in last year's.

There is a commentary on this work entitled Cintāmaṇiprakāśa by Rucidatta, who speaks of himself in one place as a pupil of Jayadeva, probably the same as the author of another commentary called Āloka, and in another, as having learnt the whole Śāstra or system from a number of teachers There is a copy of the first part of this work (No. 279), and another of the second part (No. 278), amongst our acquisitions of this year.

This commentary, however, is very rarely read, and the one generally studied in modern times is that entitled Dīdhiti by Raghunāthabhaṭṭaśiromaṇi, of the second part or Anumānakhaṇḍa of which we have a copy (No 740) We have also Manuscripts of the Anumānakhaṇḍa or inference portion of Mathurānātha's commentary on Gangeśa's work (Nos. 757—759), and of the Pratyakṣakhaṇḍa, or first part and the Śabda or fourth of the same in last year's Collection

The Dīdhiti again has been commented on by this same Mathurānātha who represents himself as the son of Rāma, by Jagadīśa, by Bhavānanda, and by Gadādhara, and the Āloka mentioned above, by the first, and the Śabda or fourth portion of it, by the last All these are largely represented in this and last year's Collections

NATURE OF THIS LITERATURE

These commentaries instead of elucidating the system have in a sense mystified it The great object and aim of the writers is accuracy of thought and speech But to attain this, they have invented a very difficult and artificial terminology, and by its means, seek to define every thing they are concerned with, in their branch of learning, in a manner to obviate all possible objections, howsoever flimsy and ridiculous. Their definitions

have thus become unwieldy, and usually consist of an extremely long compound and are unintelligible to all except the initiated. Still the end they seek to attain is good, and their method is to a certain extent worthy of adoption, especially in its application to grammar or to the accurate determination of the sense of words and sentences (Śabdakhaṇḍa) Whatever is useful in their mode of treatment can however be acquired by studying the little manuals on the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika systems with some of their smaller commentaries, and these I shall now proceed to notice

MANUALS OF THE NYĀYA AND VAIŚEṢIKA SYSTEMS WITH COMMENTARIES

(I) NYĀYASIDDHĀNTAMAÑJARĪ AND COMMENTARIES

One of the large manuals is the Nyāyasiddhāntamañjarī by Jānakīnātha-bhaṭṭācārya-cūḍāmaṇi, of which Nos. 745 and 746 are copies There is another in my Collection of 1879 A valuable commentry on this is the Tarkaprakāśa by Śrīkaṇṭha or Śitikaṇṭha, a fragment of which we have in this Collection (No 737), but a complete copy in that of 1879 The Naiyāyika of modern times, whose study of the works ot Mathurānātha, Jagadīśa, and Gadādhara is restricted to the parts on Anumāna or Inference, and Śabda or Interpretation, derives his knowledge of the Pratyakṣakhaṇḍa or the first part, from the Tarkaprakāśa. Another commentary on the work is by Śrīkṛṣṇa-nyāyavāgīśa-bhaṭṭācārya, of the Śabdakhaṇḍa of which No 747 is a copy, and No 742 is a small fragment of a third entitled Nyāyaratnāvalī

(II) BHĀṢĀPARICCHEDA AND COMMENTARIES

The Bhāṣāpariccheda by Viśvanāthapañcānana is another manual which is always studied along with the Siddhānta-muktāvalī, a commentary on it by the author himself There are two copies of the first (Nos 288 and 727), and one of the

second (No 292), in our Collection Another work of this nature is the Padārthamālā of Jayarāmapañcānana, of which we have a fragment (No. 753).

THE SMALLER MANUALS

(I) TARKASAṀGRAHA AND COMMENTARIES

Of the smaller manuals the Tarkasamgraha is the one generally studied It has a great many commentaries of which wé have two the Tarkasamgrahadīpikā (No 738), attributed to the author of the manual himself, and the Tarkacandrikā by Vaidyanātha Gāḍgiḷa (No 736)

The Tarkāmṛta of Jagadīśa, the Saptapadārthī of Śivāditya and the Tarkabhāṣā of Keśavamiśra are similar works, but the last follows the system of Gautama

(II) TARKAMṚTA AND COMMENTARIES

On the first there is a commentary called Tarkāmṛtacaṣaka by Gangārāma Jadi who was the son of Nārāyana, pupil of Nīlakaṇṭha, and son of the daughter of Dinakara, the author of the Muktāvalīprakāśa, a commentary on the work of Viśvanātha noticed above No 277 is a commentary on this Caṣaka, apparently by the author himself, without the original Gangārāma states that his work was looked over by his grandfather Another commentary on the Tarkāmṛta entitled the Tarkāmṛtataranginī is in my Collection for 1879

(III) SAPTAPADĀRTHĪ AND COMMENTARIES

The Padārthacandrikā by Śeṣānanta, of which we have two good copies (Nos. 286 and 287), is a commentary on the second, the Saptapadārthī, and there is a commentary on this again by Nṛsimha of which we have a small fragment (No. 750). Another commentary in the Collection on Śivāditya's manual is by a Jaina named Jinavardhanasūri (No. 291), and a third entitled

Mitabhāṣiṇī by Mādhava Sarasvatī is among the Manuscripts collected by me in 1879

JINAVARDHANASŪRI'S DATE

Jinavardhanasūri is represented in the colophon to have been the successor of Jinarājasūri, High-priest of the Kharataragaccha. Jinarāja died in 1461 Samvat or 1405 A D, and Jinavardhana occupied the seat vacated by him till 1475 Saṁvat, when he was deposed on account of his having transgressed one of the vows.[1] Jinavardhana appears to have been a zealous student of the Nyāya. Among the Palm-leaf Manuscripts in our Collections, No 28 of 1880-81 (which is a copy of Udayana's Tātparyapariśuddhi) is stated at the end to have belonged to Jinavardhanasūri the successor of Jinarājasūri, and the year there given is 1471 Samvat[2] Śivāditya the author of the Saptapadārthī commented on by Jinavardhana, must thus have flourished before the fifteenth century

(IV) TARKABHĀṢĀ AND COMMENTARIES

The third manual or Tarkabhāṣā has been commented on by Govardhanamiśra, Mādhavabhaṭṭa, and Cinnabhaṭṭa Govardhanamiśra was the son of Balabhadra and his wife Vijayaśrī, and had two elder brothers named Padmanābha and Viśvanātha. He was the pupil of Keśavamiśra, the author of the work on which he has commented Of Govardhanamiśra's work we have two copies (Nos 282 and 283), and one of that of Mādhavabhaṭṭa (No 284), and of that of Cinnabhaṭṭa (No 285)

CINNABHAṬṬA'S DATE

The last is called Tarkabhāṣāprakāśikā Cinnabhaṭṭa was the son of Sahajasarvajña and the younger brother of Sarvajña and was patronized by Harihara, king of Vijayanagara He thus

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1 Ind Ant., Vol. XI, p 249

2 Prof, Kielhorn's Report on Manuscripts for 1880-81, p. 19.

lived in the latter part of the fourteenth century, and the Tarkabhāṣā therefore commented on by him must have been considerably older

JYOTIṢA

ITS THREE BRANCHES (SKANDHAS)

The Hindu Jyotiṣa is divided into three branches entitled Siddhānta, Samhitā, and Horāśāstra The first is also called Gaṇita, and comprehends Mathematics and Astronomy proper, the second embraces a variety of miscellaneous subjects,—science, astrology, alchemy, portents, omens, &c —, and the third comprises Horoscopy or Jātaka, and Tājika or Judicial Astrology and Divination

SIDDHANTAS OR GAṆITA

Of works belonging to the first branch, we have a copy of the Sūryasiddhānta (No 360), and of the Brahmasiddhānta in six chapters, described as forming the Śākalyasamhitā (No 345)

BHASKARĀCARYA'S WORKS

There is also a Manuscript of the first part of Bhāskarācārya's Siddhāntaśiromaṇi (No 357), and of the Golādhyāya or the fourth chapter, with the author's annotations entitled Vāsanābhāṣya (No 358). This last Manuscript was transcribed in Samvat 1576 or A D. 1520

KARAṆAKUTŪHALA

We have three copies of this author's Karaṇakutūhala, a work which expounds methods of various astronomical calculations, and among them that of determining the positions of the Sun, Moon, and Planets at any given time from their positions on a certain day in a certain year (Nos. 293—295)

DATE OF THE WORK, ŚAKA 1105

This year or epoch in the present work is, as is well known, 1105 Śaka or 1183 A.D., and Bhāskarācārya was born in 103

Śaka as he himself tells us in the Siddhāntaśiromaṇi which he wrote in the thirty-sixth year of his age

The methods given in the Karaṇas differ from those given in the Siddhāntas in this, that while the latter use as an epoch the beginning of a Kalpa or a fabulous period of an extremely long duration, and consequently involve tedious multiplications and divisions, the former take their start from a certain year of the Śaka era as an epoch and are less cumbrous The astronomical data are the same as those given in the Siddhāntas

BRAHMATULYA

Our author's Karana follows the data given in the Brahmasiddhānta and is hence called Brahmatulya or "like the Brahma." There are three other copies of the Karaṇa with the commentaries of Sodhala, Padmanābha, and Śaṁkarakavi, the pupil of Harsaratna (Nos 296—298). Our Manuscript of the first was transcribed in 1519 Samvat or 1463 A D, i e, 280 years after the work had been composed by Bhāskarācārya.

ŚAMKARAKAVI'S DATE, ŚAKA 1541

The last commentator exemplifies the author's rules by making actual calculations for the Śaka year 1541 or 1619 A D, which therefore is the date of his work Śaṁkarakavi mentions Śrīpati, Brahmārka, and Keśava to be noticed below (No 344).

BRAHMATULYAṬIPPAṆA

This is an anonymous work containing calculations according to Bhāskara's rules for the Śaka year 1523 No 303 is entitled Kheṭakasiddhi or methods of astronomical calculations, and its epoch year is 1500 Śaka or 1578 A D The author's name is Dinakara who also wrote a small tract called Candrārkī, of which No. 308 is a copy.

DĀMODARA'S BHAṬATULYA, ŚAKA 1339

No. 346 is a Manuscript of a Karaṇa by Dāmodara, the pupil of Padmanābha, based on the astronomical data given by

Āryabhaṭa, and hence it is called Bhaṭatulya. Dāmodara's epoch is 1339 Śaka corresponding to 1417 A D., and the Manuscript is dated 1559 Samvat or 1503 A D

ŚRĪNĀTHA'S GRAHACINTĀMAṆI, ŚAKA 1512

No. 304 is the Grahacintāmaṇi by Śrīnātha son of Rāma and younger brother of Raghunātha , and the year used as an epoch is 1512 Śaka This Rāma was probably the same as the author of the Muhūrtacintāmaṇi

BRAHMADEVA'S KARAṆA, ŚAKA 1014

There is also a copy of another Karaṇa entitled Karaṇaprakāśa (No 299) by Brahmadeva, son of Candrabhaṭṭa But its first leaf is lost and that of another Manuscript substituted in its place, hence its epoch cannot be easily made out Amongst a number of Manuscripts, however, since collected in the Maratha country, I found the first two or three leaves of a copy of this Karana, and these have been added to No 299 From the first two verses, I gather that Brahmadeva follows the astronomical data given by Āryabhaṭa, and the Śaka year used by him as an epoch is 1014 This, therefore, is the oldest of the Karaṇas in the present Collection

GAṆEŚA'S GRAHALĀGHAVA WITH VIŚVANĀTHA'S COMMENTARY

There is in the Collection a copy of the Grahalāghava (No 306) with the illustrative commentary of Viśvanātha This is the work that is ordinarily used by the Hindu astronomers and astrologers of the day The author's name is Gaṇeśa, who was the son of Keśava, himself the author of a Jātakapaddhati to be mentioned below and other works

GAṆEŚA'S NATIVE PLACE

They belonged to the Kauśika Gotra and lived at Nandigrāma which name is Nandgaon in the Vernacular. This is placed by Colebrooke near Devagiri, the modern Daulatabad, that is, he identifies this Nandgaon with a town of that name in the Nasik

District on the G. I. P. Railway line But in the Manuscript before me I find a statement of Gaṇeśa himself, that his Nandigrāma was situated in Aparānta which is the Sanskrit name for Northern Konkan, and the commentator mentions in the introduction, that it was situated near the sea-coast. Gaṇeśa's Nandigrāma, therefore, is the Nandgaon which is about four miles to the north of Janjira and forty miles to the south of Bombay, and is now in the territory of the Habasi Chief

The epoch year in Ganeśa's Grahalāghava is 1442 Śaka corresponding to 1520 A D, and the year for which the illustrative calculations are made by Viśvanātha is 1534 Śaka, or 1612 A D.

PĀTASĀRAṆĪ, ŚAKA 1444

There is another work of Gaṇeśa entitled Pātasāranī with Viśvanātha's commentary (No 335). The Śaka year occurring in the former is 1444, and Viśvanātha's explanatory calculations are for the year 1553 Śaka

SAMHITĀ BRANCH

ṬOḌARAMALLA'S JYOTIḤSUKHA-SAMHITĀ

Of the second branch of the Jyotiṣa I have to announce the acquisition of the Saṃhitāskandha (No 317) of Ṭoḍaramalla's Jyotiḥsukha. This is one of the volumes of what might be called an encyclopædia of Indian science and lore, entitled Ṭoḍarānanda, caused to be compiled by Ṭodaramalla who is represented to have been a Rājā and who was the financial minister of the Emperor Akbar

HORĀŚĀSTRA OR THIRD BRANCH OF THE JYOTIṢA

Of the third branch we have got a large lot, and first I shall speak of the Jātakas or works teaching the casting of nativities

JĀTAKAS OF VARĀHAMIHIRA AND OTHERS

The first that deserves mention is Varāhamihira's Bṛhajjātaka with two commentaries, one by Mahīdāsa and the other by Mahīdhara (Nos 341—343) There is a copy of Utpala's commentary on it in the last year's Collection. Then we have in the present Collection a Manuscript of Utpala's commentary on Ṣaṭpañcāśikā by Pṛthuyaśas, the son of Varāhamihira (No 355). No. 311 is a copy of the Jātakapaddhati by Śrīpati who flourished before Keśava of Nandigrāma—the father of Ganeśa—and No. 312, of a commentary on it by Mādhava.

JĀTAKAPADDHATI BY KEŚAVA, FATHER OF GAṆEŚA

No 314 is a copy of the Jātakapaddhati composed by Keśava of Nandigrāma with a commentary written by himself. In this he refers to or quotes the following works and authors with others whose dates are well known —

Kalyāṇavarman	Rāmakṛṣṇapaddhati
Keśavamiśra	Vallayupaddhati
Jīvaśarman	Śrīpati
Dāmodara	Śrīdharapaddhati
Mhālukapaddhati	Śrīdharācārya
Yavana	Sārāvalī

Horāmakaranda.

The Śrīpati mentioned by Keśava is the same as the author of No 311, since a quotation from Śrīpati in Keśava's work is found in that Manuscript There is a copy of the Horāmakaranda in last year's Collection The author's name is Guṇākara, who was the son of another Śrīpati. Another commentary on Keśava's Paddhati by Viśvanātha, the son of Divākara, we have in last year's Collection The illustrative calculations in it are made for the year 1508 Śaka or 1586 A D Viśvanātha therefore wrote this commentary twenty-six years before that on Gaṇeśa's Grahalāghava.

There are Manuscripts of several other Jātakas, among which may be mentioned the Yavanajātaka (No 349), which is probably the one referred to by Keśava of Nandigrāma. The date of the Manuscript is 1621 Saṁvat or 1565 A D. We have, however, not got a complete copy of this Jātaka, and the section on the subject of Keśava's quotation is wanting.

JYOTIRATNAMĀLĀ

No 316 is Śrīpati's Jyotiratnamālā with a commentary by Mahādeva, the son of Luṇiga. Whether this Śrīpati is identical with the author of the Jātakapaddhati it is difficult to determine The author of the Jyotiratnamālā was the son of Nāgadeva and grandson of Keśava, who of course was a different person from the father of Gaṇeśa. This Keśava belonged to the Kāśyapa Gotra, while Keśava of Nandigrāma was a Kauśika.

In a Manuscript of the Jyotiratnamālā with the commentary of Mahādeva existing in a private Library at Nasik, occur a few verses at the end, in one of which the date of the composition of the commentary is given as 1185 Śaka or 1263 A D Śrīpati, therefore, must have lived previous to the latter half of the thirteenth century.

No 348 is a copy of a commentary on Keśava's Muhūrtatattva by his son Gaṇeśa

MUHŪRTACINTĀMAṆI BY RĀMA

We have also a copy of the Muhūrtacintāmaṇi by Rāma who gives his genealogy thus —In Dharmapura on the banks of the Narmadā there lived a learned man of the name of Cintāmaṇi who knew a great many Śāstras including Jyotiṣa He had a son named Ananta who was an astrologer and wrote a Jātaka-paddhati and a commentary on the Kāmadhenu.—Nos. 300 and 301 are copies of a Kāmadhenu, very probably the same as this. —Ananta had two sons Nīlakaṇṭha and Rāma, the latter of whom was the author of the work before us. He wrote it at Benares in 1522 Śaka or 1600 A.D.

TĀJIKA

SAMARASIMHA'S TĀJIKASĀRA

We have several Manuscripts of works on what is called Tājika or General Astrology, of which I shall notice a few Nos 320—322 are copies of different parts of the Tājikasāra by Samarasimha. The author traces his descent to Caṇḍasimha, of the Prāgvāṭa family, who was a minister of the Cālukya kings of Gujarath He was probably the same person as Caṇḍapa, who, as stated by Someśvara in the Kirtikaumudi (III, 1—4), also belonged to the Prāgvāṭa family, and was a Mantrin or counsellor and an ancestor of Vastupāla. From Caṇḍasimha sprang Śobhanadeva who had a son of the name of Sāmanta. Sāmanta's son was Kumārasimha who was the father of our author No 322, which is a copy of the third section of the work, was transcribed in 1491 Samvat corresponding to 1435 A D

TEJAHSIMHA'S DAIVAJÑĀLAMKṚTI

No 327 is Daivajñālamkṛti by Tejaḥsimha The pedigree of the author is given in the colophon, but the reading is very corrupt and what appears likely is this. Tejaḥsimha like Samarasimha belonged to the Prāgvāṭa family, but he is much older than the latter Śārangadeva of the Cālukya dynasty of Gujarath, who reigned from 1277 to 1297 A D, had a Mantrin or counsellor whose name appears to have been Vikrama. Of him was born another Mantrin of the name of Vijayasimha, and his brother was Tejaḥsimha, the author of the work before us

SŪRYA'S TĀJIKĀLAMKĀRA

We have also a copy of the Tājikālamkāra by Sūrya (No. 326) who lived at Pārthapura on the northern bank of the Godāvarī. His father's name was Jñānarāja who was himself an astronomer of great repute, being the author of a work called the Siddhāntasundara.[1] Sūrya gives a list of his own works at the end of the

1 See Colebrooke's Essays.

Tājikālaṁkāra. The passage is corrupt; but on comparing it with another copy of it given by Professor Weber in the Berlin Catalogue, I find he *wrote the following works* —*Glosses on* (1) the Līlāvatī and (2) the Bījagaṇita, (3) computations according to Śrīpati's Paddhati, (4) a new Bījagaṇita, (5) Tājika, the present work, (6) another Tājika, (7) a Kāvyāṣṭaka, and (8) Bodhasudhākara, a Vedantic work The dates 1460 and 1463 Śaka are given by Colebrooke as occurring in two of his works

TĀJIKAKAUSTUBHA BY BĀLAKṚṢṆA

No 318 is a Manuscript of the Tājikakaustubha by Bālakṛṣṇa *who lived at Jambusara. His father was Yādava whose great*-grandfather Rāmajit (Rāmji) was, according to Bālakṛṣna, a very learned man and lived at a place situated on the northern bank of the Tāpī. Rāmajit had a son of the name of Nārāyana and his son was Rāmakṛṣṇa who was the father of Yādava Bālakṛṣṇa's other works are —Stotras of Nārāyaṇa, Śaṁkara, Śivā (Durgā), Ganapati and Trivenī, Yoginyaṣṭadaśākrama, of which we have a copy, and Saṁkrāntinirnaya

MAṆITTHA TĀJIKA

Another Manuscript that deserves notice is called Maṇittha-tājika (No 324), and the work is ascribed to Maṇitthācārya. Maṇittha is mentioned by Varāhamihira in his Jātaka and identified by Professor Weber with Manetho, author of the Apotelesmata. Varāhamihira's commentator Utpala quotes passages from the work attributed to Maṇittha, which however I have not been able to find in the present Manuscript A man of the name of Maṇittha could not have composed this treatise, since *in one place the author* says he is "*going to* give what is stated by Maṇittha and others" with reference to a certain subject The work is a modern compilation, since the name "Tājika" itself for astrology was adopted by Hindu writers in about the thirteenth century, while Varāhamihira who mentions

Maṇittha flourished in the early part of the sixth. The author's object was to state the views of foreign writers whom he speaks of as "Yavanas" or "ancient Yavanas," and he uses Maṇittha's name only because he was acquainted with the tradition which represented him to be a distinguished foreign writer on astrology.

PĀRASĪPRAKĀŚA BY VEDĀNGARĀYA, WRITTEN DURING THE REIGN OF SHAH JEHAN

I may also here mention a Manuscript of a work entitled Pārasīprakāśa (No 336) by an author named Vedāṅgarāya. In this work are given methods for converting Hindu into Mahomedan dates and vice versa, and the Arabic and Persian names of the days of the week, the months, the planets, the constellations, the signs of the Zodiac, &c Several Arabic technical terms of astronomy, and others that are ordinarily used in astrological treatises are explained, and the influences of the planets in different positions are mentioned The book is intended for the use of astrologers and was written for the purpose "of pleasing the Emperor Shah Jehan and gaining his favour" Shah Jehan was on the throne of Delhi from 1627 to 1657 A D, and the date of the composition of this treatise is 1565 Śaka and 1053 A H, corresponding to 1643 A. D.

This Vedāngarāya was the same person as the father of Nandikeśvara, the author of a work entitled Gaṇakamaṇḍana which is a sort of introduction to the study of astronomy. In that work, a copy of which exists in my Collection for 1881-82, Nandikeśvara states that his father's name was Mālajit (Mālji), that he was conversant with the Vedas and Vedāṅgas, and got from the Emperor of Delhi (Dhillhīśvara) the title of Vedāngarāya Mālajit or Vedāngarāya was the son of Tigālabhaṭṭa who was the son of Ratnabhaṭṭa. Ratnabhaṭṭa lived at Śrīsthala in Gujarath

WORKS ON DIVINATION

BHOJA'S VIDVAJJANAVALLABHA

Copies of a few works on Divination are also to be found in this year's Collection One of them is entitled Vidvajjanavallabha (No 337) and is ascribed to king Bhoja who is represented to have been a powerful sovereign

NARAPATIJAYACARYĀ BY NARAPATI

The last Manuscript in this class that I shall notice is the Narapatijayacaryā (No 331), a treatise on omens by Narapati The author wrote this book at Anahilapaṭṭaṇa in the reign of Ajayapāla, who occupied the Cālukya throne from 1174 to 1177 A D[1] He finished the work on Tuesday, the first of the light half of Caitra in the year 1232 of Vikrama corresponding to 1176 A D Narapati's father was Āmradeva who lived at Dhārā, the capital of Malwa, which country was, according to our author, the "abode of learning" There is another copy of the Narapatijayacaryā in the last year's Collection.

MEDICINE

CARAKA, SUŚRUTA, VĀGBHAṬA

In the class of works on Hindu Medicine we have fragments of the Caraka and Suśruta Samhitās and a copy of Vāgbhaṭa's important work, the Aṣṭāngayogahṛdaya, which however is incomplete The last Manuscript was caused to be transcribed in the Samvat year 1486 or 1430 A D, at Bhṛgukṣetra or Bharoch by Arddhasera (Ardesar) who was a learned Ādhyāru or priest of the Pārasika race for his son to study This shows that about four hundred and fifty years ago Parsi priests valued and cultivated the study of Sanskrit lore.

There are several other smaller treatises, and among them may be mentioned two copies of Bopadeva's Śataślokī and another

1 Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 213.

of his commentary on the work, which however wants a few leaves (Nos. 378—380) Bopadeva, as is well known, was the son of Keśava and pupil of Dhaneśa He was patronized by Hemādri, the minister of Mahādeva, the Yādava king of Devagiri. *This fact is however mentioned not in his medical treatises* but in the Harilīlā, a summary of the Bhāgavata At the end of the Śataślokī, it is stated that both Bopadeva's father and teacher lived at a place called Sārtha situated on the banks of the Varadā. Bopadeva therefore was a native of Berar

TĀNTRIKA LITERATURE

Of the Tāntrika literature we have Manuscripts of two Tantras, the Śivarahasya and the Gautamīyamahātantra (Nos 400, 401, and 385) The rest are digests or extracts from some of the larger Tantras, one of the former being the Tantrasāra by Kṛṣṇānandabhaṭṭācārya (No 388).

ART

There are copies of four works on technical subjects. Two of these are on architecture, one entitled Rājavallabhamaṇḍana (No. 404), and the other Vāstumandana (No 405)

ARCHITECTURE

MAṆḌANA'S WORKS

In the colophon of the first it is stated that Maṇḍana, a Sūtradhāra or architect, who was in the service of Kumbhakarna, king of Medapāṭa, composed the work, and by his devotion to Gaṇapati and to his teacher, and the propitiation of the Goddess of Learning, he expounded the "art of building as taught by the Munis" Medapāṭa is Mevad, and a king of the name of kumbho ruled over the country according to Tod from 1419 to 1469 A D He had a taste for the arts, and constructed many temples as well as strongholds. It is not unlikely, therefore, he had in his service, persons who had read

the literature of architecture, and could compose such treatises as the one under notice.

Vāstumaṇḍana also is ascribed to Maṇḍana, and it is stated that he wrote this work at the request of his son Devasiṁha. He is here spoken of as the son of Kṣetra

KUṆḌAMĀRTAṆḌA WITH COMMENTARY

The third work entitled Kuṇḍamārtaṇḍa treats of the construction of altars according to the Śulva Sūtras composed by the Ṛṣis of old. The author is Govinda who was the son of Gadādhara and lived at Junnar The Manuscript contains a commentary by Ananta, the son of Siddheśvara. The original was composed in 1613 Śaka or 1691 A.D., and the commentary in 1614 Śaka or 1692 A.D.

SAṀGĪTA

COMMENTARY ON THE SAṀGĪTARATNĀKARA

The last of the four is a commentary on the Saṁgītaratnākara (No. 406) The Manuscript is in a bad condition, the edges of all the leaves being torn off and the writing on a good many, having faded away The Commentary is attributed to a king of the name of Singa, who is spoken of as the supreme sovereign of the Āndhra circle Who this Singa was it is difficult to say, but it is not unlikely that he was the Yādava prince Singhaṇa who reigned at Devagiri For, the country ruled over by the Deccan Cālukyas is sometimes called Telangaṇa by Northern writers such as Merutunga and Rājavallabha, who in their life of Bhoja speak of Tailapa as king of Telangaṇa. Telangaṇa is the same as the Āndhra circle and the Yādavas succeeded the Cālukyas as rulers of the country

In Professor Aufrecht's Catalogue there is a notice of a Manuscript of the Saṁgītaratnākara by Śārngadeva, in the introduction to which Singhaṇadeva, who appears to have been

the author's patron, is mentioned A commentary on his work, therefore, written either by himself or some other court dependent may have been dedicated to the king

MISCELLANEOUS

LEKHAPAÑCĀŚIKĀ

Under the heading "Miscellaneous" there are three Manuscripts, one of which possesses a good deal of historical importance. It is entitled Lekhapañcāśikā, or fifty letters or deeds (No 410) The author's name is not given at the end and the first leaf is missing. The work contains forms of letters, deeds, patents, bonds, &c, and is divided into two parts. The names being variable are in most cases represented by the word amuka, i e, "a certain one" or nāma nāmataḥ i.e., "by a certain name" The date, however, used in the forms which constitute the second part, is Monday the 15th of the light half of Vaiśākha, Samvat 1288, except in one case where it is the 3rd of that half This date is meant of course to serve as an example, but the author's having used that in particular may safely be regarded as showing that he wrote his work in Samvat 1288, i e., in 1232 A D.

THE AUTHOR'S DATE, SAMVAT 1288

The Manuscript itself was transcribed in 1536 Saṁvat or 1480 A D. In a few cases, the names of real persons also are used as examples, wherefore the deeds in which they occur must be considered to be such as it was possible should have been executed

SAMPLE OF A TĀMRAŚĀSANA OR COPPER PLATE GRANT BY LAVAṆAPRASĀDA

One such deed is a Tāmraśāsana or a royal deed of grant to be inscribed on copper In this, the grantor that is introduced is Lāvaṇyaprasāda, son of Ānaladeva of the Cālukya family,

and what is represented to have been granted by him is a village, not named, for the worship of Somanātha. Lāvaṇyaprasāda was a Rāṇaka, i e., a Rāṇā and a Maṇḍalādhipati or a dependent chief The grant is represented to have been executed in the reign of Bhīmadeva while Bhābhūya was his minister. Bhīmadeva's name is preceded by those of all the Cālukya princes who reigned at Anahilapaṭṭaṇa, and they are as follows —

1 Mūlarāja	6. Karṇadeva
2 Cāmuṇḍadeva	7 Jayasiṃha
3 Vallabhadeva	8 Kumārapāla
4 Durlabhadeva	9 Ajayapāla
5 Bhīma or Bṛhadbhīma	10 Mūladeva
11 Bhīmadeva	

This agrees with the genealogy given by other writers Bhīmadeva was the reigning sovereign in Samvat 1288 according to them also, and we see that Lāvaṇyaprasāda, whose grandson Vīsaladeva finally took possession of the throne at Anahilapaṭṭana, had at that time acquired sufficient influence to be considered worthy of being introduced as the grantor of a village He appears to have been the *de facto* sovereign of Gujarath at the time

SAMPLE OF A TREATY OF ALLIANCE BETWEEN SINGHAṆADEVA AND LAVAṆAPRASĀDA

Another such deed in the work before us, is a treaty of alliance between Simhaṇadeva, who is styled Mahārājādhirāja or king of kings, i. e., paramount sovereign, and Lāvaṇyaprasāda who is called a Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara. The place where the treaty is concluded is the "victorious camp", and the provisions are that "each of these two princes should confine himself to his own country as before, neither of them should invade the territories of the other, if a powerful enemy attacked either of them, they

should both undertake a joint expedition against him, if only the general of an enemy did so, troops should be sent to encounter him; and if a prince from the country of either fled into that of the other taking away a certain valuable thing, he should not be allowed quarter and the thing removed by him should be restored"

Singhaṇa who is also called Simhaṇa was the most powerful of the Yādava princes of Devagiri and reigned from 1131 to 1169 Śaka or 1209 to 1247 A D He invaded Gujarath twice at least, once in the time of Lāvaṇyaprasāda, and on another occasion when his grandson Vīsaladeva was on the throne Of the first invasion Someśvara gives a graphic account in his Kīrtikaumudī All Gujarath was terrified when the intelligence of Singhaṇa's march against the country was received, and Lāvaṇyaprasāda, and his son Vīradhavala proceeded at once to meet him But being attacked from behind by four princes of Marvad and abandoned by the chiefs of Godraha and Lāṭa, the father and son retreated The army of Singhaṇa, however, did not advance But Someśvara does not give us any reason further than what is involved in the observation, which is simply rhetorical and not historical, that "deer do not follow the path of a lion even when he has abandoned it." The reason, however, is supplied by the document before us.

Though the object of our author was to give the form of a treaty of alliance, he could not have thought of using the names of Singhaṇa and Lāvaṇyaprasāda unless such a treaty had been actually concluded between them, and it should be remembered that Singhaṇa's invasion of Gujarath must have taken place but a short time before the composition of the treatise. Instead of giving a blank form, therefore, the author must be supposed to have here placed before us what might be considered a specimen of a treaty.

Siṅghaṇa, therefore, did not advance when Lavaṇaprasāda and his son retreated, because the two latter had submitted to him and concluded a treaty of alliance

YĀVANAPARIPĀṬYĀ RĀJARĪTI

No. 409 is a work composed by one Daḷapatirāya for a prince named Mādhavasimha, who is styled Sārvabhauma or "paramount sovereign" It contains forms of letters and orders from a king to his subordinates written in Sanskrit according to the manner prevalent among Mahomedans, and also Sanskrit equivalents of Mahomedan political terms From the colophon, Mādhavasimha the Sārvabhauma appears to have been Savai Madhavarao or Madhavarao II of the Peshwa Dynasty of Poona

THE JAINA LITERATURE

SŪTRAS AND THEIR COMMENTARIES

Of the literature of the Jainas we have sixty-one Manuscripts in Sanskrit and the old Prakrit and eight in the vernacular. There are sixteen of the Sūtras and their commentaries, among which may be mentioned a new commentary on the Kalpasūtra entitled Kalpamañjarī by Sahajakīrti (No. 421) This was composed in 1685 Samvat while Jinarāja was the head of the Kharataragaccha.

INDEPENDENT TREATISES ON RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

We have also copies of independent treatises on religion and philosophy, among which may be mentioned the Anekaśāstrasārasamuccaya (No 413), which looks like a collection of several small works by different authors, the Vivekavilāsa (No 455) by Jinadattasūri, in which the author gives the principles of several branches of learning, and which also contains moral as well as religious precepts, the Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya (No. 460), giving a brief account of the Brahmanic as well as Jaina and Bauddha systems of philosophy, and the Samayasāraprābhṛta (No 462), a work belonging to the Digambara sect, by Kundakundācārya, who was a celebrated teacher of that sect.

SOMAPRABHĀCĀRYA'S SŪKTAMUKTĀVALĪ

The Sūktamuktāvalī of Somaprabhācārya (No. 469), may also be mentioned in this connection

Somaprabhācārya represents himself to be the pupil of Vijayasimha who occupied the seat of High-priest after Ajitadeva. All these names occur in the succession list of the pontiffs of the Tapāgaccha, and Somaprabhācārya seems to have lived in the latter part of the twelfth century [1]

GRAMMAR AND LEXICONS

HARṢAKĪRTI'S DHĀTUPĀTHA WITH A COMMENTARY

We have copies of the Deśīnāmamālā of Hemacandra (No 438), of the Siddhaśabdārnava of Sahajakīrti (No. 466), mentioned above, of Hemacandra's Prakrit Grammar (No. 458), of the Śabdabhūṣaṇa, a metrical treatise on grammar by Dānavijaya (No. 457), of a Dhātupāṭha or list of roots according to the Sārasvata system together with a commentary by Harṣakīrti (Nos. 439 and 440), all of which belong to the branches of Lexicography and Grammar In the Vṛtti or commentary on his Dhātupāṭha, Harṣakīrti gives the senses as well as the verbal and other forms of the several roots, quoting the Sārasvata Sūtras, and sometimes mentions idiomatic modes of expression The work thus resembles, to some extent, Mādhava's Dhātuvṛtti Harṣakīrti was the High-priest of the Nāgapurīya branch of the Tapāgaccha and was the pupil of Candrakīrti He mentions the following eminent persons belonging to his sect who were honoured) by kings and emperors —

(1) Jayaśekhara, who was adored by Hammīra

(2) Vajrasena, to whom at the suggestion of Sīhaḍa, the emperor Allāvadi gave a valuable garment and Pharmāna (firman) in the town of Rūṇā.

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1 Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, p 254.

(3) Ratnaśekhara, to whom Perojasāhi gave valuable garments.

(4) Hamsakīrti, a Pāṭhaka or reader, whose greatness was manifested before Sāhi Sikandara.

(5) Ānandarāya, who obtained the title of Rāya from Humāūm

(6) Candrakīrti, highly honoured by Sāhi Sālema.

(7) Padmasundaragaṇi, who defeated a great Paṇḍita in argument at the court of Akbar and was rewarded by the emperor with a garment, a village, an easy chair (sukhāsana), and other things.

(8) Pacchā, a Pāṭhaka, honoured by Māladeva, king of the Hindus at Yodhapura (Jodhpur)

Of these Hammīra was the celebrated Chohan prince who ruled over Mevad from 1301 to 1365 A D, and successfully resisted the encroachments of the Mahommedans. Allāvadi must be Allauddin Khilji who occupied the throne of Delhi from 1295 to 1316 A D. Perojasāhi must be Pheroz Shah Taghlak who reigned from 1351 to 1388 A D, and Sahi Sikandara, Sikandar Shah Lodi (1488—1518 A.D) Humayun's first reign extended from 1530 to 1540 A D, Salem Shah (1545—1553 A D) was one of the Delhi Emperors who ruled during the period of his humiliation, and Akbar, the celebrated Mogul prince, reigned from 1556 to 1605 A D. Māladeva was a prince of the Rāṭhor family who reigned at Jodhpur from 1532 to 1583 A.D Candrakīrti who was honoured by Salem Shah was our author's teacher.

PLAYS

KARPŪRAMAÑJARĪ

No. 418 [illegible] of the first act of the Karpūramañjarī, a dramatic play in the Prakrit in four acts, and No. 419 of the second act. In the colophon of both Manuscripts, the play is

ascribed to a Vācanacārya, pupil of Jinasāgara, who is styled the "sun in the sky of Kharatāṇa" Jinasāgara was the first High-priest of a new branch of the Kharatara sect which was established in Samvat 1686 or 1630 A.D[1] The Karpūramañjarī, however, of which we have two acts here, is the same as that written by Rājaśekhara, the preceptor of Mahendrapāla, who flourished about the tenth century, and even his name is mentioned in the introduction

HISTORICAL, BIOGRAPHICAL AND LEGENDARY WORKS

Among works of a historical, biographical, and legendary nature we have Merutunga's Bhojaprabandha (No 450), Rājavallabha's Bhojacaritra (No 449), Sumatigaṇi's Lives of certain Jaina High-priests originally forming part of his Vṛtti or exposition of Jinadatta's Ganadharasārdhaśataka (No 426), a Gurvāvalī or succession list of teachers (No 427), a Pārśvanātha-caritra (No 444), Pāṇḍavacaritra (No 443), Rāmacaritra (No 452), &c

MERUTUṄGA'S BHOJAPRABANDHA BHOJA'S DATE

In the Bhojaprabandha, Merutunga states that in Saṁvat 1078 when Bhoja ruled over the Mālava circle, Bhīma, the paramount sovereign of the Cālukya race, governed Gujarath This cannot be the date of Bhoja's accession. According both to Merutunga and Rājavallabha, Muñja, the uncle and predecessor of Bhoja, crossed the Godāvarī against the counsel of his aged minister Rudrāditya and invaded the dominions of Tailapa, the founder of the Later Cālukya dynasty of the Deccan He was defeated and taken prisoner At first he was well treated by his captor, but when secret intrigues for his release were discovered, Tailapa subjected him to indignities and put him to death This last fact is mentioned in Tailapa's Inscriptions also Now Tailapa,

1 Ind Ant., Vol XI, p 250

we know, died in 920 Śaka or after 919 years of the era had elapsed This corresponds to 998 A.D, wherefore Muñja must have been slain by Tailapa before that year A Jaina author named Amitagati tells us at the end of his Subhāṣitaratnasamdoha, as was first pointed out by Colebrooke, that he wrote or compiled the work in Samvat 1050 or 994 A D, while Muñja was reigning at Dhārā. Muñja therefore must have been put to death by Tailapa between 994 and 998 A D, or about the year 996 Bhoja was crowned king after him, and since he is said to have reigned for fifty-five years, he must have died about 1051 A D

SUMATIGAṆI'S LIVES OF THE YUGAPRADHĀNAS OR JAINA PONTIFFS

Sumatigaṇi was a pupil of Jinapatisūri, the forty-sixth head of the Kharataragaccha, who died in 1277 Samvat or 1221 A D. His work[1] contains an account of the lives of Vardhamāna, Jineśvara, Jinacandra, Abhayadeva, Jinavallabha, and Jinadatta, who were the High-priests of the sect successively

(A) LIFE OF VARDHAMĀNA

In the account of Vardhamāna that sage is represented to have gone to the court of Durlabha, the Cālukya king of Anahila-paṭṭana, who reigned from 1010 to 1022 A D, and held a debate with the Caityavāsins or those Jaina teachers who advocated the propriety of a residence in temples His opponent was Sūrācārya, with whom however he did not hold a controversy in person, but directed his pupil Jineśvara to do so Vardhamāna was victorious and was highly honoured by the king, whereupon the Caityavāsins left the town Jineśvara had the title Kharatara ("very keen") given to him on the occasion of the debate, and when he succeeded his master Vardhamāna, it became the name of the Gaccha or sect which he led.

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1 This Manuscript was read and a short abstract of it prepared for me by Mr Shridhar R. Bhandarkar, M.A. The above is based on that abstract.

(B) LIFE OF JINEŚVARA

Jineśvara is represented to have gone on some occasion to Āśāpalli and Ḍiṇḍiyāṇaka on visitation At the former place he composed in Samvat 1092 or 1036 A D a kathā ("story") entitled Līlāvatī When he was at Ḍiṇḍiyāṇaka, he asked of the Caityavāsins of the place for the loan of some book, which on account of their disagreeable relations with him, they refused. He then wrote the Kathānakakośa in the four rainy months, composing during the last two watches of the night as much as was necessary to read to his audience the next morning.

(C) LIFE OF JINACANDRA

Jinacandra succeeded Jineśvara. He composed the Samvegarangaśālā containing 18,000 ślokas in Chatravallīpurī in Samvat 1125. In Jāvalipura he explained the Gāthā beginning with "Cīvandanamāvāsyaya," and the doctrines taught by him were noted down by a pupil and embodied in a tract entitled Dinacaryā containing 300 ślokas

(D) LIFE OF ABHAYADEVA

Jinacandra's successor was Abhayadevasūri, the author of Vṛttis or comments on nine of the Angas of the Jainas A long story is related as to how he was led to compose these commentaries. He had been afflicted with an incurable disease that rendered him unfit for any work of the kind, but a certain deity appeared to him in a dream and directed him to go to Stambhanakapura (Cambay?) where there was an image of Pārśvanātha He went there, bowed down before the image, and composed while standing the Namaskāradvātrimśikā or "thirty-two bows," beginning with "Jayatihuyaṇa." The last two of these stanzas he was obliged to omit at the request of the deities, so that the Stotra or hymn now contains thirty only.

(E) LIFE OF JINAVALLABHA

The next head of the Gaccha was Jinavallabha. He had the eight grammars of Pāṇini and others by heart and was conversant

with the Mahākāvyas or great poems, Meghadūta and others, as well as all the other kāvyas or poems, with the works on poetics of Rudraṭa, Udbhaṭa, Daṇḍin, Vāmana, Bhāmaha, and others, the eighty-four dramatic plays, the whole of the Jyotiḥśāstra, all metrical works such as those of Jayadeva and others, the Anekāntajayapatākā of Abhayadeva and other works that expounded the doctrines of Jinendra (i e Jainism), and with works of other systems of philosophy such as the Nyāya treatises Tarkakandali and Kiraṇāvalī, and Śamkaranandana and Kamalaśīla. He was regarded as a man of learning at Citrakūṭa (Chittor), and many people, even such as belonged to other systems of religion, resorted to him and got their doubts cleared. Jinavallabha caused temples of Mahāvīra and Pārśvanātha to be constructed at Citrakūṭa, and of Neminātha at Nagapura and Naravarapurī

On one occasion two Paṇḍitas from a foreign country went to the court of Naravarman, the grandson of Bhoja at Dhārā, and proposed some poetic riddle, which the Paṇḍitas of Naravarman were not able to solve At the suggestion of a courtier the riddle was sent by the king to Jinavallabha, who solved it at once, and the solution was sent to Naravarman with all despatch On this account, when after some time, Jinavallabha went to Dhārā, Naravarman received him with great honour and offered him a large sum of money This he declined to accept, but asked the king to make some endowment to the temples constructed at Citrakūṭa. Naravarman died in 1190 Samvat or 1134 A D, according to an Inscription deciphered by Colebrooke.

The installation of Jinavallabha in the place of Abhayadeva took place after he had done all that is related above. He did not long survive this event, having died six months after, in the last quarter of the night on the twelfth of the dark half of Kārtika in Samvat 1167, i.e. 1111 A.D

He wrote the following works — (1) Sūkṣmārthasiddhānta, (2) Vicārasāra, (3) Ṣaḍaśīti, (4) Sārdhaśataka, a karma grantha,

(5) Piṇḍaviśuddhi, (6) Pauṣadhavidhi, (7) Pratikramaṇasāmācārī, (8) Saṃghapaṭṭaka, (9) Dharmaśikṣā, (10) Dvādaśakulaka, (11) Praśnottaraśataka, (12) Śṛṅgāraśataka, and many other kāvyas, (13) Sārasvataśatasaṁkhyastuti, and (14) Stotras Several of these exist in the former Government Collections, while in the present Collection there is a stotra written by him.

(F) LIFE OF JINADATTA

Jinadatta, the author of the work on which Sumatigaṇi comments, succeeded He was the son of Bāhaḍadevī and Vāchika, and was born in Saṁvat 1132 or 1076 A D. He read his Pañjikā at the Dharmaśālā of Bhāvadācārya and was taught all the Siddhāntas by Harisiṁhācārya He was installed in Jinavallabha's place at Citrakūṭa by Devabhadrācārya On one occasion he went to Ajayameru (Ajmir), where he was well received by Arṇo, the king of the country At the request of the Śrāvakas of the place the king granted a site for Jaina temples, and on a second visit Jinadatta laid the foundation stone He made many converts to Jainism as well as to his particular sect He wrote the Gaṇadharasaptati for exorcising a man possessed by a ghost, and also a Caccharī on the precepts engraved by Jinavallabha on the walls of certain temples. He once went to Naravara and thence to Tribhuvanagiri where he preached the truth to king Kumārapāla.

Besides the works named above Sumatigaṇi quotes from or refers to the following —Pravacanasāra, a Smṛti, Bharataśāstra, Damādhyāya, a Prayoga, Āvaśyakacūrṇi, Daśavaikālika, Citrakūṭīyapraśasti by Jinavallabha, and Upadeśamālā. He also quotes some verses which are now found in the Pañcatantra.

RAMACARITRA

The Rāmacaritra in prose was composed by Devavijayagaṇi, pupil of Rājavijayasūri, who himself was a pupil of Vijayadānasūri, the Yugapradhāna or head of the Tapāgaccha It was written at Śrīmālapura in Marusthalī or Marvad in the year 1652 Saṁvat,

or 1596 A D, in the reign of Akbar The author *tells us that in the composition of his work* he *followed* Hemacandra's Rāmāyaṇa and *that* he *wrote it in prose, though there* was a Rāmacaritra in verse in the Prakrit as well as Sanskrit, to divert himself and also to put an end to his Karman

EXAMINATION OF PRIVATE LIBRARIES

As to the other branch of the work, the Libraries of the following persons at Nasik have been catalogued this year —

Sītārāmaśāstrī Paṭvardhan	Rāmaśāstrī Chāmdorkar
Nārāyanaśāstrī Sāṭhe	Yaduśāstrī Ṭakle
Viṣṇu Gangādhar Māchegan	Devrāv Hosing
Acyutaśāstrī Dātār	Govindbābā Vaidya

Eighteen Libraries were reported to have been catalogued last year, so that twenty-six in all have been examined at Nasik The printing of these catalogues has now been begun There is very little work left to be done at Nasik and my Śāstrī intended to go to Trimbak to catalogue the private Collections existing there But in the month of June last he was carried off by cholera, which prevailed widely at Nasik about that time He was a man of learning and great intelligence and did very good service He possessed much influence with the people at Nasik and hence was able to examine for us so many Collections at the place Otherwise the jealousy as regards one's literary treasures is still so strong that it would not have been possible to do that amount of work there

ACCOUNT OF THE MANUSCRIPTS IN THE GOVERNMENT COLLECTIONS

I will close this Report by a short account of the present state of the Collections in my charge, and the number of Manuscripts collected for Government since 1868-69, and the number lent to scholars, and that forwarded to Germany to be catalogued according to Professor Kielhorn's scheme,

The total number of Manuscripts in the collections is 4,482, of which 78½ have been lent to scholars in Europe, 68 in India, and 13 in America, while 113½ have been sent to be catalogued—22½ to Professor Kielhorn, 33 to Professor Pischel, and 58 to Professor Jacobi In all 273 Manuscripts are out, and the rest, 4,209, are in the Library

AGES AND MATERIALS OF MANUSCRIPTS

PALM LEAF MANUSCRIPTS

Of the 4,482 Manuscripts about a third bear dates There are 108 written on Palm-Leaves of which 37 are dated Three were transcribed in Samvat 1138, 1145, and 1146, corresponding to 1082, 1089, and 1090 of the Christian era, eight, from Samvat 1164 to 1218, i e, from 1108 to 1162 A D, twenty, from Saṁvat 1260 to Kali 4398, i e, from 1204 to 1297 A D, and six, from Samvat 1359 to 1450, i e, from 1303 to 1394 A D

PAPER MANUSCRIPTS

The earliest Paper Manuscript in the Collection was transcribed in 1376 Samvat, corresponding to 1320 A.D, and there are eight bearing dates from 1426 to 1454 Samvat, i e, from 1370 to 1398 A D There are 48 Manuscripts transcribed in the first half of the fifteenth century of the Christian era and 91 in the latter half In some of the published lists an earlier date than 1376 Samvat occurs against one or two Manuscripts, and one is represented to have been transcribed in Samvat 1401 I have examined the Manuscripts themselves and found all these entries to be erroneous I have however not been able to examine one Manuscript, the date of which is in the list given as 1415 Samvat, as it has been lent The rest of the dated Manuscripts were transcribed after the close of the fifteenth century

Manuscripts written on Palm-leaves are found in Gujarath and Marvad, principally at Cambay, Patan, and Jesalmir From the above statement it is clear that in Gujarath and Marvad, Palm-leaves

were used as a writing material before the introduction of paper. The earliest Palm-leaf Manuscript we possess was, it will be seen, written in 1082 A.D., and our earliest Paper Manuscript in 1320 A.D. So far as our present researches go, therefore, paper did not come into use till the beginning of the fourteenth century; and since our latest Palm-leaf Manuscript is dated 1450 Saṁvat or 1394 A.D., it appears that Palm-leaves continued to be used as well as paper till about the end of that century. From the beginning of the fifteenth we find paper only employed.

EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT[1] ON THE SEARCH FOR SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS DURING THE YEAR 1883-84

ACCOUNT OF A VISIT TO PĀṬAN

In the month of December 1883, I paid during the Christmas recess a visit to Pāṭaṇ[2] in company with my friend Professor Abaji Vishnu Kathavate of the Gujarat College. We could make only a week's stay there, and consequently were not able to examine minutely the several Jaina Libraries at the place Still we collected a good deal of information with regard to them, and actually visited some, and compared the Manuscripts contained in them with the lists placed in our hands.

JAINA LIBRARIES AT THE PLACE

Each Gaccha or sect of the Jainas residing in a city possesses a halting place called Upāśraya for their itinerant priests, and each of these Upāśrayas is provided with a more or less extensive Library This Library is the property of the Gaccha and is in the charge of the prominent lay-members of the sect. When, however, a priest makes an Upāśraya his permanent residence, the Library is always in his charge, and practically he is its owner. The Upāśrayas and the Libraries attached to them are named after the street or ward in which they are situated. Pāṭaṇ contains the following Libraries or Bhāṇḍāras —

1. Bhāṇḍāra of Pophliānopāḍo belonging to the Tapāgaccha.
2. Another (smaller one) in the same ward do do

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1 Originally published in 1887 at the Government Central Press, Bombay. [N B. U]

2 In his report for 1874 75 Dr. Bühler calls the place Pâthan, but it should be called Pâtan, the Sanskrit form being Pattana, and the name being so pronounced by the people.

3. Bhāṇḍāra of Bhābhānopāḍo belonging to the Vimalagaccha.
4. Do. Saṃghavīnopāḍo.
5. Do. Rājavijaya Dayāvijaya.
6. Do. Limrīnopāḍo.
7. Do. Vāḍī Pārśvanātha Mandira.
8. Do. Rūpasāgarji.
9. Do. Ratanvijaya, Khetarsi Mahāl.
10. Do. Makāmodi Vāṇiā.
11. Do. Hemacandra in the charge of Svarūpacandra Yati.

Of these No. 7 was not accessible to us, because we were told that one of the keys was with the Śrīpūjya or high priest of the sect to which the Library belonged and he was not in Pāṭaṇ at the time. The owner of No. 8 left the place the day after we arrived there, and the Bhāṇḍāra had been locked up by him. Ratanvijaya, the practical owner of No 9, had removed a great many of the Manuscripts to Ahmedabad where he generally resided Makāmodi Vāṇiā (No. 10) who possessed, it appears, Manuscripts written on Tāla leaves, had, we were told, sent them away somewhere It is not unlikely that the Tāla-Leaf Manuscripts, added to our Collection in 1880-81, originally belonged to him Svarūpacandra Yati, who has charge of the Bhāṇḍāra said to have originally belonged to Hemacandra, the great Jaina Scholar of the twelfth century, was as immovable as he was in 1874-75, when Dr. Bühler wished him to show his Manuscripts to him We paid two visits to him, but he put us off with a variety of excuses and showed us only a few fragments of certain works that he had before him at the time. Rājavijaya Dayāvijaya (No 5) showed us three or four of his boxes No. 6 is a small Collection and after we had obtained access to the first four, we did not think it very desirable to examine it, especially since we had little time to spare.

(I) THE LIBRARY IN THE POPHLIĀNOPĀḌO

The Manuscripts in the Bhāṇḍāra in the Pophliānopāḍo (No 1) are stowed in 80 boxes (Dābḍās) mostly made of thick paper-boards,

each box containing a list of its contents. The man in charge showed us also a general list in which the title of each Manuscript and the number of folios were given. I got a copy of it made, but owing to some misunderstanding on the part of the man in charge, my copyists were not able to get the numbers of folios of the Manuscripts in about 28 of the Dābḍās We examined some of the boxes at random and compared their contents with the entries in the general list and found the latter to be correct.[1] It will be seen that the number of Manuscripts in the Bhāṇḍāra is 2,801 This appears to be the Bhāṇḍāra of the Tapāgaccha that Dr. Bühler speaks of in his Report for 1874-75 The number of boxes or Dābḍās mentioned by him agrees with that found by me ; but the number of Manuscripts is given by him as upwards of 1,200. There are several copies of one and the same work in the Collection

We were very greatly anxious to examine closely this splendid Collection, and spent two days in the work, but were able to effect little After going over the long list we selected the following for examination, as likely to be interesting and important —

Box No 1

Jaina Kumārasambhava.

Box No 2

Naranārāyaṇānandakāvya.	Pañcamībhaviṣyadatta by Dhanapāla.
Kandalīvṛtti by Bālacandra	Vijayadevamāhātmyakāvya.
Karpūraprakarābhidhānakośa.	Ṣaḍbhāṣāstavana.
Dhūrtākhyāne pañcamākhyānakam	

Box No. 3.

Balinarendracarita	Kumārapālacarita.

1 This list is printed in the original Report as its Appendix IA (pp. 161-206). [N. B. U]

Box No. 5.

Kalpalatā.

Box No. 6.

Śataślokīṭīkā.
Pṛthvīśuddhi.
Nyāyāvatāraṭippaṇikā.
Nyāyasūtra.

Box No. 7.

Mugdhamedhākarī-alaṁkāra-vṛtti.
Sūktāvalī.
Pāṇḍavī-gītā.
Rāmacandrakāvya.
Muktāvalī.
Pramāṇamañjarī.

Box No 10

Bṛhatpañcākhyāna.
Pañcākhyāna.
Nandopākhyāna.
Nyāyamakaranda.
Jainatarkabhāṣā by Jasavijaya.
Hāsasmṛtipurāṇa.

Box No 11.

Bṛhadratnākaravṛtti.
Rāghavanāṭika (a)—ṭīkā.
Hemaprākṛtaḍhuṇḍhī
Kīrtiṣoḍaśapāda.
Prākṛtaprakriyāvṛtti
Nyāyavṛtti.

Box No 12

Harivikramacarita
Veda.
Kumārapālacarita.
Vibhātavibhāvanā, Niṣadhaṭīkā.
Kālidāsakṛtakāvya.

Box No. 13

Puñjarājaṭīkā
Dānapradīpa.

Box No. 14.

Nyāyārthamañjūṣā.
Prākṛtaprabodha.
Nyāyavṛtti

Box No. 15.

Kālidāsakṛtagrantha.

Box No. 16.

Kumārapālacarita.
Tarkavṛtti.

Box No. 17.

Hitopadeśavṛtti.

Box No. 20

Vastupāla-Tejapālacarita.
Dṛṣṭāntaratnākara.
Brahmadattakathā.
Devarājaprabandha.
Kīrtikaumudī.

Box No. 29.

Vijayapraśasti
Rājimatiprabodha.

Box No. 32.

Kāvyaprakāśaṭīkā.
Mahāvidyāviḍambana.
Raghuṭīkā.
Harivikramacarita.
Śaśadharanyāya.
Prabandhacintāmaṇi.

Box No. 33.

Ṣaḍdarśanavṛtti.
Vṛttaratnākarakāvya
Kāvyakāmadhenu.

Box No. 35.

Mahābhāṣya.

Box No 36.

Cāṇakya.
Kumārapālapratibodha.
Ratnāvalīṭīkā.
Dūtāṅgadanāṭaka.
Candrasenanāṭakī(?)—prabandha.
Vastupāla-Tejapālaprabandha.
Dharmaśarmakāvya.

Box No. 37.

Sanatkumāragītā.

Box No. 38.

Vastupālacarita.
Jñānavidyākāvya.
Kumārapālacarita.

Box No. 40.

Ārambhasiddhivārtākāvya
Bhūgolaśāstra.
Therāvalī
Ratnamālāyām Anekārthakośa.
Kumudacandranāṭaka.
Prāsādavidhiprakaraṇa.

Box No 42

Śrutāyurveda.

Box No 43.

Rāvaṇasaṁvāda.
Nigodavicāra.
Girnāracaityapravāḍī
Kumāravihāraśataka.
Māheśvaravāda
Bhāṣyacūrṇi
Harivikramacaritra.

Box No 44.

Mohapaṭirajoharaṇavicāra.
Laghuśatapadī
Samayasāraparamāgamanāṭaka.
Gurvāvalī

Box No. 45

Aśokacarita.
Kumārapālacarita.

Box No. 47.

Prabandhacintāmaṇi.

Box No. 48

Kumārapālacarita.

Box No. 49

Rāghavanāṭika (a).
Karpūramañjarīṭikā.
Deśikośanāmārtha.
Hemavibhrama.

Box No 51.

Andhrakumāravivāha.
Sukṛtasaṃkīrtana.

Box No. 65

Vijayapraśasti.

But the examination of so many Manuscripts would have taken many more days than we were able to devote to it, and we had to give up the task after having inspected a few. These are as follows :—

1. Pramāṇamañjarī (boxes Nos. 7 and 44), folios 9, lines 15, letters 60 in a line, a treatise on the Vaiśeṣika system, by Tārkika Sarvadevasūri There is a commentary on this by Balabhadramiśra.

2 Vyutpattidīpikā or Prākṛtaprakriyāvṛtti (box No 11), folios 138, lines 15, letters 55 This is a commentary by Udayasaubhāgyagaṇi, pupil of Saubhāgyasāgarasūri of the Tapāgaccha on Hemacandra's Prakrit Grammar which forms the eighth chapter of his Śabdānuśāsana. Verses from original works are given to illustrate Hemacandra's rules, and the verses quoted by Hemacandra—especially in the section on the Apabhraṁśa dialect—are explained. I have since been able to procure a copy of this work for our Collection It will be noticed in next year's Report.

3. Rājimatiprabodha (box No 29), folios 5, lines 17, letters 58. This is a drama in five acts by Yaśaścandra. The hero is Nemi.

4. Vijayapraśasti (box No 29), folios 279, lines 13, letters 40. This is a poem on Vijayasena, the successor of Hīravijaya, the 58th high priest of the Tapāgaccha according to Dr Klatt, but 60th according to a Gurvāvalī to be presently noticed. It was composed along with a commentary in Samvat 1688 by Guṇavijayagaṇi

5 Kīrtikaumudī (box No. 30), folios 11, lines 19, letters 61, author, Gūrjareśvarapurohita Someśvara. This Manuscript was written in Samvat, 1507 and would, Professor Kathavate tells me, have been of great use to him for his edition of the work if he had got it earlier The Manuscripts he possessed did not give

satisfactory readings in a good many places and he was in search of a fresh one, but was not then able to procure it.

6. Mahābhāṣya (box No. 35) This is an incomplete copy of Patañjali's work with the commentary of Kaiyaṭa It was transcribed in Samvat 1543.

7 Gurvāvalī (box No 44), folios 10, lines 18, letters 58 The Manuscript contains 20 Gāthās with a full commentary. It begins with Sudharmasvāmin and ends with Hīravijayasūri, the 60th successor Hīravijaya is mentioned as having died in Saṁvat 1622 on the 12th of Vaiśākha Sudi, at Vaṭapallī. According to Dr Klatt, he was the 58th successor and died at Umnānagara, on the 11th of Bhādra. Sudi, 1652

8 Laghuśatapadī (box No 44), folios 24, lines 17, letters 53. This is a work by Merutunga, and contains at the end a history of the Vaṭagaccha. The date of Jayasimha of the Cālukya dynasty of Pāṭaṇ is given as 1169 Samvat.

9 Śeṣasamgraha (box No 44), folios 4, lines 17, letters 48 This is a supplement by Hemacandra to his Abhidhānacintāmaṇi.

(II) LIBRARY IN THE BHĀBHĀNOPĀḌO

We next spent a day in examining the Bhaṇḍāra in the Bhābhānopāḍo The paper Manuscripts are stowed in 27 boxes or Dābḍās, and there is one Manuscript written on Tāla leaves. The following came under our inspection —

1. An incomplete copy of the Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi by Someśvara, a king of the Deccan Cālukya dynasty

2. A commentary by Mādhavasarasvatī on Śivāditya's Saptapadārthī From a stanza at the end it appears that Mādhavasarasvatī was a native of the country of Gorāṣṭra in the South, in which is situated Gokarna Mahābaleśa The country referred to is thus a portion of North Kanara. There is a copy

of this commentary in my Collection for 1879-80, but this verse does not occur at the end.

3. Another commentary on the Saptapdārthī by Bhāvavidyeśvara, folios 13, lines 13, letters 47

KĀVYAKALPALATĀ AND AMARACANDRA

4 Kāvyakalpalatāvṛtti, folios 57, lines 17-20, letters 64; total quantity 3,357 Anuṣṭubhs. The original work called the Kāvyakalpalatikā was composed in part by Arisiṁha and completed by Amaracandra who also wrote the Vṛtti or commentary Amaracandra was a pupil of Jinadatta of the Vāyadagaccha, who must be the same person as the author of the Vivekavilāsa to be noticed hereafter He lived, as will be shown, about the middle of the 13th century Mādhava mentions both him and his work in his account of the Bauddha and Jaina systems in the Sarvadarśanasamgraha. Arisiṁha was the author of a poem called Sukṛtasamkīrtana and Amaracandra wrote besides the present work the Chando-ratnāvalī, the Kalākalāpa, and the Bālabhārata. They were fellow students and lived, according to the account given by Rājaśekhara in the Prabandhacaturviṁśati, in the time of Visaladeva before he got possession of the throne at Pāṭan, i e, about the middle of the 13th century Copies of the Kāvyakalpalatāvṛtti are by no means rare, and there is one in my last year's Collection, while in this year's we have a Manuscript of the original The copy in this Bhāṇḍāra has the date 1455 of Vikrama corresponding to 1399 A D, which must be the date when the Manuscript was written

5. Kumārapālacarita, folios 136, lines 16, letters 49. The author's name is Jayasiṁha In the first part the genealogy of Mūlarāja, the founder of the Cālukya line of Pāṭan, is given. The work was composed in 1422 of Vikrama.

6 Sammatitarkaṭīkā, folios 502, lines 15; total quantity 25,000 Anuṣṭubhs. The author of the original is Siddhasena Divākara, and of the commentary Abhayadeva

7. Nyāyabhūṣaṇa, folios 252 The author's name *does not appear. Umāpati is adored in the opening stanza*

8. Nyāyakandalīṭīkā by Śrīdhara, folios 124, lines 15, letters 60. The opening stanzas and the Praśasti at the end have been given by Dr Bühler under No. 384, Kaśmīr Report. The readings, however, in this Manuscript are in several cases better than those given by Dr Bühler

9. Āptamīmāṃsālaṁkāra This appears to be the Digambara work of that name

10. Complete copies of Vallabha's and Cāritravardhana's commentaries on the Raghuvaṃśa.

11 A commentary on the Raghuvamsa by Dharmameru, folios 136, comes down to the end of Canto XVII, the first leaf missing. Another copy of the same, to the end of Canto III

(III) RĀJAVIJAYA DAYĀVIJAYA'S LIBRARY

Among the Manuscripts shown us by Rājavijaya Dayāvijaya, there was a copy of Jayasiṃhasūri's Kumārapālacarita, the same work as that noticed above, and an abridgement of Haribhadra's Samarādityacaritra by Pradyumnācārya.

(IV) COLLECTION IN THE SAMGHAVĪNOPĀḌO

We devoted a day to the examination of the Bhāṇḍāra in the Samghavīnopāḍo All the Manuscripts are written on Tāla leaves and some of them (such as those of the old works in illustration of the Nyāyasūtra of Gautama and of Vātsyāyana's Bhāṣya) are very valuable They are however not well arranged and it was with difficulty that any desired Manuscript could be found Dr Bühler had prepared a catalogue of the Collection, and on comparing some of the entries with the corresponding Manuscripts we found them to be correct, so that we did not deem it necessary

to pursue the examination further, especially as the time at our command was short

(V) SECOND LIBRARY IN THE POPHLIĀNOPĀḌO

From the list of the second Bhāṇḍāra in the Pophliānopāḍo put into our hands, it appears that it is made up of several collections belonging to different individuals, and the list gives us an insight into the manner in which these Jaina Bhāṇḍārs have grown up. On entering the room there is to the left a large box which contains 17 smaller ones or Dābḍās, in twelve of which the Manuscripts belonging to Śāntidāsa Devakaraṇa are kept. The list of these was made out in Samvat 1853 Of the rest, Dābḍas 13 and 14 contain Manuscripts belonging to or presented by another individual, the statement about whom occurring in the list is not intelligible, and the list was compiled in Samvat 1836. The Manuscripts in Dābḍās 15and 16 belonged to Gangavijayagaṇi, pupil of Lābhavijayagaṇi, and their list was made out in Samvat 1751 (?). Those in the last or seventeenth Dābḍā seem to have been owned by another person Besides these there are 19 Manuscripts written on Tāla leaves in the same large box, and four more written apparently on paper Then there is a smaller box which contains the collection belonging to Satyavijayanyāsa stowed in fourteen Dābḍās The list was prepared in 1853 Samvat In another box, we have nine Dābḍās containing the Manuscripts belonging to —? Vijeji, the list of which was made out in 1853 Samvat The contents of the tenth Dābḍā seem to have originally belonged to another person who kept them here in Samvat 1860, while Dābḍās 11 and 12 contain the Manuscripts presented to the Bhāṇḍāra by Dipachand Hemachand, in Samvat 1861. There is another Dābḍā in which are stowed the Manuscripts left in the Bhāṇḍāra by Śrīpūjya Jinendrasūri. There is another large box in which there are two Dābḍās containing the Manuscripts deposited in the house of Śantidāsa Devakaraṇa by Mohana Vijaya in Samvat 1853 with a list.

COLLECTIONS OF BRĀHMANIC WORKS

Three Collections of Brāhmanic works were also brought to my notice in Pāṭaṇ. The owner of one of them is Jasvantrāi Gopālrāi, who belongs to the Rāmānuja sect As might be expected his Collection contains copies of many valuable works of the Rāmānuja school. I notice the following in the list he was good enough to furnish me with —

1 Vedāntasūtrabhāṣya or Śrībhāṣya with the Śrutaprakāśikā.

2. Do. do. without do Granthasamkhyā 9,600

3. Vedāntadīpa, an abridgement of the above, Gr s 3,000.

4. Vedāntasāra, a brief commentary on the Vedāntasūtra, Gr s. 1,700

5. Prapannāmṛta, or Life of Rāmānuja, Gr. s. 5,440.

6 Divyasūriprabhāva, or Lives of the principal Ācāryas of the Sect, Gr. s. 1,200.

7. Bhāṣyas on the principal Upaniṣads, according to Rāmānuja's system.

8. The following Samhitās from the Nārada Pañcarātra
   (*a*). Lakṣmī Samhitā, Gr. s. 3,350.
   (*b*). Jñānāmṛtasāra Samhitā, Gr. s. 1,450
   (*c*) Paramāgamacūḍāmaṇi Samhitā, Gr. s. 12,500.
   (*d*) Pauṣkara Samhitā, Gr s. 6,350
   (*e*). Padma Samhitā, Gr. s. 9,000.
   (*f*). Vṛddhabrahma Samhitā, Gr s. 4,533.

9 Guruparamparā from Rangācārya to Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa.

10. Guruparamparā of the Rāmānuja sect.

11. A good Collection of Smṛtis, &c.

The owner of the second Collection is Maṇiśamkara Kṛpāśamkara from whom I received but an incomplete list. He is a follower of Śaṁkarācāryā's school and as such possesses the most im-

portant works of that system. In his list is mentioned a commentary by Gauḍapāda on the Bṛhadāraṇyaka. If the entry is correct it is a rarity

The owner of the third Collection is Trikamlāl Ānandlāl from whom, however, no list could be procured

KAVIRAHASYA, AND THE HERO OF THE POEM—KṚṢṆA OF THE RĀṢṬRAKŪṬA FAMILY

At Pāṭaṇ we came across a copy of the Kavirahasya or Kaviguhya by Halāyudha. It is well known that the hero of this grammatical poem is a king of the name of Kṛṣṇa who is represented as the paramount sovereign of Dakṣiṇāpatha or Southern India. Professor Westergaard identified this Kṛṣṇa with the Kṛṣṇarāya of the Vijayanagara dynasty who reigned in the first half of the sixteenth century, and this identification seems to have been accepted by Professor Aufrecht. But the copy of the Kavirahasya I found at Pāṭaṇ contains a verse in which the hero Kṛṣṇa is spoken of as "having sprung from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa race" (Rāṣṭrakūṭakulodbhavam) In another he is called "the ornament of the Lunar race" (Somavaṁśavibhūṣaṇa), and we know from the Khārepāṭaṇ plates that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who ruled over the Deccan were considered to have belonged to the family of Yadu which was an offshoot of the Lunar race The Kṛṣṇa of the Kavirahasya, therefore, must have been one of the three Kṛṣṇas of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa line who were sovereign lords of the Deccan. The first of them reigned about 775 A D, the second was on the throne in 911 A D, and the third in 956 A D Halāyudha therefore must have lived at a time when the memory of one of these three Kṛṣṇas was still fresh, that is, between the beginning of the ninth to about the end of the tenth century.

And the comparatively high antiquity of Halāyudha is indicated by the circumstance that the text of the Kavirahasya prevailing in one part of the country differs widely from that in use in another. I have since obtained a Manuscript of the work

in the Maratha Country and find on comparison that its text shows as considerable divergences from that of the Pāṭaṇ copy, if not more, as the Nāgarī rescension of Kālidāsa's Śakuntalā from the Gauḍī Such divergences are not found in Manuscripts of a work written only three hundred years ago, and I am inclined, on account of this circumstance, to identify Halāyudha's Kṛṣṇa with the first Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince of that name and to refer our author to the beginning of the ninth century I must, however, not omit to mention that the Maratha copy of the Kavirahasya omits the expression "Rāṣṭrakūṭakulodbhavam" and reads the whole verse very differently Similarly, instead of "Somavaṃśavibhūṣaṇaḥ", we have in that copy "Paralokajigīṣayaḥ (yā)." But these must be regarded as later corruptions. For if the names of Rāṣṭrakūṭa family and the Soma race did not exist in the text as Halāyudha wrote it, nobody could have afterwards added them Corruption must proceed from what is particular to what is general or from one generality to another, but not from what is general to what is particular. There can be nothing to lead a later reader or writer to introduce such a particular name as Rāṣṭrakūṭa.

Probably our Halāyudha was the same as the author of the Abhidhānaratnamālā For, in the first place, the two works are on kindered subjects, and in the next, Halāyudha, the author of the Kavirahaysa, is in the last verse of the Maratha copy called "Sadabhidhānanidhāna," or "the store of good names" And he must be supposed to be spoken of thus in two senses, first, in the sense of his name being a good name, and secondly, in so far as he compiled a thesaurus, and probably, by the word Sadabhidhānas "good names" the Abhidhānaratnas or "gems in the shape of names" of which we have a necklace in the Abhidhānaratnamālā, are referred to In the third place, a connection has been established between both the works and Kavis or poets. The "necklace of gems in the shape of names" was, we are told in the second verse,

prepared for adorning the neck of a Kavi (Kavikaṇṭha-vibhūṣaṇārtham), and the second work is "the secret [that leads to the success] of a Kavi."

A MUTILATED MANUSCRIPT OF A HISTORICAL WORK

An old and mutilated Manuscript of a curious work written in broken Sanskrit and at the end in Gujarati, also came to my notice. As the owner would not part with it I got a transcript made. I had no opportunity of comparing the transcript with the original, and probably the mistakes of the original have been added to by my copyist. The fragment does not contain the beginning and the work has no chapters At first we have the story of Jamadagni and Sahasrārjuna, and then the foundation of a town of the name of Puṣpamālā is mentioned The building of another town of the name of Ratnamālā, with a river serving as its moat in the front and a fortress behind, is likewise mentioned, and we are then carried to Paṭṭaṇa. There somebody is represented to have expatiated on the strength of Devagiri and its seven fortresses before Siddharāja, who thereupon led an expedition against the place From Devagiri Siddharāja proceeded to Paithana which submitted to him, and there he is represented to have induced certain families called Vīrajas or Vīravaṁśajas, who appear to have been silk-weavers, to go with him to his capital Anahilapaṭṭaṇa and settle there. The glories of the city and its previous history were recounted to the Vīrajas, and this is what is stated —

DATES OF THE CĀPOTKAṬA PRINCES

1. Paṭṭaṇa was founded by Vanarāja who reigned for sixty years, up to 862 of the Vikrama Era, or 806 A.D. He was succeeded by

2. Yogarāja who was on the throne up to 897 Vikrama or 841 A.D. After him reigned

3. Kṣemarāja for 25 years, up to 922 Vikrama, or 866 A.D. Then came to the throne

4. Vāuḍā and Bhuyaḍa who reigned for 29 years, i e, up to 951 Vikrama or 895 A D. But the year of Vikrama is not given. He conquered Dvāravatī and the whole country to the west, down to the sea coast He was succeeded by

5. Vīrasimha who was on the throne for 25 years, i e, up to 976 Vikrama, or 920 A D, though the year is not given, and we have instead 951 Vikrama, which must be the year of his accession. Then followed

6. Ratnāditya who reigned for 15 years, i.e, up to 991 Vikrama, or 935 A D But this year is not given, and we have instead of it 976 Vikrama which, as in the last case, must be the year of the king's accession. After him reigned

7 Sāmantasimha for seven years up to 998 Vikrama, or 942 A.D.

This was the last prince of the Cāpotkaṭa line, and the sovereignty of Gujarath fell into the hands of Mūlarāja, the son of Sāmanta's sister, who founded the Cālukya dynasty

DATES OF THE CALUKYAS

1. Mūlarāja reigned for 55 years, up to 1053 Vikrama, and was succeeded by

2 Chāmuṇḍa, who was on the throne for 13 years, till the year 1066 of Vikrama. Then followed

3. Vallarāja, who reigned for six months Vallarāja is the same as Vallabharāja. His successor is represented to have reigned for eleven years and six months, up to the Vikrama year 1078 (1022 A.D), but his name is not given. He was Durlabha, as we know, after whom came

4. Bhīma. The date of his ceasing to reign is not given. Bhīma was succeeded by

5. Karṇa. No date occurs even here Karṇa was followed by

6. Siddharāja. A date is given here, but two or three letters have dropped away Still it appears to be 1150 Vikrama corresponding to 1094 A D Siddharāja conquered many countries and acquired immense wealth. Thirty-five crores of Ṭankas of gold were brought and placed before him, and Siddharāja asked his ministers what to do with this wealth They advised him to construct a tank in the city The king then sent for an engineer and ordered him to build a tank with a fortress and a thousand temples of Śiva on the margin and one temple in the centre. The work was completed in five years

After this whole account had been given to the Virajas they agreed to go to Paṭṭaṇa, and did accordingly A great deal of wealth was given to them and a site for building houses was granted in the north-eastern part of the city. After they settled in Paṭṭaṇa, silk-manufacture began to flourish in the town. But the Virajas, being foreigners could not get wives there and they carried their complaint before Siddharāja It was ascertained that they belonged to the Kṣatriya caste While Paraśurāma was carrying on his work of the destruction of the Kṣatriyas, some members of that caste gave up their trade of war in fear and became weavers, and from them these Virajas derived their descent Intermarriages appear then to have been arranged between the new settlers and some of the Kṣatriya tribes in Gujarath, and thus in time the Virajas came to have 84 distinct families. The names of these are then given in the Manuscript and thus the main story ends

7. Siddharāja is then spoken of as having been succeeded by Kumārapāla whose mother Ratnasenā was, it is stated, the sister of Siddharāja. He reigned for 31 years and introduced the Jaina religion, which is "the path of universal love." His reign lasted, it is said, till 1199 Vikrama, but that must be the year of his accession Then we have a mere list of the kings

that followed with the dates of their accession. But the first line in which Mūla the younger is spoken of as having come to the throne in Samvat 1230, must have crept in through some mistake, for in the third line that same prince is represented as having got possession of the throne in Samvat 1233, and in the second, Ajayapāla is stated as having begun to reign in Samvat 1230. The first line being then struck out, the list is as follows.—

8. In Samvat 1230 (1174 A.D), Ajayapāla succeeded and reigned for 3 years.

9 In Samvat 1233 (1177 A.D), Mūla the younger succeeded and reigned for 2 years.

10. In Samvat 1235 (1179 A D), Bhīma the younger succeeded and reigned for 63 years

11 In Samvat 1298 (1242 A.D.), Tihuṇapāla (Tribhuvanapāla) succeeded and reigned for 4 years

"Thus there were 11 princes of the Cālukya line, and they reigned for——years" The total number of years is given as 3,400 but there is evidently a slip here, 304 must have been meant.

THE VĀGHELĀS

1 In Samvat 1302 (1246 A D), Visaladeva succeeded and reigned for 18 years.

2. In Samvat 1320[1] (1264 A D), Arjunadeva succeeded and reigned for 13 years.

3 In Samvat 1333 (1277 A D), Sarangadeva[2] succeeded and reigned for 20 years.

1 This date is not given in the Manuscript. The figure 10 occurs in the place of the date, and this is certainly a mistake either of my copyist or of that of the original from which my transcript was prepared But the date is got by adding 18 to 1302

2 Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 190.

4 In Samvat 1353 (1297 A.D), Karṇa the younger succeeded and reigned for 7 years

Thus for 58 years the Vāghelā family was in possession of the sovereignty. Then Suratrāṇa (Sultān) Alla-ud-din's army came from Delhi, and the Hindus lost their kingdom The Turkas came.

The names and dates of the kings of Gujarath here given agree with those mentioned by the chroniclers Merutunga and others There are a few inaccuracies as we have seen, but these are rather to be attributed to the bad condition of the Manuscript than to the author's imperfect information The name of Tihunapāla or Tribhuvanapāla, which is omitted by the chroniclers, but which occurs in a grant dated 1299 Vikrama translated by Dr Buhler, is, we see, given by our author But the duration of his reign was unknown before, and Dr. Bühler simply inferred it was very short Here we see it distinctly stated that he reigned for four years Our author states the number of the Cālukya princes to have been 11, from which it appears that in common with some other writers he includes the six months' reign of Vallabha in that of his brother Durlabha

The accession of Visaladeva to the throne of Pāṭaṇ is placed in the Vikrama year 1302, while in the Vicāraśreṇī it is represented to have taken place in 1300 The Vicāraśreṇī and our author agree as regards the duration of the reigns of Visaladeva, Arjunadeva, and Karṇa the younger, and as regards the date of the extinction of the Vāghelā line which took place in 1360 of Vikrama. But a reign of 22 years has been assigned to the third prince Sārangadeva in that work and of 20 years by our author Hence it is that the author of the Vicāraśreṇī has pushed Visala's accession two years backwards, and thus according to him the dynasty was in power for 60 years, while our author expressly states that it lasted for 58 years The statement of our author is correct and the Vicāraśreṇī is wrong;

for the dates given by him agree with those given by Dharmasāgara in the Pravacanaparīkṣā as will be hereafter seen

WORTH OF THE VICĀRAŚREṆĪ

The Vicāraśreṇī appears to me to be a curious composition. It places the foundation of Pāṭaṇ in 821 Saṁvat instead of 802, the accession of Mūlarāja in 1017 Samvat instead of 998, omits the reign of Cāmuṇḍa, assigns fourteeen years to Vallabharāja instead of six months, represents Vīsaladeva to be a brother of Vīradhavala instead of a son, and contains several other mistakes. It is therefore not entitled to our confidence at all, though Dr Buhler follows it in giving the dates of the Vāghelā princes.

The list in our Manuscript then goes on thus —

MUSSULMAN SOVEREIGNS OF GUJARATH

Samvat 1393 (1337 A D.) Udekhām, reigned for 25 years.

Do. 1418 (1362 A D) Suratrāṇa Mudāpar, reigned for 18 years

Do 1436 (1380 A.D) Suratrāṇa Ahimud, reigned for 32 years, 7 months, and 7 days Founded Ahimudābād

Do. 1468 (1412 A.D) Suratrāṇa Kutabadin, reigned for 10 years, 5 months, and 6 days

Do 1479 (1423 A.D.) Suratrāṇa Dāudaśāh, reigned for 36 years.

Do 1515 (1459 A D) Māgha Śudi 12th, Pātaśāh Mahimud.

Do 1568 (1512 A.D.) Mārgaśirṣa Śudi 4, Suratrāṇa Madafa (r)

Do. 1582 (1526 A.D) Suratrāṇa Śakandar, reigned for 8 days

Do. 1582 (1526 A D) Jyeṣṭha Vadi 5, Thursday, Pātaśāh Mahimud, reigned for 1 month and 10 days.

Do. 1582 (1526 A D) Śrāvaṇa Śudi 2, Pātaśāh Bāhādār, reigned for 10 years.

He conquered a large portion of the country. Then came Pātaśāh Humāu who was a Mugal. He stayed for 8 months in Gujarath. Then came Bāhādar. He died in the sea.

Samvat 1593 (1537 A D) Pātaśāh Mahimud, reigned for 17 years He was killed by the murderer Baharā. (By mistake this date is put down as 1583)

Samvat 1610 (1554 A D) Pātaśāh Mahimud, reigned for 10 years This date is put down as 1600

THE MOGHULS OF DELHI

Saṁvat 1617 (1561 A D), Vaiśākha Śudi 6, Pātaśāh Mudāfar The kingdom lost, the country destroyed Then came Akbar, the son of Humāu in 1628 (1572 A D), and having established his power in Gujarath went back to Delhi

If the date 1583 in the case of the last Sultān but two, and 1600 in the case of the last but one, had really been meant by the author, he would have given 1610 for the last instead of 1617 The first therefore must be 1593, the second 1610, and the duration of the reign in the second case, 7 instead of 10 In this way only does the last date come out right.

Then Akbar came back on the 2nd of Mārgaśirṣa Śudi. (There is a lacuna in the place of the date)

Samvat 1682 (1626 A D), Māgha Śudi 5, Pātaśāh Jāhāngir, reigned for 21 years.

(Lacuna) Śudi 7, Śāh Jhām (Jehan), reigned for 31 years.

Samvat 1714 (1658) (lacuna), Pātaśāh Aurangjib

The first of these Mahomedan princes is not mentioned in Forbes' Rāsamālā or Prinsep's Table, and Mahammadshah, the third according to these, is not mentioned by our author The dates also of Muzafar and his three successors given above do not agree with those given in the two works. From Mahamud

Begarra, however, who began to reign in *1459, the dates* and the names agree But in Prinsep's Table, Mahammad *Faruki* of Malwa is brought in two years after Bahadur's accession. He is omitted by our author Bahadur's corpse having been found in the sea is confirmed by our author's statement that he died in the sea. The prince who came to the throne in 1554 A D, is Ahmadshah in Princep's Table, while he is called Mahammad in our Manuscript The date Samvat 1682 or 1626 A D is the date of Shah Jehan's accession put in the line above by a mistake of the scribe, while he has left a lacuna against the name of that emperor The date of Aurangzeb and the duration of the reigns of his two predecessors are given correctly by our author [1]

A PAṬṬAVALĪ WITH A LIST OF DATES OF IMPORTANT EVENTS

I also came across a slip of paper on which the Paṭṭāvalī or Succession list of the High-priests of one of the Gacchas or sects of the Śvetāmbara Jainas is given, along with dates in a few cases The slip is probably three hundred years old and the Paṭṭāvalī appears to be that of the Vaṭa Gaccha Below the Paṭṭāvalī is a list of important events together with their dates. I quote some of the important dates —

Vikrama Saṃvat 1084 Kharataragaccha.

Samvat 1159 Pūrṇimāpakṣa

Samvat 1159, the establishment of Añcalagaccha, a branch of the Candragaccha

Samvat 1285, doctrine of the Tapāgaccha, establishment of the Gaccha through Vastupāla

Samvat 1532, the doctrine about the disuse of images

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1 Extracts from this "Historical Work in Broken Sanskrit" are given at pp. 314–319 of the Original Report under Appendix III L. [N B. U]

Vikrama 585, Haribhadrasūri, son of Yākinī.

Vikrama 800, birth of Bappabhaṭṭasūri, 895, went to heaven, converted Āmarāja.

Vikrama 802, Paṭṭana founded by Vanarāja. An image of Pañcāśara Pārśvanātha was placed in the Rāyavihāra.

Vikrama 1096, 84 Ācāryas were consecrated under a Banyan (vaṭa) tree

Vikrama 1088, construction of Vimalavasati (Vimala's temple) and the placing of a brass image of Ādinātha

Vikrama 1166, Hemācārya raised to the dignity of Sūri

Vikrama 1199, reign of Kumārapāla.

Vikrama 1198, Rudramālā erected by Jayasimha.

Vikrama 1288, Vastupāla placed an image of Kasoṭi in the temple of Luṇiga on Mount Abu

Vikrama 1298, death of Vastupāla, and 14 years afterwards, death of Tejaḥpālā.

Vikrama 1302, temple of Śatrumjaya by Candadeva of the Śrīmāla caste

Vikrama 1315, three years' famine, Vīsaladeva being king.

Vikrama 1441, rise of Merutungasūri.

YAŚOVARMAN, BHAVABHŪTI, ĀMA, AND VĀKAPTI

We learn from Rājaśekhara's Prabandhakośa that the Āmarāja converted by Bappabhaṭṭi was the son and successor of Yaśovarman, king of Kanoj. A king of the name of Dharma who was a hereditary enemy of Āma, ruled over the Gauḍa country at that time, and Lakṣaṇāvatī was his capital. He had Vākpatirāja, a poet, in his service, who composed a Prakrit poem entitled Gauḍavadha or Goḍavaho, after his patron had been killed by a neighbouring prince of the name of

Yaśodharma. It would thus appear that Vākpatirāja belonged to the next generation after Yaśovarman, and I have given reasons in the introduction to my edition of Mālatīmādhava to believe that he belonged to the next generation after Bhavabhūti also The Rājataranginī speaks of both the poets as having been patronized by Yaśovarman, wherefore it must be concluded that Vākpatirāja first came into prominence in the latter part of his reign, while Bhavabhūti belonged to the first part Rājaśekhara gives 807 Vikrama as the date of Bappabhaṭṭi's initiation as a Jaina monk and 811 Vikrama as the date of his being raised to the dignity of a Sūri These dates are hardly consistent with the date of his birth given above and generally accepted by the Jainas But this latter seems to have been arrived at by an inference from the statement that when Bappabhaṭṭi was first seen by his Guru Siddhasena, he was only six years old and was soon initiated, and it is not given by Rājaśekhara at all. It must therefore be pushed backwards. Similarly the date of his death must be considered as very doubtful

Bappabhaṭṭi met Āma for the first time soon after his initiation, while the latter was living as a voluntary exile in Gujarath, being displeased with the treatment he had received from his father, and was made a Sūri at the request of Āma after he had succeeded to the throne on his father's death Yaśovarman thus died between 807 and 811 of the era of Vikrama, i e. about the year 753 A.D Lalitāditya of Kashmir who subdued Yaśovarman reigned from 693 to 729 A.D, according to the chronology of Rājataraṅgiṇī as interpreted by General Cunningham by the use of the key furnished by Kalhaṇa himself, viz., that Śaka 1070 corresponded with the Kashmir year 24. The date of Yaśovarman's death now determined agrees well enough with this, at least it does not furnish any reason for supposing an error in Kalhana's dates and applying

a correction to them as General Cunningham afterwards did, though even the corrected date of Lalitāditya, 723-760 A D., would be equally consistent with it. And Bhavabhūti must be referred to the last quarter of the seventh century and the first of the eighth

Before proceeding I must here give expression to my deep sense of obligation to Mr Ramchandra Dhonddev Velankar, the Subordinate Judge of Patan, without whose assistance we should have been able to do nothing The good man has since died and cannot now receive my thanks, but I feel it to be a duty to place on record the valuable service rendered by him to the cause of Oriental Research

AHMEDABAD

We left Patan and returned to Ahmedabad I could make only two days' stay there, but with the assistance of Professor Kathavate and an old pupil Mr Sarabhai Maganbhai Hatesing, I was able to make good use of the short time at my disposal.

LIBRARIES AT AHMEDABAD

The principal Jaina Bhāndāras at Ahmedabad are the following —

1 Bhandara of Dehalāno Upāśraya
2 Bhāndāra of Dayā Vimala
3 Lohvāni polanum Bhāndāra
4 Mulchandji's Bhāndāra
5 Jaysing Hathesing's
6 Premābhai Hemabhai's

A PORTION OF THE LIBRARY IN THE DEHALANO UPĀŚRAYA

The first Bhāndāra has now been divided into three parts, one of them being deposited in the Upāśraya, another in Hamsanāthji's temple belonging to Umābhāi Hatesing, and

the third being in the charge of a private individual The second we were able to see The list was placed in our hands and I took a copy of it[1] The Bhāndāra contains 53 Dābdās, and on examination we found that the entries in the list and the contents of the Dābdās agreed Sometimes however there were two Dābdās with the same number and this appeared to us to be due to some confusion that must have taken place on the occasion of the distribution of the original Bhāndara As at Patan, we went over the list and selected certain Manuscripts for examination Though the examination was short, it yielded not unimportant results The following Manuscripts were seen by us —

1 Rūpamañjarīnāmamālā (box 31), fols 7, ll 12, vv 120, a thesaurus by Rūpacanda, the son of Gopāla, composed in the reign of Akbar in 1644 Samvat or 1588 A D

2 Anarghyarāghavaṭippanaka (box 31), fols, 36 ll 21, letters 53, commentary on Murāri's Anarghyarāghava, by Naracandrasūri, pupil of Malladhārin, seven acts MS transcribed in 1434 Samvat. The date of this Manuscript shows that the commentary itself was composed before the end of the fourteenth century The original, therefore, must be considerably older It will hereafter be shown that Murāri flourished before the thirteenth century

3 Śrutaśabdārtha-mahārṇavasamuccayaḥ, (box 47), fols 32, ll 17, Gra. s 1508, composed by Someśvara pupil of Yogeśvaracārya.

4 Mugdhabodha (box 47), fols 18, ll 19, letters 54. A thesaurus composed in 1450 Samvat Date of MS. Samvat 1517.

5 Nalodaya (box 47) This is usually attributed to Kālidāsa, but in this Manuscript the name of the author is given

1 Not printed here It forms Appendix IB to the Original Report, pp. 206 256. [N. B. U]

as *Ravideva,* son of Nārāyana. There are one or two Manu- *scripts in our Collection in which also the same name occurs*

6. Bhāvadyotanikā (boxes 47, 49, and 52). A commentary on the Naiṣadhacaritra by Śeṣa Rāma, pupil of Śeṣa Nārāyaṇa, cantos 1-13, 15, 17, 18, 20-22

7 Vidvadbhūṣana by Bālakṛṣna, with a commentary entitled Mañjubhāṣinī by Madhusūdana (box 47), fols. 38, ll 19; the original 68 vv, total Gr s 2,332, Sam 1740 There is a copy of it in this year's Collection

8 Kārikāṭīkā by Upādhyāya Sucarita (box 49), fols 109, ll 12, letters 43 This is a commentary on the Ślokavārtika of Kumārilabhaṭṭa and the Pratīka 'Viśuddheti' is the first word of the first Kārikā But of this more hereafter

9 Nyāyasāra (box 49) fols 14, ll 12, letters 34, three Paricchedas, by Bhāsarvajña It follows the system of Gautama Manuscript written at Devagiri by Ānandayaśogani in Samvat 1505.

10 Kumārapālaprabandha (box 49), fols 58, by Jinamandanasūri Composed in Samvat 1492

11 Prabandhakosa by Jayaśekhara, which must be a work of the same nature as Rājaśekhara's Prabandhakośa or Merutunga's Prabandhacintāmani

12 Śiśuhitaiṣiṇī, a commentary on the Kumārasambhava by Vyāsavatsa (box 52), fols 63, ll 13, comes down to the end of the eighth canto

13 A Manuscript of the Prakrit anthology with a Chāyā or Sanskrit translation and a few notes also came to my notice. There are two copies of the work in our Collections also It is called Prakrit Padyalaya which title is in several places transcribed as Vidyālaya Vajjā (Padya) is explained by the author as Paddhati and a collection of Gāhāo or Gāthāḥ on the

same subject is called Vajjālaya, written *often as Vajjālaggā. The author's name is Jayavallabha who was a Śvetāmbara Jaina,* and that of the author of the Chāyā is Ratnadeva The number of Gāthās or verses is 704 and the Granthasaṃkhyā of the whole work is 3,000 The Collection embraces 48 subjects and these are given in four Gāthās The names of the works from which the 704 Gāthās are collected are unfortunately not given, but I observed some verses from the Gaudavadha, and some quoted in the Kāvyaprakāśa The Chāyā was composed by Ratnadeva in the year 1393, which must be of the Vikrama era though it is not stated, at the instance of Dharmacandra, pupil of Haribhadrasūri, the successor as High-priest of the Pṛthugaccha, of Mānabhadrasūri

14 We found in this Bhāṇḍāra a large portion of a commentary on the Kāvyaprakāśa by Bhānucandra, and a complete copy of Jayanta's Kāvyaprakāśadīpikā In 1875-76 Dr Bühler came across a Manuscript of this last, and got a transcript made for our Collection, but it is only a fragment I have therefore got the complete Manuscript found at Ahmedabad copied for Government It is besides valuable in consequence of its giving the date of Jayanta and some particulars about him Jayanta calls himself a Purohita and was the son of Bhāradvāja who was Purohita or family priest to the minister of Sārangadeva, sovereign of Gujarath He finished his work on Sunday, the 3rd of the dark fortnight of Jyeṣṭha in the Saṃvat year 1350, in the triumphant reign of Sārangadeva, the Mahārājādhirāja, while his victorious army was encamped near Āśāpalli Jayanta bestows very extravagant praise on his father, and tells us that the king of Gujarath threw himself prostrate at his feet Sārangadeva, as we have seen, was the third of the Vaghela sovereigns who reigned at Patan and was on the throne between Vikrama 1333 and 1353, i. e, 1277-1297 A D The Manuscript was transcribed in 1475 (Saṃvat)

A MANUSCRIPT OF THE VIKRAMĀṄKACARITA
THE SECOND YET DISCOVERED

15 We discovered in box 43 a Manuscript of Vikramānkadevacarita or life of Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya of Kalyāṇa (1076-1127 A D), by Bilhaṇa A copy of this highly valuable historical poem written on Palm-leaves was discovered by Dr Bühler at Jessalmir in Marwar in 1874-75, and his edition of the work is based on that Manuscript Our Manuscript is a fragment beginning with the second line of stanza 62 of the first canto, and coming down to the end of the seventh canto. But I feel almost sure that if I had had time enough, and if the men in charge of the Bhāndāra had been more patient as regards this our laying hands on their treasures, and more confiding, I should have been able to trace the whole work This Manuscript is in the list put down as Vikramacaritra, and there is another with the same title in box 48, and a third called Vikramādityacaritra in box 34 One portion of the commentary on the Naiṣadhacaritra by Śeṣa Rāma, noticed above, was found in one box and two other portions in two other boxes It is therefore extremely likely that one or both of the other Manuscripts, the titles of which begin with the name of Vikrama, contain the remaining part of the Vikramānkacaritra. There is still another Manuscript entitled Vikramacaritra in box 31, but on examination I found it to be a legendary account in prose of Vikrama the celebrated king of Ujjayini

I have compared the Manuscript with Dr Buhler's edition and give its readings in Appendix III (R)[1] Dr Bühler's Manuscript was written on Palm-leaves and must be older than mine, and on the whole it is much better But there are many cases in which my readings are better, while Dr. Bühler's do not yield any sense or good sense, and consequently they must be the correct or original readings

1 Not here printed. [N B U]

A POEM ENTITLED SURATHOTSAVA BY SOMEŚVARADEVA

16 I have also to announce the discovery of a Mahākāvya or poem, hitherto unknown, by Someśvaradeva whose Kīrtikaumudī has now been before Sanskrit scholars for some years and whose Rāmaśataka was mentioned by me in my last Report.[1] The poem is called Surathotsava and contains fifteen cantos The plot is the same as that of the Saptaśatī or Devīmāhātmya contained in the Mārkandeya Purāna At the beginning, the poet addresses various deities devoting the first five stanzas to Bhavānī or Durgā He then renders his obeisance to him who " in the temple of his poem placed the image of the fame of Rāma " and to " the son of Satyavatī," as well as to their works, the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata Then are mentioned with admiration the following poets —

1 Gunādhya, the author of the Bṛhatkathā, whose Prakrit composition surpassed the Sanskrit composition of other poets

2 Subandhu

3 Kālidāsa

4 Māgha

5 Murāri and others. This Murāri must be the author of the Anarghyarāghava, a Manuscript of a commentary on which transcribed in Samvat 1434, has been already noticed.[2]

CANTO I

The poet then devotes a good many stanzas to such general subjects as poetry, good men, wicked men, &c. and afterwards introduces his hero Suratha to his readers. The first canto ends with the mention of his Viśvavijaya or conquest of the world.

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1 Ante, p 10 [N B U]
2 Ante, p 83 [N B U]

CANTOS II AND III

At the beginning of the second, some of Suratha's counsellors are represented to have played into the hands of his enemies who with their assistance vanquished him and deprived him of his kingdom. Suratha then betook himself to a forest where he met a Muni or sage to whom he recounted his misfortunes He advised him to have recourse to austere practices (tapas) in order to propitiate Bhavānī, and narrated the glorious deeds of that goddess Śumbha and Niśumbha had obtained from Brahmadeva the boon of freedom from death at the hands of any but a woman, and through the virtue of that boon, they made themselves all-powerful and oppressed all creatures The gods thereupon went to Brahmadeva, and laid their complaints. Brahmadeva explained to them the nature of the boon the Demon (Daitya) had received, and advised the gods to go to Umā or Bhavānī and entreat her to kill Śumbha Thus ends the third canto.

CANTOS IV—XI

The gods then went to the Himālaya, a description of which in accordance with the orthodox rules of poetry constitutes the fourth canto A description of the seasons, all of which came to wait upon the gods in the course of their march, follows in the fifth, and a description of a moon-rise in the sixth The seventh canto opens with a description of a sunrise and then Bhavānī is represented as going out to gather flowers Thence she goes to the Gangā to bathe, and as she is returning, the gods see her from a distance and sing her praises They then lay their complaints before her and implore her to kill the Daitya Śumbha. She allays their fears and promises to destroy the demon

In the eighth canto, Bhavānī transforms herself into a beautiful maiden and resides on a peak of the Himālaya.

The report spreads that a beautiful maiden has appeared on the Himālaya, and reaches the ears of Śumbha. He sends a person to propose to her a marriage with himself Bhavānī tells the messenger that she has vowed that that man only shall be her husband who will fight with her while she is riding a lion The messenger goes back to Śumbha and informs him of this Śumbha wonders at the woman's oddity and sends a demon of the name of Dhūmralocana to induce her to give up what she called her vow, and, if she remained still obstinate, to use force and bring her away Dhūmralocana goes to Bhavānī and while about to execute his master's commands, he is reduced to ashes by the power of the goddess

Then in the ninth canto Śumbha is represented as marching against Umā in person with a large army, the fight between them is described in the tenth, and the death of Śumbha in the eleventh

CANTOS XII—XIV

Having heard of this glorious deed of Bhavānī from the mouth of the Muni, Suratha makes up his mind to propitiate her by the severest austerities These are described in the twelfth canto, and in the thirteenth Pārvatī sends a beautiful woman to test his firmness, but he is proof against her blandishments, and goes on with his religious exercises Then in the fourteenth, Bhavānī is pleased, and manifests herself to Suratha, she pronounces a benediction, and promises him supreme sovereignty for a thousand years and the dignity of the eighth Manu, after the present or seventh is over, in a future life.

In the meanwhile such of the counsellors of Suratha as were faithful to him, destroyed those who had acted as traitors and sent men in all directions to trace him out One of them reached at last the forest where Suratha had been practising

austerities and gave intelligence of his being there to the counsellors They then went to the place with a large number of followers and conducted Suratha to his capital where he enjoyed supreme sovereignty in accordance with the promise of Umā

CANTO XV

THE HISTORY OF SOMEŚVARA'S FAMILY

In the fifteenth canto Someśvara gives the history of his family and his own, and at the end devotes a few verses to the praise of Vastupāla ' There is a place called Nagara where reside Brahmans and which is rendered holy by the sacred fires kept by them and the sacrificial rites they perform The gods themselves, seeing the holiness of the place and the prosperity conferred upon it by Śiva, live there as it were assuming the forms of Brahmans" At that place dwelt a family of the name of Guleva (?) belonging to the Gotra of Vasiṣṭha In that holy family was born Sola, who was created by Mūlarāja, (the founder of the Cālukya dynasty of Patan), his family priest He performed the Vājapeya sacrifice and attained great influence over the king His son Lalla was the spiritual adviser of Cāmuṇḍa, and his son Muñja, of Durlabha

Muñja's son was Soma by whose blessings Bhīma became victorious everywhere Āma, the son of Soma, was the family priest of Karṇa He performed the seven kinds of Jyotiṣṭoma and obtained the title of Samrāṭ, and spent the wealth received from the Cālukya prince in building temples of Śiva, digging tanks of water, and making gifts to Brahmans When the Cālukya prince harassed the territory of the king of Dhārā, the priest of the latter conjured up, by means of charms, an evil spirit (Kṛtyā) for the destruction of his master's enemy But by countercharms, Āma succeeded in turning

back the evil spirit against the conjuror himself who was instantaneously killed by it

Āma's son was Kumāra, and it was in virtue of his good wishes that Siddharāja made the king of Sindhu a captive though he was a man of great prowess, cast into prison the ruler of Mālava along with his family, and made the proud king of the country of "a lac and a quarter[1]" bow his head to himself Kumāra performed sacrifices, and built tanks His son was Sarvadeva who knew the essence of the laws laid down by Manu He was a worshipper of Viṣṇu, performed sacrifices like his predecessors, and was too proud to beg money of others After his death, his son Āmiga took his place Āmiga had four sons, Sarvadeva, Kumāra, Muñja, and Āhaḍa(?) The relation of the elder Sarvadeva and his son Āmiga to the Cālukya princes is not stated Probably Kumārapāla, the successor of Siddharāja, being a Jaina, had very little to do with them

But after Kumārapāla's death, Sarvadeva the younger, threw his bones according to Brahmanic rites into the Ganges and gratified the Brahmans of Prayāga and Gayā by his gifts Sarvadeva constructed tanks in many places, worshipped Śiva every day, and was hospitable to all Brahmans

Kumāra was offered heaps of jewels by the king, the son of Kumārapāla, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, but he did not accept them He propitiated Śiva in the form of Katukeśvara and cured the severe wounds received by Ajayapāla in a battle When in consequence of a famine, the people were reduced to mere skeletons he interceded with Mularāja and obtained for them a remission of the assessment on land He was made chief minister by Pratāpamalla, who belonged to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family and, being entrusted

1 The country about the Sambhar lake in Rajaputana was so called

with the charge of the army by the Calukya prince, achieved victory for his arms by defeating his enemies. He fought a battle with the king of Dhārā, who after receiving a wound skin-deep, left the battle-field though puffed up with pride, and Kumāra, destroying a town named Gogasthāna (?) belonging to him, sank a well in the place where his palace stood. He plundered the Mālava country and took away all its wealth though he did not find gold or silver, and gave gold and silver to Brahmans when he performed a Śrāddha at Gayā. He defeated an army of the Mlecchas near the Queen's lake, gratified the manes by performing Śrāddhas on the bank of the Ganges, and brought down rain in rainless districts As a Brahman, he performed his sixfold duty, and as a soldier, he had recourse to the six modes of dealing with foreign princes, his fame reached the three worlds and he always repeated the three sacred words (Bhūr, Bhuvar, Svar), he manifested his knowledge of the Śastras[1] in sacrificial matters as well as of the Śastras (weapons) of war, and he had the holy Brahmanic thread on his bosom and held the thread of power in his hands

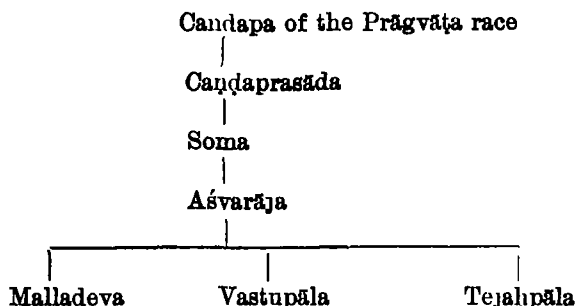
The name of his wife was Lakṣmī and they had three sons, the eldest of whom was Mahādeva, the second Someśvara, and the youngest Vijaya The great poets Harihara, Subhaṭa, and others knowing the great qualities of Someśvara spoke of his poetry in terms of his highest praise. By means of a drama composed in an hour and a half, and a poem depicting the highest sentiment, he pleased the hearts of the attendants of king Bhima's court

A PANEGYRIC ON VASTUPĀLA

Then follows a panegyric on Vastupāla, in whom, according to the poet "learning" which, after the death of Hemacandra had

1 This and other sacrificial terms are explained in the section on sacrificial literature., [later in this Report]

been without a resting place, found an abode, and also the vow of universal benevolence, which after Prahlādana left the world had not been assumed by anybody Vastupāla's genealogy is thus given —



In an Inscription in a temple on Mount Abu composed by Someśvara, Luṇiga is mentioned as the eldest brother, but as he is said to have died young, his name is omitted here Prahlādana was a chief of the Paramāra race who ruled over the country about Abu, and was a feudatory of the Cālukyas of Anahila-paṭṭaṇa Someśvara wrote this poem while Vastupāla was alive

This Manuscript of the Surathotsava was transcribed in Samvat 1495

NOTICES OF MANUSCRIPTS

I will now proceed to notice the Collection of Manuscripts made for Government this year The funds were equally divided between Professor Peterson and myself Rs 3250 fell to my share, and about the end of the year, I drew Rs. 476 more out of the unexpended balance of the allotment for Inscriptions Out of the total of Rs. 3,726, Rs 2,265 were paid for the Manuscripts collected in Gujarath, Rajaputana, and Delhi, and Rs 930-5-6 for those collected in the Maratha Country The salaries and travelling expenses of the agents, and sundries absorbed Rs. 530-10-6.

The Gujarath and Rajaputana Section of the Collection comprises 325 Manuscripts (Nos. 1-325), and the Maratha Section 412 (Nos. 326-737). In the Gujarath section there are a good many Kashmir Manuscripts purchased at Delhi, most of which are written in the Śāradā character, and 28 of works belonging to the Digambara sect of the Jainas The Manuscripts have as usual been arranged in classes according to the subjects.

VEDAS INCLUDING UPANIṢADS

In this class there is an incomplete copy of the first part of the Sāmasaṃhitā and of the Pada text of the second part, as well as a Manuscript of one of the song-books in the Gujarath section, and copies of the Sāmans sung in connection with various sacrificial rites in the Maratha section

A MANUSCRIPT OF THE KRAMA TEXT OF THE VĀJASANEYA MANTRABHĀGA

This last contains a Manuscript of the Krama text of the Mādhyaṃdina rescension of the Saṃhitā of the white Yajurveda, as well as of the Pada text (Nos 354 and 353)

Krama, Jaṭā, and Ghana are certain arrangements of the Padas or words of a Mantra the nature of which has been explained by me in an article published in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. III, [pages 132 ff] These schemes or arrangements as well as the Saṃhitā and Pada texts are learnt by a Brahman who devotes himself to a religious life from the mouth of a Guru or teacher. But since Manuscripts are of use to the pupil and they serve to refresh the memory at an advanced age, they also are resorted to. Every first class Vaidika or reciter of the Veda must know by heart the first or Mantra portion of a Veda, usually called Samhitā, in these five forms, and actually one meets with many reciters especially of the Taittirīya and Mādhyaṃdina rescen-

sions of the Yajurveda who know it in this way But while we have many Manuscripts of the Saṃhitā and Pada texts we have but a few of the other forms No 354 contains the Krama of thirty-seven out of the forty chapters of the Vājasaneya Saṃhitā and Jaṭā of a portion of the twenty-eighth chapter

ATHARVOPANIṢADS

No 1 (Gujarath Section) contains a copy of the Āśramopaniṣad and of the Garbhopaniṣad written in the Śāradā or Kashmir character At the end the names of the fifty-two Upaniṣads usually attributed to the Atharva Veda are thus given —

1 Muṇḍa
2 Praśna
3 Brahmavidyā
4 Kṣurikā
5 Cūlikā
6 Śiras
7 Śikhā.
8 Garbha.
9 Mahop
10 Brahma
11 Prāṇāgnihotra
12 Maṇḍūka
13 Vaitathya
14 Advaita
15 Alātaśānti
16 Nīlarudra
17 Nādabindu
18 Brahmabindu
19 Amṛtabindu
20 Dhyānabindu
21 Tejobindu
22 Yogaśikha
23 Yogatattva
24 Saṃnyāsa
25 Āruṇeya
26 Kaṇṭhaśruti
27 Piṇḍa
28 Ātma
29 Nṛsiṃhapūrva-tāpanī
30 Tāpanīyī Maho
31 Tāpanīya Maho
32 Tāpanīya
33 Nṛsiṃhatāpanī-Maho
34 Uttaratāpanī.
35 Kaṭhavallī
36 Kaṭhavallī, [U]ttaravallī
37 Ken(e)se(i)ta.
38 Nārāyaṇa.
39 Bṛhad Nārāyaṇa.
40 Bṛhad Nārāyaṇa
41 Sarvopaniṣatsāra
42 Haṃsa
43 Paramahaṃsa
44 Ānandavallī
45 Bhṛguvallī
46 Gāruḍa
47 Kālāgnirudra
48 Rāmapūrvatā-panīya
49 Rāmottaratā-panīya
50 Kaivalya
51 Jābāla
52 Āśrama

OBSERVATIONS ON THE LIST

The list is introduced with the observation that the first fifteen Upaniṣads from the Muṇḍa to the Alāta belong to the Śaunakīyas,

and the remaining thirty-seven from the Nīlarudra to the Āśrama, to the Paippalādas and others.

This list differs from that given by Professor Weber in his Catalogue (p 95) in the latter part, but agrees perfectly with that given by Colebrooke He only calls both the 6th and the 7th Atharvaśiras, while the latter should be called Atharvaśikhā, as it is here That this group is not arbitrary but represents some fact of literary history is shown by the circumstance that we have many Manuscripts in which these Atharvaveda Upaniṣads are written exactly in the order in which they are given in this list Thus No 328 (Maratha Section) which is but a fragment contains the first thirty-three, and No 10 of last year's Collection, forty-seven No 140 of 1879-80, which is also a fragment, begins with the thirty-fifth in the list and comes down to the forty-seventh, after which we have the Jābāla and Kaivalya, the two Rāma-tāpinīs being omitted. After Kaivalya we have the Ātmabodha and the Śvetāśvatara

Some of the names, however, in the above are not correctly written Upaniṣad No 12 is called Mandūka, but Māṇḍūkya is the name of all the four from 12 to 15 it should therefore be called Āgama, the first of the four parts of the Māṇḍūkya. In Manuscript No 10 of last year, all these four are included in Upaniṣad 12 Nos 29 to 33 in the above ought to be named Prathama Maho, Dvitīya Maho &c., all the five constituting the Nṛsiṃhapūrvatāpinī These five and also the thirty-fourth are included in Upaniṣad 26 of No 10 of 1882-83 Nos 35 and 36 are the two chapters of the Kaṭhopaniṣad called Atharvavallī in last year's No 10, and included in Upaniṣad 27, Nos 39 and 40 together constitute the Mahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad or the 30th of the latter Manuscript, and Nos 44 and 45 are included in the 34th Of these, the two Atharvavallīs or Kaṭhavallīs are the same as the Kaṭhopaniṣad of the Black Yajurveda, the two parts of the Bṛhad Nārāyaṇa or Mahā-

nārāyaṇa the same as the Nārāyaṇopaniṣad of that Veda, and the Ānandavallī and Bhṛguvallī, the same as the Taittirīya. There are of course various readings.

VEDĀṄGAS AND WORKS ON THE SACRIFICIAL RITUALS

SŪTRABHĀṢYAS

In the Gujarath Section we have a copy of a fragment of the Bhāṣya on Āśvalāyana's Śrautasūtra by Siddhāntin (No 8.) A copy of three chapters of the work was purchased by me for our Collections in 1879

No 19 is a Manuscript of Dhūrtasvāmin's Bhāṣya on the Sāmānyasūtra or general sacrificial topics, forming a part of the twenty-fourth Praśna of Āpastamba's Sūtra, and No 14 is a copy of Bhavasvāmin's Bhāṣya on Baudhāyana's Sūtra on the Cāturmāsya rites. All these three are very old authors as will be shown below

No 10 is an incomplete copy in the Kashmira character of Kātyayana's Śrāddhasūtra with a commentary In the Maratha Section we have a Manuscript of chapters X and XXV of Devayājñika's Bhāṣya on Kātyāyana's Śrautasūtra (Nos. 367 and 368)

ŚRĀDDHAKĀŚIKĀ

No. 382 is Śrāddhakāśikā, which is a very full commentary on Kātyāyana's Śrāddhasūtra, by Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa was the son of Viṣṇu whose father was Atisukha and grandfather Nityānanda Kṛṣna states in the beginning that this Sūtra was expounded by Karka in words the sense of which was deep The exposition therefore was difficult to understand and hence another commentary was written by Halāyudha This also did

not render the sense of the Sūtra plain, and therefore he wrote his commentary to dispell "the darkness in the shape of a mass of doubts." The commentary abounds with quotations from the Purāṇas and Smṛtis. The author also quotes a work called Dharmapradīpa which must be the work of that name written by an author of the name of Draviḍa (See below).

MAHĪDHARA

No 363 is a commentary on Kātyāyana's Śulvasūtra by Mahīdhara At the end we are told that Mahīdhara composed it at Benares "on Sunday the 13th of the light half of——, in the year 1646," at the command of his Guru or master Ratneśvaramiśra, the son of Keśava, after duly studying the Bhāṣya, the Vṛtti composed by Rāma, and the Sūtras themselves. The commentary itself is based on the Bhāṣya and the Vṛtti. The date 1646 refers to the Samvat or Vikrama era For at the end of a Manuscript of the Mantramahodadhi together with a commentary composed by Mahīdhara (which forms No 26 of our Collection of 1868-69) there is a statement to the effect that the work was composed in 1645 of the Vikrama era This Mahīdhara must be the same person as the author of the Vedadīpa or commentary on the Saṁhitā of the white Yajurveda

No 383 is a commentary on Keśava's Śikṣā by a man of the name of Alamūrimañci, and No 371, on Kātyayana's Snānasūtra, by one who calls himself Trimallatanaya or son of Trimalla.

THE HAUTRAKĀRIKĀS OF NṚSIṀHAYAJVAN

Among works on the Sacrificial Ritual, there are some deserving of notice No 25 is a copy of the Hautrakārikās by Nṛsimhayajvan, which appear to form part of a larger work entitled Prayogaratna The first four folios are missing The work explains the duties of the Hotṛ priest in the smaller

sacrificial rites beginning with the Darśa-Pūrṇamāsa and ending with the Cāturmāsya

At the end of each section the author gives a short history of himself. But in our Manuscript the opening words only are given and the complete verses must have existed in the leaves which are lost Gaṅgādhara Śāstrī Datar of Poona, however possesses a copy of the work and the verses are there given in an entire form The author therein tells us —"There is a village of the name of Varurvāḷu in the Hosaḷa country where flourished Nṛsiṃha whose son Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa of the Atri race went to Kāśī, and he and Ammāyī gave birth to a son, the learned Gopīnātha Gopīnātha's younger brother Nṛsiṃha composed the Prayogaratna" The Hosala country must be Mysore For, in an Inscription dated 1277 Śaka or 1355 A D., published in the Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society, Bukkarāya, probably the same as that who founded the Vijayanagara dynasty, but who was only a Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara or minor prince at the time, is represented to be ruling at his capital Hosapaṭṭaṇa in the Hoysaṇa country And the Hoysala Yādavas ruled over the country of Mysore and the surrounding districts, and the country probably derived its name from theirs, or *vice versa*, they derived theirs from that of the country

PRĀYAŚCITTA KĀRIKĀS OF GOPĀLA

No 27 is a Manuscript of the Prāyaścittakārikās based on the Sūtra of Baudhāyana by Gopāla, and No 397 of the Maratha Section contains his Kārikās on the Soma sacrifice Gaṅgādhara Śāstrī Datar tells me that Gopāla is quoted by Sāyaṇa in his commentary on the Darśa-Pūrṇamāsa portion of the Baudhāyana-sūtra. Gopāla, therefore, must have lived before the fourteenth century The Prāyaścittapradīpa, of which No. 428 is a copy, and which is regarded as a work of great authority though the

author's name is unknown, mentions Gopāla in the introductory verses as the expounder of the Prāyaścittas laid down by Baudhāyana. The author of the Prāyaścittapradīpa professes to follow Bhavasvāmin in the decision of the knotty points concerning his subject

TRIKĀṆḌAMAṆḌANA'S KĀRIKĀS

An important work belonging to this sub-division is the Āpastambadhvanitārthakārikās by Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana Bhāskara Miśra, the son of Kumārasvāmin The work consists of four parts. The first is called Adhikārakāṇḍa in which the requisite qualifications of one who has to keep the sacrificial fire and perform the several rites are discussed The second is called Pratinidhikāṇḍa, wherein are considered what times for the performance of the sacrificial rites and what materials should be chosen, when the principal ones that are laid down in the scriptures, cannot be availed of In the third part which is called Punarādhānakāṇḍa, the circumstances and manner in which the old sacrificial fire becomes either polluted or destroyed, and in which it should be resumed, are discussed In the fourth part, which is called Ādhānakāṇḍa, the inauguration or first assumption of the sacrificial fire, the initial Iṣṭi after the inauguration, the treatment of the fire when the keeper goes on a travel, the Iṣṭi consisting of the first offering of the grain of the season to the gods (Āgrayana), and such matters are considered

There is a Manuscript of the first three Kāṇḍas in the Collection of 1871-72 (No 22), and others are noticed by Burnell in his Catalogue of Tanjor Manuscripts But Manuscripts of the fourth or last Kānda are extremely rare. No. 21 is a copy of this fourth or last Kāṇḍa Gangādhara Śāstrī possesses a Manuscript of the whole work including the last Kāṇḍa also.

TRIKĀṆḌAMAṆḌANA QUOTED BY HEMĀDRI

Quotations from the second or Pratinidhikāṇḍa of Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana occur in the Kālanirṇaya of Hemādri about the end of the work. Thus, verse 150 of the former according to Gangādhara Śāstrī's copy, is quoted on folio 360*b* of the Manuscript of the Kālanirṇaya, No 237 in my Collection A of 1881-82, verses 159 and 160 on f. 361*b* and verses 161 and 162 on f 362*b* In his introduction to these quotations Hemādri calls the author Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana Hemādri, we know, was a minister of Mahādeva, the king of Mahārāṣṭra, of the Yādava dynasty, who reigned at Devagiri from 1260 to 1271 A D, and for a short time, of his nephew and successor Rāmacandra Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana Bhāskaramiśra, therefore, must have lived one or two hundred years at least before him, and may have lived still earlier His work abounds with references to previous works and writers on sacrificial subjects, whose views on different matters are succinctly stated

No. 21 which is a small Manuscript of 34 leaves containing matter equal to about 850 Anuṣṭubhs contains the following names —

AUTHORS AND WORKS QUOTED BY TRIKĀṆḌAMAṆḌANA (ĀDHĀNAKĀṆḌA)

I—VEDIC ŚĀKHĀS OR WORKS

Kaṭhāḥ or Kaṭha-(compounded)[1] 1*b* *2*, 17*b* *3*, 19*b* *2*, 32*b* 2, 33*b* *4*.

———aśruti 15*a* 3

Kauṣītakiśruti 13*b* 1, 2, 3

Bahvṛcāḥ 18*b* *3*, 19*b* 5

Maitrāyaṇīyakāḥ 14*b* 4

Vājinaḥ 4*b* 1, 5*b* 7. 34*b* 1

———as Vājasaneyinaḥ 13*b* 6

Sāmkhyāyana 13*b* 5, 17*a* 7

1 The number in Italics shows the number of the line from the bottom of the page.

II—AUTHORS OF SŪTRAS

III—AUTHORS OF COMMENTARIES ON SŪTRAS AND OF PRAYOGAS

Vṛddha 23b 2, 23b 3, 26b 8, 34a 2.
———— as Vṛddhācārya, 18b 6, 31a 5
Śābara 17b 7
Saṁkarṣakāṇḍasyabhāṣyakāra 26a 4
Siddhāntin 20a 2, 27a 8

IV—OTHER AUTHORS

Garga 26a 5.
Jaimini 7a 5
Śaṅkha as author of a Dharmaśāstra 26b 5.

V—WORKS

Ātharvaṇasūtra 7a 2
Kātīya Dharmaśāstra 27a 5
Kātīyasūtra 5a 7
Karkasya Paddhati 17b 6.
Kūrmapurāna 12b 3.
Chandogapariśiṣṭa 16a 1
Tārksyagrantha 20b 5
Dharmadīpa 28a 4
Bhavabhāṣya 15b 7
Bhāradvājīyabhāṣya 12b 2, 19a 4, 20a 5, 34a 1
Laugākṣinī mitasūtra 9a 6
Vidhiratna 9b 2
Viṣṇusmṛti 27a 5
Vṛddhagrantha, 19b 4
Saṁkarṣa Kānda 23a 1, 27b 3
Sūtranibandha, by the author (asmatsūtranibandhaśca) 22a 8.
Smṛtidīpa, 34b 1

By the word Kaṭha in the first group of names it is probable that in some cases at least the Sūtra of the Kaṭhacaraṇa is meant; for in the first of the references to that name, Āpastamba, Bhāradvāja and Satyāṣādha are associated with Kaṭha.

NOTICES OF SOME OF THE AUTHORS REFERRED TO ABOVE

(1) UPAVARṢA

The name Upavarṣa as that of the author of a Sūtra is new; but there is no question that Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana means to speak of him as such For we are told "Upavarṣa and others have laid down that when one has performed the ceremony of the inauguration of the sacred fire, he should feed a hundred (Brahmans), but this is not prescribed in other Sūtras." Similarly, in discussing the relations between the Gotras, the lists of which are different in the different Sūtras, Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana says "the Uśijas, Vāmadevas, and Dīrghatamasas are Gautamas, i e, branches of the Gautama race according to the reading of Upavarṣa and others, and consequently they should not intermarry but may have connection with the Bhāradvājas."

But Upavarṣa as the author of a Vṛtti or commentary on the Mīmāmsā and Vedānta Sūtras is spoken of in terms of reverence by Śamkarācārya in his Bhāṣya on the Vedānta Sūtras, (III 3 53) And the name occurs in the story of Kātyāyana narrated in Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara and Kṣemendra's Bṛhatkathā, along with others which are historical Upavarṣa was the father of Upakośā, the wife of Kātyāyana, and the brother of Varṣa, the teacher of the latter Like Kātyāyana, Vyāḍi, and Pāṇini, who figure in the story, Upavarṣa too must have been a historical person and the author of the Sūtra mentioned by Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana, or of the Vṛttis, or of both, must be the person intended to be spoken of

(2 and 3) LAUGĀKṢI AND BHĀRADVĀJA

The Sūtras of Laugākṣi and Bhāradvāja are often referred to in other works and are well known, and one of our author's references is in express words to the "Sūtra composed by

Laugākṣi." Copies of Bhāradvāja are also to be met with though rarely.

(4) MATSYA

The name Matsya, supposing Araṇyanivāsin to be an epithet signifying Muni or a sage living in a forest, is unknown. It occurs in a compound of which those of Baudhāyana, Laugākṣi, and Kātyāyana are the other members, and therefore was probably borne by the author of a Sūtra As to Pāṇinīya the words of our author are "So much is stated in the Ātharvaṇa Sūtra by Pāṇinīya," wherefore, if there is no error here, that too must be the name of the author of a Sūtra

(5) KARKA

Of the names in the third group, Karka is of course the commentator on Kātyāyana's Sūtra and our author indicates that, when in one of the two places in which he refers to him he says, "Kātyāyana calls that (sacrificial vessel) Vajra which is like a sword without mentioning any particulars, and Karka explains it so" In the other place also there is a similar statement. Karka is also mentioned in the Śrāddhanirṇaya of Hemādri and his views on certain points are discussed and refuted

(6) KEŚAVASVĀMIN

Keśava or Keśavasvāmin must, I think, be the author of the Prayogasāra, an incomplete copy of which was purchased by me for Government in 1879 and which is noticed in my Report for that year. A copy of it is mentioned in Dr Burnell's Catalogue of the Tanjore Manuscripts.

(7) DHŪRTASVĀMIN

Dhūrta or Dhūrtasvāmin is the author of a Bhāṣya on the Sūtra of Āpastamba, but copies of the whole work are not

available. Besides the Manuscript of the commentary on a portion of the 25th Praśna noticed above, I have recently procured a copy of that on the first seventeen Praśnas.

(8) NĀRĀYAṆA

Nārāyaṇa is the author of the Vṛtti on the Śrautasūtra of Āśvalāyana For, in the first of the three places in which his name occurs, Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana says " Āśvalāyana lays down that the inauguration or assumption of the sacred fire may be made in any season of the year. Nārāyaṇa has stated that this precept applies only to such persons as are in difficult circumstances and cannot wait till the advent of the season prescribed in the previous Sūtras. " This is exactly what we find stated in Nārāyaṇa's comment on Āśv Śr., II 1 14. (p. 80 Bibl. Ind. Ed.).

In the second instance in which Nārāyaṇa's name occurs, Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana, in explaining the duties of the keeper of the sacred fire when travelling, gives Nārāyana's definition of travelling which is " going from the village (Grāma), in which one's fires are, to another village (Grāmāntara) ", and observes that the word " village " occurring in this definition is not to be taken in its literal sense Whether he goes to another village, or a town, or a hamlet, or anywhere else, after having crossed the boundary [of the place where his fires are], it is travelling Now this definition of travelling with the word Grāma or village used twice occurs in Nārāyaṇa's Vṛtti under Āśvalāyana II 5 1. (p. 109 Bibl Ind Ed)

(9) BHAVANĀGA

In connection with Nārāyaṇa's explanation of the Sūtra in the first of these two instances, our author says that Bhavanāga takes the Sūtra in its literal sense, i e , does not limit its scope as Nārāyaṇa has done, thus indicating that Bhavanāga was either the author of a Bhāṣya on the Sūtra of Āśvalāyana or of a Prayoga or sacrificial manual based on it.

(10) BHAVASVAMIN

Bhavasvāmin is the author of a commentary on the Sūtra of Baudhāyana, a fragment of which in the present Collection is noticed above The author of a Bhāṣya on the Sūtra of Bhāradvāja and the Bhāṣya itself are, it will be seen, mentioned by Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana, but he does not give the author's proper name.

(11) DRAVIDA

What author is meant by Draviḍa I cannot say with certainty, but he may be the author of the Smṛtipradīpa mentioned by Śrīdhara in the Smṛtyarthasāra, and perhaps the Smṛtidīpa mentioned by Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana may be the Smṛtipradīpa

(12) ŚABARA

Śabara must be the author of the Bhāṣya on the Mīmāṃsā Sūtra of Jaimini

NOTICES OF SOME OF THE WORKS REFERRED TO ABOVE

(1) SAMKARṢAKĀṆḌA

A Sūtra from the Saṃkarṣakāṇḍa is quoted by Śaṃkarācārya in his Bhāṣya or dissertation on the Vedānta Sūtra III 3 43, and Govindānanda, one of the commentators, explains it as "Daivatyakāṇḍa" Ānandajñāna also says it is the "Devatākāṇḍa" and it is called Saṃkarṣakāṇḍa, because in it whatever has remained to be spoken of relating to the Karmakāṇḍa is stated succinctly With reference to it Śaṃkarācārya calls that Kāṇḍa first or previous Kāṇḍa which contains two Sūtras which he quotes under III. 3. 44, and 50, and which are found in Jaimini's Mīmāṃsā. Saṃkarṣakāṇḍa is, therefore, the second part or appendix of the Mīmāṃsā Sūtra, and there is a copy of it, Gaṅgādhara Śāstrī tells me, in Poona, and another at Alibag.

Our author speaks of a commentator on it. Siddhāntin must be the same as the author of the Bhāṣya on Āśvalāyana's Sūtra mentioned before.

(3) VIDHIRATNA

Vidhiratna is quoted as I learn from Gangādhara Śāstrī in the Prayogapārijāta. Of Varāha and Vṛddha or Vṛddhācārya nothing is known Perhaps the latter is an epithet, but whose epithet it was, cannot be said The Vṛddhagrantha referred to by Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana in one case was probably the work of Vṛddhācārya.

DATES OF SOME OF THE AUTHORS MENTIONED ABOVE

All these authors thus appear to have flourished, and these works to have been written, previous to at least the twelfth century One of them—Keśavasvāmin—speaks in the introduction to his Baudhāyanaprayogasāra, of Nārāyaṇa and other previous authors of Prayogas, and professes to follow the views of Bhavasvāmin Whether the Nārāyaṇa meant is the author of the Vṛtti on the Sūtra of Āśvalāyana, or another person, is doubtful, but there can be no question that the Bhavasvāmin he speaks of must be the author of the Bhāṣya on the Baudhāyana Sūtra, since Keśava's Prayoga is based on that Sūtra Nārāyaṇa, the author of the Vṛtti, mentions Devasvāmin as the writer of a comprehensive Bhāṣya on Āśvalāyanasūtra, which he seems to have followed —By the way, it seems strange that Trikāṇḍa-maṇḍana should not mention him in the work before me, but the explanation probably is that Nārāyana's work being a sort of abridgement of Devasvāmin's, he considered the view of the latter to be represented when he quoted from Nārāyaṇa's work.—Now, if Keśavasvāmin, because he is quoted by Trikāṇḍa-maṇḍana, must have flourished before the twelfth century, Bhavasvāmin must have flourished before the tenth century, since he is spoken of as an established authority by him, and

to acquire that position, he must at least have been two hundred years old at the time. The same may be said with reference to Devasvāmin.

THE TITLE SVĀMIN INDICATIVE OF THE AUTHOR'S DATE

It is a remarkable circumstance that the names of most of the famous writers on the sacrificial rites should have the title Svāmin attached to them. No writer later than the thirteenth century seems to have it. We have Bhaṭṭas, Ācāryas, Yajvans, Dīkṣitas, and Yājñikas during the last six centuries, but no Svāmin. The title appears to have been in use at a certain period and been given to Mīmāṃsakas or men conversant with the sacrificial lore. At the head of these stands Śabarasvāmin, the author of the Bhāṣya on Jaimini's Mīmāṃsā Sūtra. Then we have Agnisvāmin the commentator on Lāṭyāyana's Śrautasūtra, Bhavasvāmin, Devasvāmin, Dhūrtasvāmin, Kapardisvāmin, Keśavasvāmin and others Kumārila is both a Svāmin and a Bhaṭṭa. Karka is mostly Upādhyāya and rarely Svāmin.

THE TITLE OCCURS IN INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY

Certain Inscriptions of the early Cālukyas of the Deccan, to one of which Professor Weber has already called attention, and one Valabhī Inscription, carry the period during which the title Svāmin was used, up to the seventh century. In an undated copperplate Inscription of Vikramāditya I, who ceased to reign in 680 A D, the names of some of the donees are Nandisvāmin, Lohasvāmin, and Bhallasvāmin[1], in another dated 700 A D, the grantee is Dāsasvāmin son of Jannasvāmin, and grandson of Revāsvāmi-Dīkṣita, and we have Devasvāmin, Karkasvāmin, Yajñasvāmin, Rudrasvāmin and others in a third dated 705 A.D[2], while the Valabhī Inscription

1 Ind Ant., Vol. vi, 77.
2 Ind. Ant., Vol. vii, pp. 128, 136.

which is dated 326 of the Valabhī-Gupta era or 645 A.D., has Mankasvāmin [1] Two of these names, it will be seen, are the same as those borne by two of our authors. But the period extends still higher into antiquity

ŚABARASVĀMIN'S APPROXIMATE DATE

Śabarasvāmin is expressly mentioned by Śamkarācārya, whose usually accepted date is the end of the eighth century, as the author of the Mīmāmsābhāṣya (III 3 53), and the work of Kumārila who has been placed about a hundred years before, but who certainly lived after Kālidāsa (a verse from whose Śakuntalā—Satām hi samdeha &c —he quotes in the Tantravārtika) is based on the Bhāṣya Śabara therefore must have flourished before the seventh century at least, but how long before we have not the means of determining He may have lived two or three centuries earlier, and some of the authors of the Bhāṣyas, Agnisvāmin, Devasvāmin, and Bhavasvāmin probably flourished about the same period

CLASSES OF SACRIFICIAL RITES

All the varied sacrificial rites of the Brahmans may be distinguished into four kinds

1st, Sāyamprātaragnihotra—or the morning and evening offerings of milk and ghee to Sūrya and Agni respectively, which are thrown into the sacred fires kept in the house,

2nd, Iṣṭi or a complete sacrificial performance consisting of offerings of ghee, Puroḍāśa or cake of flour, and Caru or boiled rice to certain deities, some of which are the Pradhāna or chief deities of the sacrifice, and the others minor or subordinate,

3rd, Paśu or animal sacrifice,

1 Ind. Ant, Vol. I, p 16.

and 4th, Soma or the sacrificial performance in which Soma juice is extracted and offered to the gods

The animal sacrifice properly belongs to the second species, but it is convenient to distinguish it from the ordinary Iṣṭis. There are independent Iṣṭis and animal sacrifices, but these often form Angas or parts of larger sacrifices, such as the Cāturmāsya and Soma The Iṣṭis performed on the new and full moon days are considered the type of others and hence they are first explained in all Kalpasūtras, and their Mantras first given in the Yajurveda

But the very first rite to be performed is, of course, the inauguration of the sacrificial fires No 386 is an incomplete copy of what appears to be a full commentary on Kātyāyana's Sūtras on this ceremony Nos 446 and 447 are Manuscripts of the ritual of the daily morning and evening offerings according to the Vājasaneyins

THE DIFFERENT IṢṬIS DESCRIBED

THE INTRODUCTORY IṢṬI

Immediately before the first full-moon Iṣṭi after inauguration, another called the Anvārambhanīya or introductory Iṣṭi has to be performed No 20 is a copy of the Prayoga or ritual of this according to Baudhāyana, and No 338 of that according to the Vājasaneyins Then follow the Darśa-Pūrnamāsa or New and Full Moon Iṣṭis

THE NEW AND FULL MOON IṢṬIS

In No 26 the duties of the Brahman priest on the occasion of these sacrifices are mentioned in accordance with the injunctions of Āśvalāyana, and in Nos 408-10, those of the Hotṛ Nos 403 and 404 are copies of manuals for the use of the Adhvaryu, the Agnīdhra, and the Yajamāna or the sacrificer in these Iṣṭis, compiled in accordance with the Sūtra of Baudhāyana

Generally when the Yajamāna or sacrificer is a Ṛgvedin or student of the Ṛgveda, his Adhvaryu and Agnīdhra as well as he himself follow Baudhāyana in the performance of their duties, the Hotṛ and the Brahman performing theirs in accordance with the rules laid down by Āśvalāyana Nos. 403 and 404 are therefore manuals compiled for the purposes of a Ṛgvedin Yajamāna.

ATHARVAVEDA MANUSCRIPTS OF THESE RITES

No 405 is a copy of a manual of the New and Full Moon rites for the use of a sacrificer who is an Atharvavedin or student of the Atharvaveda , and in No 407 the duties of the Brahman priest of such a sacrificer are explained in accordance with the Kauśikasūtra of that Veda

THE ĀGRAYAṆA IṢṬI

Then the keeper of the sacred fire (Agnihotrin) has to perform three Iṣṭis called Āgrayaṇa in three seasons, viz , the rains (Varṣāḥ), autumn (Śarad), and Vasanta (spring), or one as a substitute for them all in the autumn He has on those occasions to offer to the gods the new grain of the season, Śyāmāka, Vrīhi (rice) and Yava (barley) No 391 is a manual giving the details of this rite according to the rules laid down by Baudhāyana

THE NIRŪḌHAPAŚU

The Agnihotrin has also to perform a Paśu or animal sacrifice once in six months or once every year This Paśu is called Nirūḍhapaśu There are other kinds of Paśus some of which are, like the Nirūḍhapaśu, independent Iṣṭis to be performed under certain circumstances, and others form parts of larger sacrifices such as the Soma. But the Nirūḍhapaśu is obligatory on the keeper of the sacred fire

No. 424 is a copy of a work describing the manner prevalent among the Vājasaneyins of performing this sacrifice ; and

No. 416 gives the duties of the Maitrāvaruṇa priest in that sacrifice in accordance with Āśvalāyana's rules.

The Paśu or animal sacrifice consists of three parts, (1) the Vapāyāga or the offering of the peritoneum, (2) the Puroḍāśayāga or the offering of the cake, and (3) the Angayāga or offering of certain other parts of the animal

CĀTURMĀSYĀNI FOUR RITES

INTERVAL BETWEEN THE PERFORMANCE OF THESE RITES

Another set of sacrificial rites that must be gone through is that called Cāturmāsyāni These are four different performances styled Parvans The first is called Vaiśvadeva, the second Varuṇapraghāsa, the third Śākamedha, and the fourth Śunāsirīya or Śunāsīrya The second is to be gone through on the fifth Full Moon day after the first, that is, at the end of the fourth month, the third at the end of an equal interval after the second, and the fourth after the third Thus these rites were originally called Cāturmāsyāni because they were performed after an interval of four months in each case, and they were spread over a whole year

A Paśu or animal sacrifice to Indrāgnī forms part of the whole ceremony and it is to be performed at the end of the second month after Varuṇapraghāsa. These are the intervals between the different rites making up the Cāturmāsyāni laid down by Āśvalāyana, Āpastamba, Hiraṇyakeśin, and Kātyāyana; but Baudhāyana allows of all the parts being performed within twelve days, or even within so many as the rites actually occupy, i e, five days. In the first case, the Vaiśvadevaparvan should be gone through on the first day, the Varuṇapraghāsa on the fourth, the Śākamedha which occupies two days on the ninth and tenth, and the Śunāsirīya on the twelfth

Bhāradvāja also, in a passage quoted by Rudradatta, limits the period to twelve, though he differs from Baudhāyana as

to the particular day when each of the parts should be performed. In the second case, the first Parvan or part should be performed on the first day, the second on the second, the third on the third and the fourth, and the last on the fifth This five days' performance is laid down in the Sūtra of the Kaṭhas also.

There can be little doubt that the spreading of the Cāturmāsyāni over the whole year by performing each of the four parts every four months was the ancient practice. The name itself shows this, and the twelve days' performance, which must have come in later, also indicates the same thing For the twelve days are taken to represent the twelve months, and this is actually stated in the passage from Bhāradvāja referred to above. The five days' performance must be still later

COMPARATIVELY LATER DATE OF BAUDHĀYANA

The Baudhāyanasūtra, therefore, in which the period for the performance of the Cāturmāsyāni is thus shortened, must be later, as is also shown by its mentioning many other such later developments and ceremonies not laid down in the other Sūtras. The same may be said of Bhāradvāja's Sūtra also

MANUSCRIPTS OF WORKS ON THE CĀTURMĀSYĀNI

No 398 is a manual of Cāturmāsyāni as laid down by Kātyāyana. No. 399 describes the same rites in accordance with the rules of Hiraṇyakeśin, and No 400 gives the duties of the Hotṛ priest in these sacrifices. In No 22 of the Gujarath Collection, all the rites from the inauguration of the sacred fire to the Cāturmāsya are described according to the Sūtra of Baudhāyana.

ALL THE CĀTURMĀSYĀNI PERFORMED ON THE SAME DAY

In No. 394 a mode of performing the Cāturmāsyāni in a single day is given. It consists in grouping the deities of the four

Parvans together and offering oblations to them one after another The Pitryeṣṭi and the Tryambaka which form parts of the Śākamedha are alone separately performed. The one whole year therefore laid down by the older writers for the Cāturmāsyāni is thus reduced to a single day The manual is intended for a Vājasaneyin sacrificer, but a Sūtra from a work not belonging to that school, is quoted as an authority for this particular mode of shortening the ceremony

NITYA NAIMITTIKA AND KĀMYA RITES

The Sacrificial rites are divided into Nitya, Naimittika, and Kāmya Nitya are those which should be regularly performed and the omission of which constitutes a sin, Naimittika are those which are to be performed on the occurrence of a certain event but are as obligatory as the others, and a Kāmya rite is gone through only when the keeper of the sacred fire, entertains a certain desire, the fulfilment of which, that particular rite possesses the virtue of bringing about

The rites I have hitherto noticed are Nitya, the Iṣṭi to be performed when a son is born is a Naimittika rite, and No. 23 contains the ritual of this according to Baudhāyana.

KĀMYA RITES

THE PAVITREṢṬI

A rite called Pavitreṣṭi is performed for destroying sins. The Pradhāna or peculiar deities which are invoked and to which offerings are made are —1 Agniḥ Pavamānaḥ, 2 Sarasvatī Priyā, 3 Agniḥ Pāvakaḥ, 4 Savitā Satyaprasavaḥ, 5 Agniḥ Śuciḥ, 6 Vāyuḥ Niyutvān, 7 Agniḥ Vratapatiḥ, 8 Viṣṇuḥ Śipiviṣṭaḥ, 9 Agniḥ Vaiśvānaraḥ, 10. Dadhikrāvā.

No 423 is a copy of the Prayoga or ritual of this rite according to Baudhāyana. No. 422 is the same ritual intended for the followers

of the Vājasaneya Veda ; but the author states that this rite is not laid down in the Sūtra belonging to his Veda, and therefore follows Baudhāyana and others in the preparation of his manual.

The Pavitreṣṭi is a Kāmya Iṣṭi, but since every body wishes to be free from sins and commits them again and again, this rite is generally, though not always, performed every year.

THE MṚGĀREṢṬI

A more effective rite for the cleansing away of sins is the Mṛgāreṣṭi. The duties of the Hotṛ-priest in this are given according to Baudhāyana in Nos 28 and 434, and of the Adhvaryu in No 433

No. 396 which is a copy of a manual for the use of the followers of Satyāṣāḍha Hiraṇyakeśin contains at the end the ritual of this Iṣṭi. The author therein states that the Mṛgāreṣṭi is not taught by Satyāṣāḍha but by Baudhāyana, still since according to the Mīmāṁsakas all Sūtras must be considered as laying down but one harmonious system of rites, the rites laid down by the author of one Sūtra might be adopted by the followers of another He therefore proceeds to explain the ritual for the followers of Hiraṇyakeśin

The deities of the Mṛgāreṣṭi are —1 Agniḥ Aṁhomuk, 2. Indraḥ Aṁhomuk, 3 Mitrāvaruṇau Āgomucau, 4. Vāyusavitārau Āgomucau, 5 Aśvinau Āgomucau, 6 Marutaḥ Enomucaḥ, 7 Viśve Devāḥ Enomucaḥ, 8 Anumati, 9. Agniḥ Vaiśvānaraḥ, 10 Dyāvāpṛthivyau Aṁhomucau

THE PUTRAKĀMYEṢṬI

No 425 is a copy of the ritual of an Iṣṭi to be performed by one who desires to have a son born to him It is intended for the Vājasaneyins, and the Pradhāna or the principal deities are —1. Agniḥ Putravān, and 2. Indraḥ Putrī. Āśvalāyana lays down this Iṣṭi, but the deity according to him is only one viz., Agniḥ Putrī.

MANY KĀMYA IṢṬIS LAID DOWN BY HIRAṆYAKEŚIN AND BAUDHĀYANA

Such Kāmya Iṣṭis are innumerable Āśvalāyana mentions only a few, but other authors principally Hiraṇyakeśin and Baudhāyana, prescribe a great many. No 395 gives 134 such Iṣṭis according to Hiraṇyakeśin All these Iṣṭis are, as above remarked, performed in the manner in which the New or Full Moon Iṣṭi is performed, the Pradhāna or principal deities, and the Anuvākyā and Yājyā (which are verses to be repeated in praise of them and in throwing oblations into the fire in their names) as well as the materials used for the oblations, being only peculiar in each case In No 395, therefore, these peculiarities only are given

PAVITREṢṬI

ITS ANUVĀKYĀS AND YĀJYĀS

The Pratīkas or opening words of the Anuvākyās and Yājyās used in the case of the several deities in the Pavitreṣṭi and the Putrakāmyeṣṭi are as follows —

For No. 1. Anuv.—Agna āyūmṣi, Ṛv X 66 19, from a triplet to Agni, Taitt. S I 3 14 8 Yājyā—Agne pavasva svapā, Rv. X. 66 21, from a triplet to Agni, Taitt S. I 3 14 8

„ No 2 Anuv.—Uta naḥ priyāḥ, Ṛv VI 61 10, from a hymn to Sarasvatī, Taitt. Br II 4 6. 1 Yājyā—Imā juhvānā yuṣmad, Ṛv. VII. 95. 5, from a hymn to Sarasvatī, Taitt Br II 4. 6. 1

„ No 3. Anuv.—Agne pāvaka rociṣā, Ṛv V 26. 1, from a hymn to Agni, Taitt. S. I. 3. 14. 8. Yājyā—Sa naḥ pāvaka dīdivo, Ṛv. I. 12. 10, from a hymn to Agni, Taitt. S. I. 3. 14. 8.

For No. 4. Anuv.—Ā viśvadevam satpatiṁ, Ṛv. V. 82. 7 from a hymn to Savitṛ, Taitt. S III 4. 11. 2. Yājyā—Ā satyena rajasā, not in Ṛv., Taitt. S. III 4 11 2

„ No, 5 Anuv—Agniḥ śucivratatamaḥ, Ṛv. VIII. 44. 21, from a hymn to Agni, Taitt S. I. 3 14. 8. Yājyā—Ud Agne śucayas, Ṛv VIII 44. 17, from a hymn to Agni, Taitt. S. I 3 14. 8

„ No. 6 Anuv—Vāyur agregā, not in Ṛv, Taitt. Br. II. 4 7 6 Yājyā—Vāyo śukro, Ṛv IV 47 1, from a hymn to Vāyu and Indravāyū, Taitt. Br II. 4. 7. 6.

„ No. 7 Anuv—Tvam Agne Vratapā, Ṛv VIII. 11. 1, from a hymn to Agni, Taitt S I 1. 14 Yājyā—Yad vo vayam, Ṛv X 2. 4, from a hymn to Agni, Taitt S I. 1 14

„ No 8. Anuv—Pra tat te adya, Rv VII 100 5, from a hymn to Viṣnu, Taitt S II 2 12 5 Yājyā—Kim it te Viṣṇo, Ṛv VII 100 6, from a hymn to Viṣṇu, Taitt S II 2. 12 5

„ No 9 Anuv—Vaiśvānaro na utya, not in Ṛv, Taitt. S I 5 11 1, and IV 4 12 5 Yājyā—Pṛṣṭo divi pṛṣṭo, Rv I 92 2, from a hymn to Agni Vaiśvānara, Taitt S I 5. 11 1, and IV 4. 12. 5

„ No 10. Anuv—Dadhikrāvṇo akāriṣam, Ṛv. IV 39. 6, from a hymn to Dadhikrāvan, Taitt. S I 5 11 4. Yājyā—Ā Dadhikrāḥ, Ṛv IV 38. 10, from a hymn to Dyāvāpṛthivyau and Dadhikrāvan; Taitt S I 5. 11. 4

PUTRAKĀMYEṢṬI

For No. 1	Anuv.—Yas tvā hṛdā, Ṛv V 4. 10, from a hymn to Agni Yājyā—Yasmai tvam sukṛte, Ṛv V 4. 11	All these occur in Taitt. S. I 4 46. 1 and the Iṣṭi in II 2.4 4
No. 2.	Anuv.—Tve suputra, Ṛv VIII 92 14, from a hymn to Indra Yājyā—Uktha ukthe, Ṛv VII 26 2, from a hymn to Indra.	

It will be seen from this that a verse which in the Rgveda Saṁhitā forms a part of a hymn is given in a detached form in the Yajurveda Saṁhitā or Brāhmaṇa Two verses, one of which is an Anuvākyā and the other the Yājyā corresponding to it, are given together in the Yajurveda texts, but occur in separate hymns in the Rgveda Saṁhitā, and are connected by context with the other verses in those hymns Three of the above verses do not occur in this last Saṁhitā at all, while they are given in the Yajurveda books Similarly the Anuvākyās and Yājyās of the Mṛgāreṣṭi, which of course are Ṛks, do not occur in the Rgveda Saṁhitā but are given in the Saṁhitā of the Yajurveda (Taitt. S. IV 7 15)

YAJURVEDA, MERELY A SACRIFICIAL BOOK

From this it follows—what indeed is well known—that the Collection of the hymns comprised in the Ṛgveda was made with a literary object, while the Yajurveda is in its nature a compilation for sacrificial purposes, not only of the prose formulas called Yajūṁṣi but of the Ṛks repeated in the performance of the rites, whether they occur in the Ṛgveda or not. And this difference in the original idea is pointed to by the practice of modern Vaidikas or reciters of the Vedas, of whom, those who are Ṛgvedins, must necessarily be able to recite the literary Vedāngas, viz, the Nighaṇṭu, the Nirukta, the

Chandas, and Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhāyī, while the reciters of the other Vedas have nothing to do with them

And the statement, that in a sacrifice the duties of the Hotṛ priest are performed by means of the Ṛk and those of the Adhvaryu by means of the Yajuṣ, is true only in the sense that what the former has to repeat are verses, and the latter prose formulas, but it is not true in the sense that the Hotṛ priest should be a Rgvedin or student of the Ṛgveda, or that the duties of the office should be performed in accordance with the Sūtras attached to that Veda And as a matter of fact, a Yajurvedin sacrificer uses at the present day the Hautra or Hotṛ ritual as prepared from his own Veda and Sūtra, and employs a Yajurvedin Brahman as his Hotṛ in all rites up to the Cāturmāsyas, and in the Kāmya sacrifices mentioned above

ṚGVEDA ONLY RESTORED TO FOR THE HIGHER SOMA SACRIFICES

In a Soma sacrifice, however, the Hautra of which is not contained in his Veda, he has to employ a Rgvedin or get the ritual of the Hotṛ priest performed in accordance with a Sūtra belonging to the Ṛgveda.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE SACRIFICIAL RITUAL

It also appears clear that those rites, in which the Yājyās and Anuvākyās are taken from different hymns of the Rgveda, must have been developed long after the period in which the hymns were composed A great many of the smaller sacrifices are of this nature, and the principle followed in framing their ritual, was to adapt for use such Ṛks as were appropriate, that is, yielded a sense having some bearing, howsoever remote, on the nature and object of the sacrifice performed This principle is laid down clearly in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa,[1] a fact which shows

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1 एतद्वै यज्ञस्य समृद्धं यद्रूपसमृद्धं यत्कर्म क्रियमाणमृगभिवदति । Ait. Br II 2.

that the conscious manufacture of rituals had been in full force even when that work was written. That process of manufacture has ever continued and the same principle has been followed in preparing the rituals not only of the Śrauta sacrifices, but of all the rites performed on the Gṛhya or domestic fire and Laukika or ordinary fire

But in later times—when the total number of rites increased, and occasions for new ceremonies, hardly within the range of the ideas prevailing in Vedic times, presented themselves, and still it was sought to sanctify them and raise their importance, by connecting them with Vedic texts—it was deemed enough if the appropriateness of the Ṛk to the particular rite was merely verbal Thus in invoking the planet Śukra or Venus in the ceremony called Grahamakha, the Rk used is Śukram te anyad yajatam te anyat[1] (Ṛv VI 58 1) which is really addressed to Pūṣan and has nothing to do with the planet, and the sole reason is that it contains the word Śukra which is the name of the Planet Similarly in invoking Ketu or the Moon's Node, the Rk used is Ketum kṛṇvannaketave (Ṛv. I. 6 3), simply because it begins with the word Ketu.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE RELIGION OF THE HYMNS AND LATER SACRIFICIAL RELIGION

The epithets such as Amhomuć, Āgomuc, and Enomuc, i e, "deliverer from pollution, transgression, and sin," and Putravat and Putrin, i e, "having sons", given to the old Vedic deities to adapt them for the particular rites, would also show that these rites were developed in later times. That sacrificial rites in some shape were in use at the time when the Vedic hymns were composed cannot be questioned, but the worship of the several gods was more spiritual, real heart-felt prayers and praises were

1 Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's Prayogaratna Grahamakha

offered to them and their blessings invoked, and the offerings of Soma and other things were prompted by pious motives. But some time before the Brāhmaṇas (including the Brāhmaṇic portions of the books of the Black Yajurveda) were composed, the old Vedic religion had degenerated into the coldest formalism, the idea that the mechanical repetition of certain formulæ and verses, and manual operations had a religious efficacy, took firm hold of the Brahmanic mind, and mysticism usurped the place of spiritual worship

All the rites were reduced to a system, nothing connected with them was so unimportant that it was not necessary to regulate it by specific rules, the number of rites vastly increased, and the sacrificial ritual became so complicated and so extensive, that no one who does not devote a number of years to its exclusive study, can now master it. It was impossible that this stupendous system should not have been attacked, and it has had very powerful and uncompromising enemies from the remotest time, in the shape of the Śramaṇas of old and their successors the reformers of later ages, and also in the ranks of the Brahmans themselves, and it has had a varied fortune, but has not been completely destroyed yet

THE NAKṢATRA SATTRA

No. 412 contains the ritual of the Nakṣatra Sattra. It is called a Sattra because it is a series of 37 Iṣṭis The first fourteen have the fourteen Devanakṣatras or lunar mansions associated with the gods, beginning with Kṛttikā and ending with Viśākhā for their Pradhāna or principal deities Then follows an Iṣṭi in honour of the Pūrṇamāsī or the Full Moon day The next fourteen are held for the propitiation of the fourteen Yamanakṣatras beginning with Anurādhā and ending with Bharaṇī and including Abhijit. The Pradhāna deities of the last eight are —1 Amāvāsyā or New Moon day, 2 Candramas or moon, 3. Ahorātra or day and night,

4. Uṣas or dawn, 5 Nakṣatra or lunar mansion generally, 6. Sūrya or sun, 7. Aditi, and 8 Viṣṇu With each of these deities Agni and Anumati are associated, Agni preceding the Nakṣatra deity and Anumati following. The Anuvākyās and Yājyās of the 37 principal deities are given in the first three Anuvākas of the first Prapāṭhaka of the third Kāṇḍa of the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa. Agni and Anumati have the same Anuvākyā and Yājyā throughout the 37 Iṣṭis and these also are given in the same place in the Brāhmaṇa.

The Nakṣatra Iṣṭis are prescribed by Baudhāyana as a Prāyaścitta or penance for any omission or fault in the performance of the usual sacrificial rites or for a life of sin; but they are also to be performed by one who desires a long life, and by their means the sacrificer avoids death before the natural term of his life and attains the likeness of the heavenly bodies.

KṚTTIKĀ, THE FIRST LUNAR MANSION

It will be seen that the first lunar mansion here mentioned is Kṛttikā, and in several other places also in the Taittirīya Samhitā and Brāhmaṇa, the list of the Nakṣatras begins with that constellation

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FACT NOT TO BE NEGLECTED

I do not agree with those who attach no significance to this fact, and believe that at the time when the system of these lunar mansions came into use, the vernal equinox occurred in the beginning of Kṛttikā. This must have been the case in 1428 B C, and the position of the solstices given in the Vedānga Jyotiṣa leads to 1186 B. C These dates have been declared to be worthless for historical purposes, on the grounds that the Hindus are in their nature rude or careless observers, and cannot be supposed to have the means of accurate observation at that

early period. But they are simply a priori grounds which no man with a scientific spirit will assume to enable himself to explain away facts which his predispositions will not allow him to admit. And the grounds are altogether insufficient, and the first is certainly untrue and unjust and will appear to be so to one who does not forget how careful the philological observations of the Hindus have been and how solicitous they have been about their Vedas and their sacrificial worship, for which essentially the astronomical observations were necessary

THE PERIOD INDICATED BY THE FACT IS THAT OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SACRIFICIAL RELIGION

The two observations therefore might, I think, be considered correct within about a degree A degree is equivalent to 72 years, so that somewhere about 1350 and 1110 B C, these observations must have been made The Taittirīya Samhitā and Brāhmaṇa which mention the Nakṣatras with Kṛttikā at their head must be later than 1350 B. C, but to this period must be referred that development of the sacrificial ritual to which a definite shape was afterwards given by the composition of that Samhitā and of that and other Brāhmaṇas The composition of these I would place between 1200 and 900 B C, and these dates will tally with those which from an observation of the grammatical literature we have to assign to Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, and Patañjali But I must reserve a full discussion of the question of these dates for another opportunity.

THE SVARGA SATTRA

Nos. 450 and 451 contain the ritual of the series of Iṣṭis called Svarga Sattra. They are twelve in number, divided into two groups of seven and five, but the twelve are also regarded as forming one group These Iṣṭis are laid down in the twelfth Prapāṭhaka of the third Kāṇḍa of the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, and the Yājyās and Anuvākyās are also there given.

Heaven has twelve gates; the first seven called Divaḥśyenayonuvittayaḥ being guarded by (1) Āśā or Hope, (2) Kāmaḥ or Desire, (3) Brahman or the Essence of sacrificial worship, (4) Yajñaḥ or Sacrifice, (5) Āpaḥ or Waters, (6) Agnir Balimān or the fire who receives all oblations, and (7) Anuvitti or Discovery, and the other five called Apādyānuvittayaḥ, by (1) Tapaḥ or Mortification, (2) Śraddhā or Faith, (3) Satyam or Truth, (4) Manaḥ or Mind and (5) Caraṇam or Action or Foot The first seven are the Pradhāna or principal deities of the seven Iṣṭis of the first group, which are after the name of the gates called Divaḥśyenayaḥ; and the next five, of the Iṣṭis of the second group which are called similarly Apādyāḥ When these deities are propitiated by the performance of Iṣṭis, the gates of Heaven are flung open and the sacrificer is admitted The principal deity in the case of each Iṣṭi has, as in the case of the Nakṣatra Sattra, two associates, one Agni before, and the other Anumati after. The epithet Kāmaḥ is however affixed to Agniḥ in the case of the first group.

This series of Iṣṭis presents a curious development in the ideas involved in the sacrificial religion The things and feelings concerned in a man's pursuit of Heaven, such as Faith, Hope, Desire, Truth, Mind, Action, Sacrifice, Sacrifical Essence, and Agni—the receiver of all oblations, are themselves believed to be deities or presided over by deities, and these are worshipped in order that those things and feelings may be in a condition to render the pursuit fruitful

WORKS ON THE SOMA SACRIFICES

It now remains to notice the Manuscripts of works on the Soma sacrifices. The Soma sacrifices are the most important of all, on account of the time occupied, the number of priests employed, and the solemn and imposing manner in which the whole service is conducted

THE SEVEN AND FOUR SAMSTHĀS OF THE JYOTIṢṬOMA

One general name by which they are designated is Jyotiṣṭoma.

The Jyotiṣṭoma has what are called seven Saṁsthās or modes, viz., Agniṣṭoma, Atyagniṣṭoma, Ukthya, Ṣoḍaśin, Vājapeya, Atirātra, and Aptoryāma. Sometimes the Saṁsthās are considered to be four only, viz., Agniṣṭoma, Ukthya, Ṣoḍaśin, and Atirātra. Of these the first or Agniṣṭoma is considered the Prakṛti, or original type and the rest as Vikṛtis or varieties. The Soma ceremonies constitute the essential part of the Agniṣṭoma, but they are preceded by a good many preparatory rites.

On the first day is performed what is called the Dīkṣaṇīya Iṣṭi and the Yajamāna is anointed, or Dīkṣā given to him This Dīkṣā ceremony is sometimes repeated three or four times (Āśv. IV 2. 17, Āp X 15 1), that is, is performed on three or four successive days, but usually it is performed on one day only.

On the day after the Dīkṣā or Dīkṣās are over, the Prāyaṇīya or introductory Iṣṭi is gone through Then on the same day the ceremony of the purchase of Soma (Rājakraya) is performed, and after that what is called the Ātithyā Iṣṭi, which is regarded as a rite of hospitality in honour of the guest, viz, the Soma purchased Then follow the Pravargyas and Upasads. One Pravargya and one Upasad are performed before noon and another pair in the afternoon At the Pravargya ceremony a cow is milked and certain ceremonies performed with the milk, and on these occasions a great many Ṛks are repeated The Upasad is a sort of Iṣṭi

The Pravargyas and the Upasads are repeated the next, i e., the third day, if the Dīkṣā has been done on one day only, and also on the fourth, but on this day both rites of each species are performed before noon Then follow on the same day the ceremonies of carrying the Agni, Soma, and the carts on which the offerings are placed, from the part of the sacrificial enclosure called the Prāgvaṁśa to that which is called the Uttaravedi where all the later ceremonies are performed Then late in the afternoon of this day, is performed an animal sacrifice in honour of Agnīṣomau which is called Agnīṣomīyapaśu.

RITES PERFORMED ON THE PRINCIPAL OR THE SUTYĀ DAY
(I) PRĀTASSAVANA

Early in the morning of the next or the fifth day begins a ceremony called (1) the Prātaranuvāka which consists of what are called three Kratus, Āgneyakratu, Auṣasyakratu, and Āśvinakratu The essential feature of these Kratus is the repetition of a large number of hymns from the Ṛgveda addressed to Agni, Uṣas, and Aśvins. (2) Then follows an offering of three Grahas or cups of Soma to three deities. The Grahas are made of wood and resemble liquor glasses in shape (3) After this the Sāma-singers sing the first or Bahiṣpavamāna-stotra (4) Then we have an animal sacrifice called Savanīyapaśu, which is performed up to the ceremony of throwing the Vapā or peritoneum into the fire (5) The ceremony done next is what is called Upasthāna in which the Dhiṣṇyas, i e, things such as the sacrificial post, and places such as that on which fire is produced by friction, are praised. (6) This is followed by the Aindra Puroḍāśas which consist of Dhānās or fried grains of barley, Karambha or flour of Saktu mixed with curds, Payasyā or the caseine of milk separated from the serum by mixing hot milk and curds together, and cakes of flour (7) Then we have the offering of Soma in Grahas to pairs of deities, viz, Vāyu and Indravāyu, Mitrāvaruṇau, and Aśvinau (8) This is followed by the repetition of what are called Prasthitayājyās, or certain verses by six out of the seven Hotṛ priests, and the offering of Soma to the deities and drinking it (9) Afterwards, the remains of the Soma, offered to the pairs of deities before, are drunk by the priests. (10) Then comes in the Acchāvāka who goes through certain ceremonies including the repetition of his Prasthitayājyās. (11) This is followed by the Ṛtuyājās, which consist of the offerings of Soma in a vessel called Ṛtupātra, which has two compartments. (12) Then the Hotṛ repeats the first or Ājyaśastra, after which another Stotra is chanted by the Sāma-singers, and then follows the second Śastra of the Hotṛ which is called Pra u ga,

The Śastras are certain arrangements of couplets, triplets, and whole hymns from the Ṛgveda Saṁhitā interwoven with certain formulas called Nivids, detached verses called Puroruks, and others known as Dhāyyās The arrangements are varied and no one of the Śastras resembles another perfectly Each Śastra is followed by the pouring of the Soma juice into the fire and the drinking of a portion of it by the priests Thus ends the first or Prātaḥsavana

(II) THE MĀDHYAṀDINA-SAVANA

The Mādhyaṁdina or Mid-day Savana begins by (13) a priest called Grāvastut entering and performing certain rites including the repetition of a hymn (14) This is followed by a ceremony called Dadhigharma, and then (15) the Puroḍāśa or cake in connection with the animal sacrifice performed in the morning, which, as explained before, forms a necessary adjunct of the animal sacrifice, is thrown into the fire (16) After that, we have the Aindra Puroḍāśa and (17) Prasthitayājyā as in the morning, and then (18) is given Dakṣiṇā or remuneration to the priests This is followed by (19) the Marutvatīyagraha or offering of a cup of Soma to Marutvat, and then we have (20) the Stotras and Śastras of the Mādhyaṁdinasavana

(III) THE TṚTĪYA-SAVANA

At the beginning of the third or Tṛtīya-Savana, (21) a cup of Soma is offered to Aditi (Ādityagrahayāga), and after the Sāma-singers have chanted the Ārbhavapavamāna, (22) the Angayāga or the casting into the fire of the other parts of the animal whose Vapā was offered in the morning, follows Then we have (23) the Aindra Puroḍāśas and (24) the Prasthitayājyās as in the last two Savanas, and afterwards (25) the offering of Soma to Savitṛ (Sāvitragraha), and (26) the Stotras and Śastras. After this is over we have the concluding ceremonies called (27) Yajñapuccha or the tail of the sacrifice, (28) Avabhṛtha in th

course of which offerings are made by the priests while standing in water, (29) Udayanīyā or the concluding Iṣṭi corresponding to the Prāyaṇīyā with which the sacrifice began, (30) Aunbandhya-paśu, or an animal sacrifice to Maitrāvaruṇa, in which the beast to be slaughtered is according to Kātyāyana a sterile cow or an ox (X. 9. 12, and 14), but now only a goat, or in the absence of an animal, a Payasyā or the offering of the caseine of milk, and (31) Udavasānīyā which is performed to the north of the sacrificial enclosure and in which fire is newly struck by rubbing the Araṇis or logs of wood According to the rules laid down in the Sūtra all these ceremonies should be performed on the same day, i e, the fifth, but now it is usual for the last four to be performed on the next or the sixth day This is a short description of a very complicated sacrifice

MANUSCRIPTS CONTAINING THE RITUAL OF THE SOMA SACRIFICE

No. 449 is a manual of the Agniṣṭoma for the Adhvaryu and his assistants, and the duties of these priests are therein laid down in accordance with the Sūtra of Hiraṇyakeśin

No. 436 contains the duties of the Maitrāvaruṇa, the first assistant of the Hotṛ, in the animal sacrifice in honour of Agnīṣomau on the fourth day of the Agniṣṭoma, and in the Sutyā ceremonies of the next day. The Maitrāvaruṇa has to give Praiṣas to the Hotṛ after he receives similar ones from the Adhvaryu, that is, to communicate the Adhvaryu's order to the Hotṛ. He has also to repeat the Anuvākyās and some other Mantras, a hymn when Soma is poured into the smaller cups (Camasa) at each of the three libations, and also Śastras

No. 437 is an incomplete copy of the Maitrāvaruṇa's manual of the Agnīṣomīyapaśu.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE SEVERAL SAṀSTHĀS

(1) AGNIṢṬOMA

In the Prātaḥ-Savana or morning libation of the Agniṣṭoma, the Hotṛ has, as above stated, to repeat two Śastras, the first of

which is called Ājyaśastra, and the second Pra u ga. No. 392 contains these two. The Maitrāvaruṇa, Brāhmaṇācchaṁsin and the Acchāvāka have each to recite one. At the Mādhyaṁdina-Savana or the noon-libation the Hotṛ has two Śastras called the Marutvatīya and Niṣkevalya, and the other three priests one each as in the morning, while at the evening libation or Tṛtīya-Savana, the Hotṛ alone repeats two Śastras called Vaiśvadeva and Āgnimāruta Thus in the Agniṣṭoma, the Hotṛ has on the principal day to repeat six Śastras and the three minor priests, six between them, the total number being twelve

The Śastras of the Hotṛ are given in No 401 with the exception of the last or Āgnimāruta, and of the Maitrāvaruṇa in No. 439 as well as in No 436 Those repeated by the Acchāvāka together with the other things assigned to him, are given in No 387, and No. 432 contains the Śastras of the Brāhmaṇācchaṁsin as well as other directions for his guidance. The duties of the Neṣṭṛ and Potṛ in an Agniṣṭoma are given in Nos 417 and 426

(2) ATYAGNIṢṬOMA

The Atyagniṣṭoma differs from the Agniṣṭoma so far as the Śastras are concerned, only in assigning one more Śastra called the Ṣoḍaśin to the Hotṛ at the evening libation, in addition to the Vaiśvadeva and the Āgnimāruta. Of this Nos. 443 and 444 are copies.

(3) UKTHYA

In the Ukthya one Śastra is assigned to each of the three minor priests, Maitrāvaruṇa, Brāhmaṇācchaṁsin, and Acchāvāka, at the third savana or evening libation In other respects it is exactly like the Agniṣṭoma There are thus fifteen Śastras in all.

(4) ṢOḌAŚIN

The Ṣoḍaśin is like the Ukthya except that the Hotṛ has one Śastra more which is called the Ṣoḍaśiśastra at the end. Thus in all there are sixteen Śastras.

(5) VĀJAPEYA

The Vājapeya differs from the Ṣoḍaśin in having some of its Mantras different and assigning one more Śastra called Atiriktoktha to the Hotṛ at the evening libation

(6) ATIRĀTRA

In the Atirātra the Ṣoḍaśiśastra is sometimes repeated at the evening libation, and then it is like the Ṣoḍaśin variety, sometimes not, when it comes to be like the Ukthya In the night however each of the four Śastra-reciting priests, Hotṛ and others, repeat one Śastra in turn, then there is another round, and a third Each of these rounds is called a Paryāya, and thus there are three Paryāyas and twelve Śastras, and these are given in No 440 The Hotṛ has then another Śastra called the Āśvinaśastra There are thus in all 29 or 28 Śastras.

(7) APTORYĀMA

The Aptoryāma is like the Atirātra, but there is a good deal of difference in the Mantras used, and the so-called Nyūnkhas or sixteen Os are inserted in the Śastras. In the third Savana the Vālakhilyas (Ṛv VI 49-59) are inserted in the Śastra assigned to the Maitrāvaruṇa, and the Vṛṣākapisūkta (Ṛv. X 86) and others, in that recited by the Brāhmaṇācchamsin The Evayāmarutsūkta (Ṛv V 87), and others are interwoven with the Śastra of the Acchāvāka, and of the Śastra so enlarged No. 393 is a copy The other hymns beside Ṛv V 87 which are inserted are Ṛgveda II 13, VII 100, I 156, and VI 69 And last of all, in the third Savana there is the Ṣoḍaśin assigned to the Hotṛ and not optional here as in the Atirātra. Then at night we have the three Paryāyas or rounds of the Atirātra as well as the Āśvinaśastra of the Hotṛ, and thereafter one additional Śastra called Atiriktoktha has to be recited by each of the four priests. In this manner we have in this variety of the Jyotiṣṭoma 33 Śastras in all No 390 contains some of these

No. 441 gives the duties of, and the Sāmans or songs to be sung by, the Udgātṛ at the Vājapeya sacrifice ; and No. 442, the same as well as those referring to the Aptoryāma. The author of this manual is one Govardhana who, however, says nothing about himself.

SARVATOMUKHA SACRIFICE

No. 445 is a manual for the Udgātṛ at a sacrifice called Sarvatomukha The Sarvatomukha is so called because in four enclosures in four directions—East, West, North and South—four Jyotiṣṭoma sacrifices of different Samsthās or varieties are performed at one and the same time

DIFFERENT COMBINATIONS OF THE SOMA SACRIFICES

Soma sacrifices are divided into Aikāhika, Ahīna or Ahargaṇa and Sāmvatsarika The Sutyā being the principal part of the sacrifice, the Aikāhikas (literally, such as last for one day) are those that have one Sutyā. Ahīnas are those which have more Sutyās than one Sāmvatsarikas are those in which the Sutyā is performed every day for one or more years. The Prakṛti or original type of an Aikāhika is the Agniṣṭoma, of an Ahīna the Dvādaśāha, in which the Sutyās are twelve, and of a Sāṁvatsarika the Gavāmayana in which the Soma sacrifice is performed every day for one year The Dvādaśāha and Gavāmayana are not simply combinations of a certain number of one or more of the four Samsthās before described There are many peculiarities. An Ahīna or Sāṁvatsarika, in which all the priests undergo the Dīkṣā or anointing ceremony and are Yajamānas or sacrificers, is a Sattra

ITIHĀSAS, PURĀṆAS, MĀHĀTMYAS AND STOTRAS

KAŚMĪRAMĀHĀTMYA

In the Gujarat Section which, as I have already stated, comprises Kaśmīr Manuscripts purchased at Delhi, there is a copy of what is in the first and the last leaf and in the margin,

called Kaśmīramāhātmya. In the colophon we have " Sampūrṇamidaṁ Nīlamatam. " On comparing it with the extracts given by Dr. Bühler in his Report for 1875-76 on the Kaśmīr Manuscripts from the Nīlamatapurāṇa, I find that this is identical with that and does not contain the additions made by Sahebram which Dr. Bühler encloses within brackets. The Manuscript has no lacunæ such as those Dr. Bühler speaks of in his Śāradā copies, and is altogether a good copy. The date is put down at the end as Saṁvat 4872 which I believe refers to the Saptarṣi era current in Kaśmīr, and subtracting from it 3154, which according to Dr. Bühler is the interval between the initial date of that era and the Śaka, we get 1718 Śaka as the date of the Manuscript. If however the era is that of the Kaliyuga, the date corresponds to 1693 Śaka. Dr Bühler calls the work Nīlamatapurāṇa, but the correct title appears to be Kaśmīramāhātmya, according to Nīlamata

STUTIKUSUMĀÑJALI BY JAGADDHARA

No. 40 is a copy of Stotras I, II and a part of III from the Stutikusumāñjali in the Śāradā character , and No. 41 is a copy of the entire work with a commentary, some leaves of which are however missing They are put here as coming under the head of Stotras ; but perhaps it would have been more appropriate to place them under Kāvyas or Philosophy. The author of the Stutikusumāñjali was Jagaddhara, the son of Ratnadhara, who himself was the son of Gauradhara. Gauradhara is spoken of as having composed a sort of commentary on the Yajurveda. The father of Jagaddhara the commentator on Mālatīmādhava, was Ratnadhara, but his grandfather's name was Gadādhara, and not Gauradhara, wherefore the author of the Stutikusumāñjali appears to have been a different person.

OTHER STOTRAS ETC.

No. 42 is a copy in Śāradā character of a series of twenty Stotras by Utpalācārya.

In the Maratha Section there are two copies (Nos. 470 and 471) of a work entitled Śivamāhātmya forming a portion of the Brahmottarakhaṇḍa which itself is called a part of the Skandapurāṇa.

No. 475 is an incomplete copy of a Purāṇa entitled Mudgalapurāṇa purporting to be narrated by Mudgala to Dakṣa. The glories of Gaṇeśa or Gaṇapati are narrated in the work.

VĀRIJĀKṢACARITRA

No. 467 is a copy of a curious work called Vārijākṣa caritra. It is represented to be the Uttara or third Kāṇḍa of a work entitled Prajñānakumudacandrikā which is referred to the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa. The names Skandapurāṇa and Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa are not the names of any definite works, but any Māhātmya or Caritra of a holy place or a god that happens at any time to be written, is referred to either of these to confer sanctity on it.

The Vārijākṣacaritra cannot be a very old work. Vārijākṣa was the name of an Avatāra of Viṣṇu different from Rāma or Kṛṣṇa. But he is sometimes called Vāsudeva, and is indentified with Śiva also He belonged to a family of Gauḍasārasvata Brahmans the name of which was Śrīkaṇṭha, and was the son of a mother named Yamunā. His wife's name was Jvalinī, and he had two sons Avya and Sauvīra

Among the many stories told of Vārijākṣa is his having held a sacrificial session for twelve years, i e, a Dvādaśavārṣika Sattra In connection with that a pretty good description is given of the sacrificial ritual, and in the list of guests or visitors who attended the Sattra, we have all modern names A Yati namad Bhavānandasarasvatī who was a Gauḍasārasvata Brahman came to see it from Kāśī, with his pupil Saccidānanda So also the pupil of this last Śivānandasarasvatī, Rāmānandasarasvatī, Sadānandasarasvatī and Pūrṇānandasarasvatī, each of whom was the pupil of the

preceding, attended the Sattra. Then came Sivānandasarasvati from Tryambaka and several others. All these Yatis belonged to the Gauḍasārasvata caste Yatis of the Draviḍa caste also, Śaṁkarācāraya and others came There were Ācaryas of the Gauḍa caste among the guests, such as Maheśvarācārya, Śāmbācārya, Rāmcandrācārya, Keśavācārya, &c., and also ordinary Brahmans and men of learning, such as Rāma, Ananta, Śrīnivāsa, Bhikṣu, &c. Draviḍācāryas also bearing the names of Bhīmācārya, Kṛpācārya, Trimangalācārya, &c , were present.

VILIFICATION OF KARHĀḌĀ BRAHMANS

• Seven Karahāṭaka or Karhāḍā Brahmans of the names of Nānūka, Phānasa, Bākara, &c., also came , but they were driven out of the sacrificial enclosure For the Karhāḍās were not true Brahmans , they were men of low origin, administered poison, hated true Brahmans, and murdered them and especially their own sons-in-law Popular estimation still credits the Karhāḍās with the administration of poison and murder Then is given an indecent account of the low origin of that caste. At the end of the work we are told that " those are excellent Vaiṣṇavas who always remember with devotion Vārijākṣa who dwells in the Tapas world and is Śiva himself in another form. Those Vaiṣṇavas also are stainless who worship Viṣṇu dwelling in Vaikuṇṭha without hating Śiva

VILIFICATION OF THE MADHVAS

But those others who allow heated Mudrās (seals) to be pressed on their body, and advocate duality, are heretics and resemble carcasses, and are neither Vaiṣṇavas nor Śaivas. Those who allow heated Mudrās to be pressed on their bodies should not even be touched, and if one happens to do so, he should look at the sun to be free from the sin. The preceptor of those wicked men who call the glorious Śaṁkarācārya a Daitya, was a sinful and asinine villain." Such are

the amenities to which the sect of the followers of Madhva is treated; and the book is a specimen of those which under the name of the old Ṛṣis have been written in modern times to pour vile abuse upon rival sects and castes. The narrative in the work purports to be communicated by Agastya to Kauleya, and as in the case of the Purāṇas, the Sūta and the Ṛṣis are introduced, but the real author of the work must have been a man of the Gauḍasārasvata caste living among Karhḍā Brahmans between whom and his caste there was not, as there is not at present, a good understanding, who hated the Mādhavas, and was himself one of that large body of people in the Maratha country who worship both Śiva and Viṣṇu, revere Śaṁkarācārya, and adhere generally to his doctrines. Vārijākṣa must have been some local deity.

In this class there are Manuscripts of Māhātmyas, Kavacas, Śāntis, &c., which were not purchased on their own account but were included in the large lots containing copies of valuable works, which because they contained such Māhātmyas &c, were paid for at a much lower rate; so that even if these had been rejected the valuable Manuscripts would at a higher rate have cost as much as the whole lots.

DHARMAŚĀSTRA

GUJARATH SECTION

SMṚTIS AND COMMENTARIES

In the Gujarath Section we have, of the Smṛti branch of the literature of this subject, Gautamīya Dharmaśāstra (No. 47), Caturviṁśatimatam (No 48), Manusaṁhitā-Kaśmīr text-(No. 53), the Ācāra and Vyavahāra of Yājñavalkya with Aparāditya's commentary (No. 54), a copy of the Śrāddhaprakaraṇa of the same (No. 55), and Vṛddhavasiṣṭha, Chaps. I—X. (No. 60).

THE ĀCĀRA BRANCH

Of Digests and Manuals belonging to the Ācāra branch of the Hindu law, the first to be noticed is Śrīdharācārya's

Smṛtyarthasāra (No. 64) This work is quoted in Hemādri's Śrāddhaprakaraṇa. At fol. 538*a* of a Manuscript of this last work purchased since, the view of the author of the Smṛtyarthasāra is stated along with an unfavourable criticism on it by the author of the Smṛticandrikā, so that Śrīdharācārya must have flourished before the author of the Smṛticandrikā, and both before Hemādri, i e. before the thirteenth century This reference I owe to Gangadhara Śāstrī Datar The Smṛtyarthasāra is also mentioned in the Madanapārijāta, written, as will be hereafter shown, in the latter part of the fourteenth century The verse in which Śrīdharācārya mentions Śambhu, Draviḍa, Kedāra (Pādādi is my reading), Lollaṭa, and others as previous writers on the subject, and Kāmadhenu, Pradīpa, Abdhi, Kalpavṛkṣa, and Kalpalatā as previous works, is given by Professor Aufrecht in the Oxford Catalogue

SMṚTISĀRA

No. 63 is a seemingly incomplete copy of a work entitled Smṛtisāra written in the Śāradā character Vācaspati mentions a work of that name in his Dvaitanirṇaya

MADANAPĀRIJĀTA

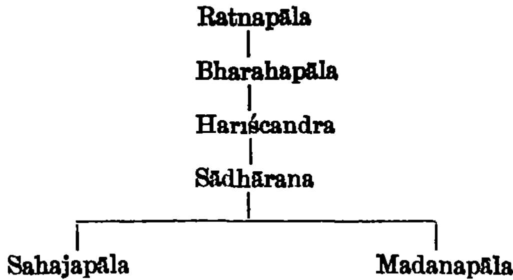
No. 52 is a copy about three hundred years old of the Madanapārijāta by Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa Last year's Collection also contains a copy of the work, but it is undated. Since I wrote last about Madanapāla,[1] the prince of the Ṭāka race who patronised the author of the work and reigned at Kāṣṭhā or Kāḍhā on the banks of the Yamunā, north of Delhi, my assistant Mr. Shridhar R. Bhandarkar has been able to discover his date.

DATE OF MADANAPĀLA

In the Collection of 1873-74 made by Dr Bühler, there are two copies of a work called Madanavinodanighaṇṭu (Nos. 109

1 [Ante, pp 6f.]

and 110). The author—or patron of the author—of this was the same Madanapāla as the patron of Viśveśvara, as is evident from the genealogy given at the end of the work which is as follows:—



This agrees with the pedigree given in the introduction to the Madanapārijāta It may however be remarked that Professor Aufrecht, in his notice of this and another work of the author, seems to take Karavimukti as the name of the father of Madanapāla. But that word does not occur in the Madanavinoda, and we have only the name Sādhāraṇa in the first verse referring to that prince, as we have it in the corresponding verse in the Madanapārijāta

At the end of the Praśasti in the Madanavinoda occurs a verse in which we are told that the work was composed by Madana on Monday, the 6th of the light half of Māgha, in the year of Vikramārka, Brahmayugayugendugaṇite. Now the Manuscirpt No 110 in which the verse occurs, it being omitted in No 109, is very incorrect, and in this particular case the metre requires that the ga of the first yuga should be prosodially long, but it is not Yuga however may be a mistake for yuge or yugād, but whatever it may be, the word represents the place of *tens* in the date, while it is the numeral in the place of *hundreds* that is very important, and as to that there can be no doubt Since the day of the week and of the fortnight are both given, I referred this point to Mr. Janardan Balaji Modak, Head Master, High School, Dhulia, who for a con-

siderable time has been studying Hindu Jyotiṣa, asking him to calculate and ascertain whether the 6th of the light half of Māgha falls on Monday in the year 1441 of Vikrama. His reply is that it falls on Monday in the year 1431 Thus yuga in the verse is a mistake for a word meaning "three", and the date is 1431 Vikrama or 1375 A. D

In a Manuscript of the Madananighaṇṭu recently purchased, the expression is Brahmajagadyugendugaṇite, where we have jagad for yuga and the requirements of the metre are satisfied. Jagad is the same as loka, and since the lokas or worlds are three, the jagats also are three Besides, we often meet with the expression jagattraya, as in Dṛṣṭis-tṛṇīkṛtajagattrayasattvasārā, Uttara Rāmacarita, Act VI, Jagattrayīgītayaśaḥpraśastiḥ, etc., Hemādri's Praśasti of King Mahādeva, etc Thus the date is 1431 Vikrama, and Mr Modak's calculation has proved true.

ĀCĀRĀDARŚA BY ŚRĪDATTA

No. 44 is a copy of the Ācārādarśa by Śrīdatta, and No. 45 is a commentary on it by Gaurīpati, son of Dāmodara. The commentary was finished by the author in Kās'ī on Sunday, the 13th of Āśvina, in the year 1696 of Vikrama, corresponding to 1640 A. D No 44 was transcribed in Samvat 1690 or 1634 A D., i.e., six years before the commentary was written by Gaurīpati. The Ācārādarśa is quoted by Kamalākara in the Nirṇayasindhu which we know was written in Samvat 1668 or 1612 A.D , and also by Vācaspati Besides the Purāṇas and the authors of many Smṛtis, Śrīdatta mentions the following digests or their authors.—

Harihara fol. *31b*, *36a*, *48a*, *52a*.

Kalpatarukāra *37b*, *55a*

Kāmadhenu *27a*, *47a*

Of these, Harihara is quoted in Hemādri's Śrāddhaprakaraṇa many times, and Kāmadhenu in the Smṛtyarthasāra.

ŚRĀDDHAVIVEKA BY RUDRADHARA

No 61 is Śrāddhaviveka by Rudradhara. It is quoted in the Nirṇayasindhu and the Dvaitanirṇaya of Vācaspati; also by Raghunandana

Of the remaining works belonging to this branch, No 46 is on a special subject. No 51 which is in the Śāradā character, and No 62 are general, and the rest are tracts on the ritual of particular rites, of which Nos. 66—68 relate to the Rāmānuja sect.

THE VYAVAHĀRA BRANCH

VIVĀDACANDRA BY SANMIŚRA MIŚARŪ

No 57 is a copy of the Vivādacandra by Sanmiśra Miśarū In the introduction which is given by Professor Aufrecht in the Oxford Catalogue, the author states that he composed the treatise under the orders of Lakkhimādevi, the queen of Candrasiṁha Candrasiṁha was the son of Darpanārāyaṇa and Hirādevi, Darpanārāyaṇa of Harasiṁha, and he of Bhaveśa This Harasiṁha must have been the same as the prince of Mithilā of that name, under the superintendence of whose minister Caṇḍeśvara, a work called Ratnākara was, according to Dr Hall (Edn of Sāmkhyapravacana, p. 36), composed in Śaka 1236 or A D. 1314 Miśarū wrote his Vivādacandra about 50 years later and quotes the Ratnākara.

RAGHUNANDANA'S DĀYATATTVA

No 50 is a large fragment of the Dāyatattva by Raghunandana whose date has been fixed by Professor Aufrecht between 1430 and 1612 A.D.

VIVĀDĀRṆAVABHAÑJANA

No. 58 is a copy of the Vivādārṇavabhañjana which wants about four leaves at the end. The author's name does not occur; but the work is the same as No 364 of Dr. Bühler's Collection of

1875–76. Dr. Bühler gives Gaurīkānta as the name of the author ; but it appears to be the work of many men, from the passage at the end of his copy, though it is corrupt In the introductory verses the authors speak of having consulted the works of the following writers —

1. Caṇḍeśa	8 Dharmaratnakṛt
2. Dhāreśvara	9. Śrīkara
3. Viśvarūpa	10. Śūlapāṇi
4. Mitākṣarā (kṛt.)	11. Govinda
5. Halāyudha	12. Lakṣmīdhara
6. Śrīkṛṣṇa	13. Tattvakāra
7. Vācaspati	14. Ācāryacūḍāmaṇināca (?) bhaṭṭa.

The Tattvakāra here mentioned must be Raghunandana noticed above, since he calls his works on different subjects the Tattvas of those subjects.

WORKS OR AUTHORS QUOTED IN THE WORK

The following are most of the Nibandhas or their authors quoted in the body of the work —

Ratnākara—32*b*, 33*a*, 37*b*, 38*a*, 50*a*, 54*a*, &c
Dīpakalikā—32*b*, 33*b*, 35*a*, 37*b*, 89*b*, &c
Pārijāta (?)—33*a*, 55*b*, 56*a*, 66*b*, 74*b*
Caṇḍeśvara—33*b*, 35*a*, 39*a*, 49*a*, 54*a*, &c.
Vācaspati—35*a*, (with Miśra) 59*b*, 75*a*, 80*a*
Miśra—35*a*
Dhāreśvara—38*b*
Śūlapāṇi—39*a*, 40*a*
Kalpataru–40*b*
Śrīkṛṣṇa Tarkālaṁkāra—41*a*, 42*b*, 44*a*, 44*b*, 51*a*
Smārtabhaṭṭācārya—41*a*, 42*b*, 72*b*
Jīmūtavāhana—41*a*, 42*b*, 49*a*
Miśrāḥ—41*b*, 52*b*, 62*a*, 73*a* & *b*, &c.
Govindarāja

Kalpataru—53*a*, 60*b*
Lakṣmīdhara—53*a*, 84*b*, 90*a*
Kullukabhaṭṭa—54*a*, 55*b*, 57*a*, 58*b*, 59*a*, 97*b*
Vivādacintāmaṇi—55*a*, 55*b*, 60*a*, 69*b*, 74*a* & *b*, &c.
Prakāśakāra—56*a*
Medhātithi—57*b*, 59*a*, 60*b*
Miśrabhaṭṭācārya—68*b*
Halāyudha—68*b*
Mitākṣarā—72*a*, 96*a*, 100*b*
Vivādaratnākara—79*b*, 80*a*, 100*b*, 101*a* & *b*
Viśvarūpa—87*a*
Harihara—89*a*

The authors of this work must thus have lived after Caṇḍeśvara, or the author of the Ratnākara, Madanapāla, and Raghunandana; and if one of them Gaurīkānta was the same as Gaurīpati, the commentator on Śrīdatta's Ācārādarśa, he flourished in the middle of the seventeenth century.

MARATHA SECTION

Nearly all of the Manuscripts in the Maratha Section belong to the Ācāra branch of Dharma Some of these are works on (1) Ācāra generally, and others (2) on particular species of it or points connected with it, while the rest are (3) Prayogas or Paddhatis or books containing the ritual of various rites.

ACĀRA GENERAL

No. 588 is a copy of the first chapter of the Mitākṣarā, which bears no date but looks old. No 561 is a Manuscript of the Nirṇayasindhu transcribed in 1581 Śaka which corresponds to 1716 Samvat, while Kamalākara wrote the book in 1668 Samvat, so that our copy was made 48 years after the work was composed. No. 558 is an incomplete copy of the Dharmasindhu.

NIRṆAYĀMṚTA OF ALLĀḌANĀTHA

No. 562 is a Manuscript of the Nirṇayāmṛta written by Allāḍanātha, son of Lakṣmaṇa, under the orders of Sūryasena, a prince of the Chohan race, who reigned in the city of Ekacakra on the banks of the river Yamunā.

GENEALOGY OF SŪRYASENA

In the introduction the author gives the genealogy of his patron. From the famous race of Cāhuvāṇas sprang Sarūpa, who destroyed all his enemies His son was Karṇadeva, and his Uḍḍharaṇa Uddharana is represented to have performed some exploits at Delhi and to have wounded the elephants of the "Lord of the Śakas" He established himself at the city of Ekacakra by which flowed the "daughter of the Sun" He was succeeded by his son Candrasena, and Candrasena by his son Sūryasena Sūryasena had a younger brother of the name of Pratāpasena, and a son of the name of Devasena I have not been able to find any trace of this line of princes elsewhere. General Cunningham identifies Ekacakra with Arā, but that town is in Behar while Ekcakra was situated on the Yamunā.

WORKS CONSULTED BY THE AUTHOR

Allāḍanātha speaks of his having consulted the following works in the composition of his treatise —

Manusmṛti	Mātsya
Viṣṇusmṛti	Kaurma
Pārāśarasmṛti	Vārāha
Āpastambasmṛti	Vaiṣṇava
Mitākṣarā	Vāmana
Aparārka	Mārkaṇḍeya
Arṇava	Bhaviṣyottara
Pārijāta	Hemādri's Pariśiṣṭa
Smṛtyarthasāra	Anantabhaṭṭīya
Smṛticandrikā	Gṛhyapariśiṣṭa

Kāladarśa	Saṁvatsarapradīpa
Cintāmaṇi	Bhojarājīya
Tridaṇḍin	Devadāsīya
Kṛtyakalpataru	Rūpanārāyaṇīya
Dhavalapurāṇasamuccaya	Vidyāvedapaddhati
Durgotsava	Mahādevīya
Rāmakautuka	Viśvarūpa's Nibandha

The Nirṇayāmṛta is quoted in the Nirṇayasindhu, also by Raghunandana, and by Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita in his Tithinirṇaya. Bhaṭṭoji flourished, as will be presently shown, in the middle of the seventeenth century, and Raghunandana's works are quoted in the Nirṇayasindhu If the Pārijāta occurring in the above list is the Madanapārijāta about which however there is no reasonable doubt, Allāḍanātha and Sūryasena must have flourished after 1375 A D, and before the close of the sixteenth century. A copy of the Nirṇayāmṛta is noticed by Professor Weber in his Berlin Catalogue.

ĀCĀRA PARTICULAR

Among the treatises written to determine the proper times for the performance of the ordinary ceremonies and the observance of fasts, festivals, &c, the first to be noticed is Mādhava's Kārikās (No 526), which he tells us he wrote after he had finished his commentary on Parāśara and as a sort of supplement to it. No 521 is another copy of the same with a commentary by Vaidyanātha.

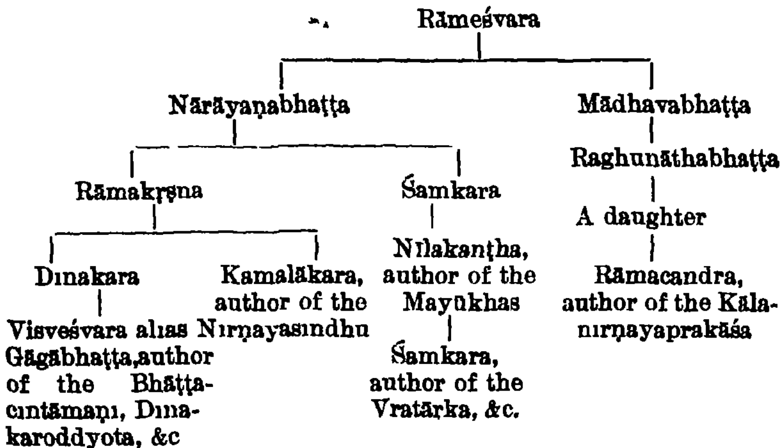
COMMENTARY ON THE KĀLANIRṆAYADĪPIKĀ

No. 524 is an incomplete copy of the commentary on Rāmacandrācārya's Kālanirṇayadīpikā by his son Nṛsiṁha. This Rāmacandrācārya is the same as the author of the Prakriyākaumudī on Pāṇini's grammar which was superseded by Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita's Siddhāntakaumudī, His history and date

will be given hereafter The Kālanirṇayadīpikā is quoted by Bhaṭṭoji in the Tithinirṇaya ; and I have verified the quotation, It is also quoted in the Nirṇayasindhu

KĀLANIRṆAYAPRAKĀŚA BY RĀMACANDRABHAṬṬA

No 525 is a Manuscript of the Kālanirṇayaprakāśa by Rāmacandrabhaṭṭa whose family name was Tatsat and who was the son of Viṭṭhala and grandson of Bālakṛṣṇa. The book is held in great estimation. Gangadhara Śāstrī has ascertained that Rāmacandra was on his mother's side connected with the family of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, as represented in the following genealogical tree, to which I have added two branches in order to determine Rāmacandra's relation with the other authors of the Bhaṭṭa family.



It will thus be seen that Rāmacandra belonged to the generation next after the authors of the Nirṇayasindhu and the Mayūkhas, and to the same generation as Gāgābhaṭṭa and Śaṁkara the author of the Vratārka Rāmacandra quotes among other authors his Mātāmaha or mother's father, i.e., Raghunāthabhaṭṭa.

KĀLASIDDHĀNTA BY CANDRACŪḌA

No. 528 is a fragment of the Kālasiddhānta by Candracūḍa, son of Umaṇabhaṭṭa and Jānakī, and surnamed Paurāṇika. Candracūḍa quotes among others Mādhava, Govindārṇava, Madanaratna, Dīpikā and Tithitattva. The last is probably the Tithitattva of Raghunandana

No 523 also is a fragment of a work entitled Kālanirṇaya-candrikā by Divākara, son of Mahādevabhaṭṭa whose family name was Kale Divākara quotes the Nirnayasindhu, wherefore he is a recent author

TITHINIRṆAYA BY BHAṬṬOJI DĪKṢITA

No 548 is Tithinirṇaya by Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita, the son of Lakṣmīdhara and the author of the Siddhāntakaumudi and other grammatical works In this work Bhaṭṭoji mentions among others the following authors and works —

Anantabhaṭṭa	Madanapārijāta
Aparārka	Madanaratna
Kāladarśa	Mādhava
Jyotirnibandha	Rāmārcanacandrikā
Tristhalīsetu	Viśvarūpanibandha
Nārāyaṇa	Sarvajñanārāyaṇa
Nārāyaṇavṛtti on Āśvalāyana	Smṛticandrikā
Nirṇayadīpikā	Smṛtidarpaṇa
Nirṇayāmṛta	Smṛtiratnāvalī
Pṛthvīcandrodaya	Smṛtisamgraha
Pratāpamārtanda	Smṛtyarthasāra
Prayogapārijāta	Haradatta
Bhārgavārcanacandrikā	Hemādri

BHAṬṬOJI'S DATE

Of these, the Nirṇayadīpikā is the Kālanirṇayadīpikā of Rāmacandrācārya, and I have, as already stated, verified the quotations. Rāmacandrācārya flourished as will be shown

hereafter about the middle of the fifteenth century. The Tristhalīsetu is the work of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa whose dates are Saṁvat 1612, 1624, and Śaka 1457, (see Mandlik's Vyavahāra-mayūkha, Upodghāta) The earliest of these is 1535 A D, and the latest 1568 A.D Bhaṭṭoji therefore lived after the third quarter of the sixteenth century. But a still closer approximation may be made to Bhaṭṭoji's date Nāgojibhaṭṭa was the pupil of Hari Dīkṣita, the grandson of Bhaṭṭoji, and Vitthalrao Ganesha Patavardhan, who died in 1871, belonged, as appears from the table given by Dr Kielhorn in the preface to his translation of the Paribhāṣenduśekhara, to the fourth generation of teachers and pupils after Nāgojibhaṭṭa, and consequently to the seventh after Bhaṭṭoji, that is, including Bhaṭṭoji there were eight generations up to 1871 Allowing 30 years to each generation Bhaṭṭoji's literary activity must have begun at the earliest about the year 1631 A D, i e, he might safely be understood to have flourished about the middle of the seventeenth century This conclusion tallies with the date 1713 A D, assigned to Nāgojibhaṭṭa by Dr Hall in the preface to his edition of the Sāmkhyasāra, (p 37 note) Kamalākara does not quote Bhaṭṭoji in the Nirṇayasindhu written in 1612 A.D, or in the Śūdra-dharmatattva, though these books contain a large number of names, which circumstance might be regarded as corroborative of this view According to Professor Weber (Berlin Catalogue), this same Tithinirṇaya contains a mention of the Nirṇayasindhu, but I have not found it I believe Bhaṭṭoji and Kamalākara were nearly contemporaries, the latter being the elder of the two.

No 532 is a small tract, written for the purpose of determining the proper time for the rite laid down by Pāraskara, called Keśānta.

DĀNAVĀKYĀVALĪ BY VIDYĀPATI

No. 553 is a very old Manuscript transcribed in Saṁvat 1539 or 1483 A.D., of a work entitled Dānavākyāvalī. It was

composed by Vidyāpati at the requisition of Dhīramati, who was the queen of Narasiṁhadeva, King of Mithilā. Narasiṁhadeva is styled "the ornament of the family of Kāmeśvararājapaṇḍita" The name Narasiṁhadeva occurs in the lists of kings of Tirhut published by Kirkpatrick and Hodgson, (Prinsep's Tables). General Cunningham states that these princes were Brahmans by caste, (Arch. Survey Reports, Vol XVI), and the name Kāmeśvararājapaṇḍita perhaps points to that fact. The last, Harasimhadeva, who was the third in descent from Narasiṁhadeva, was subdued by the Emperor of Ḍelhi and compelled to abandon his capital in 1323 A D Narasimhadeva therefore must have been on the throne about 1230 A.D. If he is the prince mentioned in our Manuscript, of which there appears every likelihood, the Dānavākyāvalī was written about the middle of the thirteenth century The Harasimhadeva, son of Bhaveśa mentioned by Misarū and by Dr Hall must have belonged to another line of Mithilā princes reigning over some other part of the country

NANDAPAṆḌITA'S SAMSKĀRANIRṆAYA

No 612 is Samskāranirṇaya by Nandapaṇḍita, the son of Rāmapaṇḍita, the Dharmādhikārin The first leaf is missing. The work was composed at the request of prince Harivaṁśavarman, son of king Mango, and the "crest-jewel of the Māhendra race"

GĀGĀBHAṬṬA'S ĀCĀRĀDARŚA

No. 502 is Ācāradinakaroddyota, completed (pūrita) by Viśveśvara alias Gāgābhaṭṭa, whose pedigree has already been given. It consists of an Āhnika or "the daily religious duties of a pious Brahman" only Probably Gāgā's father wrote a work on Ācāra generally, and his son added this Āhnika to it

OTHER ĀHNIKAS

No. 512 is an Āhnika by Raghunāthabhaṭṭa, son of Mādhavabhaṭṭa. This Raghunāthabhaṭṭa must have been the father of

the mother of Rāmacandra, the author of the Kālanirṇaya-prakāśa mentioned before. No. 511 is in the colophon called an Āhnika in accordance with the Sūtra of Gotama (Gotamasūtre). No. 503 is the Āhnika-section of the Ācārapradīpa composed by Kamalākara who was a native of the village of Kūrpara (Kopargaum) on the Godāvarī and afterwards went to and settled in Kāśī where he wrote the treatise. No. 518 is a work of a similar nature

A MĀDHVA ĀHNIKA

No. 510 is an Āhnika for the followers of Madhva written in accordance with his Sadācārasmṛti by Challāri Nṛsimhācārya, son of Nārāyaṇa. This forms one of the four Tarangas or "waves" of his Smṛtyarthasāgara or "ocean of the doctrines of the Smṛtis," and one more—the Kālataranga—is noticed by Professor Aufrecht in the Oxford catalogue

VIṬṬHALA'S KUṆḌAMAṆḌAPASIDDHI

No 529 is a Manuscript of the Kuṇḍamaṇḍapasiddhi by Viṭṭhala Dīkṣita The work is noticed by Professor Weber in the Berlin Catalogue The Kuṇḍas or altars and the Maṇḍapas or enclosures—the form, measure, and modes of construction of which are given in this tract—are intended for the performance of certain Smārta religious rites, therefore this and other works of that nature are put in this class Viṭṭhala was the son of Būba, of the Atrigotra and a student of the Mādhyaṁdina branch of the Yajurveda The Manuscript contains also a commentary written by the author himself The work was finished in Kāśī on Sunday, the 12th of the light half of Phālguna, in the Śaka year 1541, i e, 1619 A D The Manuscript was transcribed in 1690 Śaka by Viṭṭhala Śrotriya. No. 530 is another incomplete copy of the same work, and No 531 is a fragment of another work on the same subject.

No. 599 is a copy of the Vratarāja, a modern work by a Citta-pāvana Brahman named Viśvanātha, the son of Gopāla, who

lived at Kāśī on the Durgāghāṭa. The work was compiled in Samvat 1793 and Śaka 1658 corresponding to 1736 A D A very large number of Vratas or fasts and observances are detailed in the book.

JĪVADEVA, ANANTADEVA, ĀPADEVA AND THEIR WORKS

No 507 contains the Āśaucanirṇaya by Jīvadeva and an incomplete copy of the Saṃskārakaustubha by Anantadeva Jīvadeva was the son of Āpadeva who lived at a place situated on the banks of the Godāvarī In the colophon the work is called Āśaucadīdhiti or "A ray in the form of Āśauca of the Kaustubha". The Kaustubha meant must be the Smṛtikaustubha, of which the Saṃskārakaustubha and Rājakaustubha are parts The author of these is Anantadeva, son of Āpadeva, Jīvadeva therefore must be a brother of this Anantadeva The name of Āpadeva's father was also Anantadeva, so that the author of the Saṃskārakaustubha was named after his grandfather, as men are often so named among the Marathas Āpadeva is the author of the Mīmāṃsānyāyaprakāśa, usually called Āpadevī, which is highly valued as an excellent introduction to the study of the Mīmāṃsā. I possess also a commentary on the Vedāntasāra by this same Āpadeva.

Jīvadeva quotes the Nirṇayasindhu several times as well as the following among others —

Mitākṣarā	Antyeṣṭi by Bhaṭṭa, i.e., Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa
Aparārka	Śuddhitattva
Mādhava	Hemādri
Smṛtyarthasāra	Madanapārijāta
Śūlapāṇi and other Gauḍas	Madanaratna
Haradatta	

These three authors therefore lived in very modern times. The Saṃskārakaustubha also contains the name of Haradatta.

There are also in the collection little tracts on other branches of the Ācāra division of the Dharmaśāstra which do not call for any special observation

THE PRAYOGAS

ĀŚVALĀYANAGṚHYAKĀRIKĀ

There is a large number of works descriptive of the ritual to be observed on various occasions. And the first to be noticed among these is the Āśvalāyanagṛhyapaddhatikārikās attributed to Kumārilabhaṭṭa. The Manuscript is dated Samvat 1816 and Śaka 1681 No 492 is a copy of the ritual of the Agnimukha or Ājyatantra, which is an introductory ceremony to all rites performed on the Gṛhya fire The ritual is intended for the followers of the Atharvaveda

GAṄGĀDHARA'S PADDHATIS

Nos. 570 and 623 are fragments of Gangādhara's Prayoga-paddhati, and Nos. 613 and 614 of his Samskārapaddhati. In these last Gangādhara speaks of himself as the son of the son of Rāmāgnihotrin He appears to be one of the oldest writers on the ritual followed by Mādhyaṁdinas, for in last year's Collection there is a copy of the Samskārapaddhati which was transcribed in Samvat 1650 or 1594 A D, and No. 613 also appears very old though it bears no date

PADMANĀBHA AND HIS DARPAṆAS

Another writer on this subject for the Mādhyamdinas is Padmanābha, son of Gopāla, and grandson of Nārāyaṇa. No 576 is a small fragment of his Prayogadarpaṇa, and No 575 of his Pratiṣṭhādarpaṇa which contains the ritual to be observed in the consecration of images

TĀNA PĀṬHAKA

A third writer is Tāna Pāṭhaka of whose Samskāramuktāvalī, No. 615 is a Manuscript It comes down to the end of Vivāha or marriage,

ĀPASTAMBA PRAYOGAPADDHATI

No. 577 is a copy of the Prayogapaddhati for the followers of Āpastamba by an author of the name of Peñjalla Jhiṅgayya, son of Peñjalla Mañcanācārya. This is a South Indian name, and probably the author was a Tailaṅga Brahman. Followers of Āpastamba are mostly to be found in the Tailaṅgaṇa country, while in Mahārāṣṭra there are a few families living on the borders of the two countries.

The other works in this group are on special rites and ceremonies and do not call for any particular notice

THE PRĀYAŚCITTA AND VYAVAHĀRA BRANCHES

As referring to the Vyavahāra branch of the Dharma, we have in the Maratha division only the second chapter of the Mitākṣarā (No. 589), transcribed in Śaka 1572 There are also three small tracts belonging to the Prāyaścitta branch (Nos 551, 555, and 621).

POEMS, PLAYS AND FABLES

VALLABHADEVA'S COMMENTARIES

In the Gujarath Section we have complete copies in the Śāradā character of Vallabhadeva's Commentaries on the Raghuvaṃśa (No 83) and the Meghadūta (No 82), and of that on the first eight cantos of the Kumārasambhava (No 72). The name of Vallabhadeva's father was Ānandadeva

No. 71 is a complete copy of Jonarāja's Commentary on the Kirātarjunīya composed as stated in the introduction in Śaka 1370 (Kharṣiviśvamite Śāke) corresponding to 1448 A. D., in the reign of Jainollābhadena. This prince is the same as Zainul Abuddin whose name occurs in the table of Kaśmīr Kings given at the end of Prinsep's Essays, and who ascended the throne in 1422 A D, and reigned up to 1472 A. D

VIṢṆUBHAKTIKALPALATĀ WITH A COMMENTARY

No. 86 is a copy of the eighth Stabaka or canto of Puruṣottama's Viṣṇubhaktikalpalatā with a commentary by

Maheśvara, son of Virūpākṣa. There is a Manuscript of Stabakas I, II, IV, and V of the poem with the same commentary in my Collection of 1879-80 (No 81), and of the whole or eight Stabakas with the commentary of Mahīdāsa in that of 1881-82 (No 320) The present Manuscript was transcribed in Saṁvat 1667 and Śaka 1533, so that the commentary is at least 275 years old

DATE OF THE COMMENTARY

But the date of its composition is given at the end of the Manuscript as Thursday, the 3rd (Mukhyajayātithau) of the light half of Mārgaśirṣa, in the year of Vikrama Aśvāmbudhi-rāga-bhūmi The first two words represent 47 and the last 1, and in the place of hundreds we have rāga. But the word Rāga is not used to denote a numeral, nor is the sense of the word such as to make it fit for such a use. In all probability therefore Rāga is a mistake for Rāma which word is used to express the numeral (3), for there were three Rāmas, Bhārgava Rāma, Dāśarathi Rāma, and Bala-Rāma The date therefore is 1347 Vikrama, corresponding to 1291 A D According to Mr Modak's calculations, however, it is 1447 Vikrama. But the word Rāga cannot be so understood or corrected as to mean "four"

(The word rāga is sometimes used to express 'six', as Pandit Durgaprasada tells me Rāga means 'a musical mode' and there are six principal modes, the use of the word therefore to express 'six' is perfectly possible The date of the Commentary is thus 1647 Samvat, and according to the Pandit's as well as Mr. Dikṣit's calculation the 3rd of the light half of Mārgaśirṣa falls on a Thursday in that year)[1]

In the commentary of the eighth Stabaka contained in the

1 The matter included in the brackets was added by Sir R. G Bhandarkar in the "Notes, Corrections and Additions" appended to the Original Report.—[N. B. U]

Manuscript before me the following lexicons are quoted from:—

Amara	Halāyudha
Viśva	Mahīpa

There is a copy of Mahīpa in my last year's Collection. The Bhāgavata also is mentioned The commentary of Mahīdāsa mentioned above was composed in the year 1654. The era is not given

THE MAHĀNĀṬAKA WITH A COMMENTARY

No 96 is a Manuscript of the Mahānāṭaka with a commentary by Balabhadra, son of Kāśīnātha and grandson of Kṛṣṇadatta. The commentary was composed on the Rāmanavamī day or the 9th of the light half of Caitra in the year 1638, the cyclic year being Vyaya. The era to which the date refers is not given, but it must be the Samvat. Balabhadra mentions a previous commentary, the Candrikā.

PRABODHACANDRODAYA AND COMMENTARIES ON IT

No 77 is a copy of the Prabodhacandrodaya transcribed in Saṁvat 1601 corresponding to 1545 A D and No 78 is a commentary on the play by Rāmadāsa, son of Bhaṭṭa Vināyaka. Among Manuscripts written in the Tailanga character recived in 1882 from the Government of H H the Nizam through the Government of Bombay, there was a commentary on the play entitled Candrikā and the report that I made on it under date the 8th of February 1883 is as follows —

'The first of these (i e , the Candrikā) was composed by the minister of a king of the name of Nādillayappa In the introduction, the author tells us he was a nephew (sister's son) of Sālvatimma, the minister of Kṛṣṇarāya, king of Vijayanagara, and had an elder brother who was Sālvatimma's son-in-law as well as nephew He gives a short history of Kṛṣṇarāya who is called "king of Karnataka." Kṛṣṇarāya was, we are told, the son of Narasimha and was a powerful monarch who governed the

whole southern peninsula. He married the daughter of Pratāparudra Gajapati (king of Orissa) Among the Mackenzie Manuscripts is one of the name of Kṛṣṇarāyacaritra or "an account of Kṛṣṇarāya," and what is stated there with regard to the king as well as what has been gathered from Inscriptions, agrees with the account given by our commentator Kṛṣṇarāya reigned from A D 1508 to 1530'

BĀLAKṚṢṆA AND MADHUSŪDANA

No. 85 is a commentary on a number of verses composed by one Bālakṛṣṇa who lived at Gokula on the river Yamunā in the Antarvedi or the Doab The author was Madhusūdana, pupil of Bālakṛṣṇa, and son of Mādhava who himself was the son of Narasiṁha. The commentary was composed in 1700 The era is not given but must be the Samvat, since the Manuscript itself was copied in 1774 Samvat

ANTHOLOGIES

Nos. 79, 91, 92 and 93 are Manuscripts of Anthologies The first is but a fragment containing the Nītiprakaraṇa, the first of the twenty-one sections into which the compilation is divided.

The author is Haridāsa who was the youngest of four brothers, the sons of Puruṣottama who lived at Khārāghāṭa The anthology was compiled in the year 1614 The era is not given, but it must be the Samvat

A KAŚMIR ANTHOLOGY

No 91 is also a fragment without beginning or end, about one-half of which is written in the Śāradā character and the other half in the Nāgarī The names of poets are in most cases given at the end of the verse or verses attributed to them, but in some places they are not The Śloka 'Ayaṁ bandhuḥ paro v'eti,' &c., is attributed to Bhaṭṭa, but it occurs in the Pañcatantra and may have been older, and 'Durjanaḥ parihartavyo vidyayālaṁkṛto,' &c., to Vālmīki, but we find it in Bhartṛhari's

Nītiśataka. Such mistakes are by no means uncommon in anthologies, and therefore, the mere fact of the occurrence of the name of a certain poet after a certain verse in a Manuscript of an anthology, ought not without corroborative evidence to be made the basis of far-reaching historical conclusions.

For instance, the stanza, one Pāda of which—Varatanu sampravadanti &c., is quoted by Patañjali, is fully given by Kṣemendra and attributed to Kumāradāsa, and this fact has been used as a reason for bringing down the date of Patañjali But the same Pāda is attributed by Rāyamukuṭa to Bhāravi (p. 479), to whom also the whole stanza as given by Kṣemendra is ascribed in the Chandomañjarī This throws such a doubt on the authorship of the stanza as to make it of little use in determining Patañjali's date And supposing that it belongs to any one of the two, that does not, by any means, make Patañjali later than either Another explanation is quite possible, viz, that the Pāda was taken from Patañjali, and three other were composed and added by either of the later writers, in the way of what is known as Samasyāpūraṇa

The following poets are mentioned in No 91

Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa *2a*
Viṭāvṛtta *2a*
Jagaddhara *2b*
Harṣadatta *3b*
Caṇyaka (Cāpaka ?) *3b*
Jīva *4a*
Bhaṭṭāculita *4b*
Amṛtadanta *5a*
Ānandavardhana *3b*, *6a*, *8a*, *24a*, *34b*, *37b*, *42a*
Amṛtavardhana *6a*
Manoratha *6a*, *7b*
Vibhūti-Mādhava *6b*
Candrasvāmin *7a*
Śrī-Varāhamihira *7b*
Vijaya-Mādhava *7b*
Gaṇapati *8a*
Sūravarman *9a*
Paṇḍita-Śrīvaṅka 11*a*
Paṇḍita-Jagaddhara 11*a*
Jaya-Mādhava 14*a*
Vallabhadeva 15*a*
Varāhamihira 15*a*
Vālmīkisūri 17*a*
Kṣemendra 17*b*, 23*b*, 25*ab*, 33*a*
Kusumadeva 21*b*
Prakāśavarṣa 22*b*, 28*a*, 34*b*

Vallabha 24*a*
Vālmīki 24*b*
Murāri 26*a*
Pṛthvīdhara 26*a*
Dāmodh(d)aragupta 28*a*
Bhartṛhari 28*b*, 30*a*, 31*a*, 33*a*, 34*b*, 35
Jayavardhana 28*b*
Haragupta 29*a*
Bhāravi 29*a*
Śivasvāmin 29*a*
Bhaṭṭa Vāsudeva 29*b*, 41*a*
Vyāsadāsa 30*b*
Vararuci 31*b*
Bhaṭṭo(d)bhaṭṭa 33*b*
Dharmagupta 34*a*
Vikramāditya 34*a*
Haribhaṭa 35*b*
Śrīharṣa 36*a*
Śankuka 36*b*
Paṇḍitayājaka 37*a*
Bhallaṭa 37*a*, 37*b*, 38*a*
Prakāśadatta 37*a*
Dhārādhara 38*a*
Kālidāsa 38*a*
Kalaśaka 38*a*
Bhavānīnandana 38*b*
Dyutidhara 39*b*
Śrī-Śuka 40*a*
Śrī-Muktāpīḍa 40*a*
Śrī-Jonarāja 41*a*
Ratisena 42*a*
Jalhaṇa 42*b*

SUBHĀṢITARATNAKOŚA BY KṚṢṆA

No. 93 is a copy of Subhāṣitaratnakośa by Kṛṣṇa A few leaves are wanting at the end The names of the authors of the excerpts are not given, but the selections are very good.

VERSES ABOUT PARTICULAR POETS

In the section on Kāvyas and Kavis we find verses in praise of Bāṇa who is like "a lion that breaks the globes on the temples of the elephants in the shape of other poets," of Mayūra, Māgha, Bhāravi and Murāri Vālmīki is in a verse spoken of as poet No 1, Vyāsa as No 2, and Daṇḍin as No 3 In another, Harihara is admonished not to be boastful as "Madana is the goad of elephants in the shape of poets", and Madana is in his turn bid "to remember the former deeds of Hara (Śiva) and hold his tongue" Here there is a play on the word Madana which means the god of love and was the name of a poet, whose full name was Madanakīrti. Madanakīrti is mentioned by Rājaśekhara in his

Prabandhacaturviṁśati, and both he and Harihara were the contemporaries of Someśvaradeva, the author of the Kīrtikaumudī and Surathotsava.

No. 92 is an anthology the subject of which is Śṛṅgāra or love, and which contains long extracts from the Mahānāṭaka, the Meghadūta, the Kumārasambhava, and other poems. The Manuscript was transcribed in 1612 Saṁvat

VYĀKARAṆA OR GRAMMAR

KĀTANTRALAGHUVṚTTI

No 97 is Kātantralaghuvṛtti A few leaves are missing The Vṛtti is different from Durga's Vṛtti published by Dr Eggeling The Pūrvārdha or Nāmaprakaraṇa agrees with No 279 of 1875-76; and the Ākhyātavṛtti of the Uttarārdha agrees with the corresponding portion of No 280, but the Kṛdvṛtti somewhat differs.

KĀTANTRAPARIBHĀṢĀS

No 98 contains the Sūtras of the Kātantra together with the Paribhāṣās. Most of these last are the same as those laid down by Pāṇini or applicable to the grammar of Pāṇini.

OTHER WORKS

No 103 is a copy of the Prabodhacandrikā by Vaijala, son of Vikramāditya, belonging to the Cāhuvāna or Chohan race, and king of Candrāvatī, the modern Jhalrapattan The tract contains verses giving the rules of grammar along with instances having reference to the story of Rāma.

No. 104 is Mahābhāṣyagūḍhārthadīpinī containing notes on difficult passages in the Mahābhāṣya by Sadāśiva, pupil of Kamalākara Dīkṣita The first chapter and a small portion of the second are wanting The Manuscript was transcribed or perhaps the book was written in Śaka 1589 or A. D 1667 In either case it is evident that the author flourished before Nāgojibhaṭṭa.

KĀŚIKĀ

No. 99 is a copy of the last five chapters of the Kāśikā. The Manuscript contains no date but looks very old. In the colophons at the end of Chapters IV and V, the name of the author is not given, but at the end of Pādas I, II, and III of Chapter VI, the title is given as Vāmana-Kāśikā. At the end of the fourth Pāda of the same chapter no name occurs, but at the end of the eighth chapter, we have Paramopādhyāya-Vāmanakṛtāyāṁ Kāśikāyām Vṛttau, and of the seventh Vāmana ...tāyām Kāśikāyām Vṛttau It would appear from this that Vāmana was the author of the last three chapters. But on the evidence of Kaśmīr Manuscripts collected by Dr Bühler in 1875-76, Jayāditya is now believed to be the author of the first four chapters and Vāmana of the last four But there is the evidence of Rāyamukuṭa and Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita in favour of assigning the fifth chapter to Jayāditya, and the seventh and eighth to Vāmana.

Under the word Śarkarā in the Amarakośa, Rāyamukuṭa derives the four forms of the word from Pāṇini V 2 105, with a reference to Jayāditya, and mentions Saikato ghaṭaḥ or Śārkaram madhu as counter-examples given by him, and these we find in the Kāśikā under that Sūtra Under the word Pāṇḍura, Rāyamukuṭa defends Jayāditya against an attack by the author of the Bhāṣāvṛtti for having included the word Pāṇḍu in the Vārtika beginning with Naga on V 2 107 In commenting on his own explanation of ekavacanāt in Pāṇini, V 4 43 as a "word signifying a measure" and directing the application of the suffix Śas to such a word, Bhaṭṭoji observes in the Manoramā that he has followed Jayāditya in so explaining it, but according to Vāmana, that termination may be appended to ordinary common nouns also, since under the Sūtra VII. 1 20 he gives Kuṇḍaśo dadāti, Vanaśaḥ praviśati as instances, to show that the Śas occurring in that Sūtra is not that used in these instances, but is the Śas of the accusative plural. Now the explanation attributed to Jayāditya

occurs in the Kāśikā under Pāṇ. V. 4. 43, and the instances attributed to Vāmana under Pāṇ. VII 1. 20. Under the word Apsaras, which according to Amara is used in the plural only, Rāyamukuṭa says that Vāmana gives Aphsarāḥ as an instance of the Vārtika Cayo dvitīyāḥ, and hence the noun is used in the singular also Now this Vārtika occurs under VIII 4. 48, and we do find aphsarāḥ in the Kāśikā at that place. Similarly under the words kravyād and kravyāda, Jayāditya's view is referred to, and this w· find in the Kāśikā under III 2 68

Mādhava quotes Vāmana's and Jayāditya's observations in the Dhātuvṛtti (Pandit, Vol V, New Series, p 346), and these are found in the Kāśikā under VIII 2 30, and III 2 59 respectively. Thus then on the evidence of Mādhava, Rāyamukuṭa, and Bhaṭṭoji, the third and fifth chapters of the Kāśikā were written by Jayāditya, and the seventh and eighth by Vāmana , while the Manuscript before me assigns the sixth chapter also to the latter.

CHAPTERS I-V BY JAYĀDITYA AND VI-VIII BY VĀMANA

On a review of the whole available evidence it appears clear that the author of the first five chapters was Jayāditya and of the last three Vāmana. There is an allusion to Jayāditya and Vāmana in Professor Aufrecht's edition of Ujjvaladatta's Uṇādisūtra, under I. 52 , but I do not find it in two very old Manuscripts of the work, one dated Samvat 1563, and the other Samvat or Vikrama 1680 Vāmana was according to Rāyamukuṭa the author of another work entitled Lingānuśāsana, and many of the references to Vāmana contained in that commentary on Amara must be to that work of Vāmana * Itsing, the Chinese traveller, mentions Jayāditya only as the author of the Kāśikā (Professor Max-Müller's note on the Renaissance of Sanskrit Literature, in "India, what can it teach us ? ") and not Vāmana. Jayāditya probably

* Since the above was put in type, a Manuscript of this work has been discovered by my friend and colleague Prof. Peterson.

left his work incomplete, and it was finished long afterwards by Vāmana who also wrote other philological works.

PRAKRIYĀKAUMUDĪ

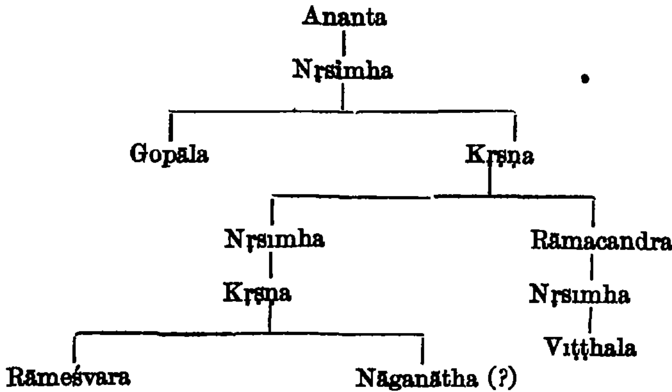
No. 102 is a Manuscript of the Prakriyākaumudīprasāda or a commentary on the Prakriyākaumudī, by Viṭṭhalācārya, the grandson of Rāmacandrācārya, the author of the work commented on. Rāmacandrācārya is also the author of the Kālanirṇayadīpikā, and the commentary on the work usually found is by his son Nṛsiṁhācārya, the father of Viṭṭhalācārya The commentaries on both the works contain Praśastis giving an account of the family to which the author of the original works and those of the commentaries belonged

HISTORY OF THE FAMILY OF THE AUTHOR

The family belonged to the Āndhra country, or in other words it was a family of Tailanga Brahmans, devoted to the study of the Ṛgveda and belonging to the Kauṇḍinyagotra The first person named is Anantācārya from whom a certain holy person (Yatīndravarya) of the name of Rāmasvāmin derived a knowledge of all the Āgamas and to whom the title of Ācārya was given by him His son was Nṛsiṁhācārya who was proficient in the Nigamas and Āgamas, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Jaiminīya and Gaṇita, wrote a Bhāṣyasāra of the Śrutis (Upaniṣads), and defeated opponents in argument at the court of a prince He had sons of whom Gopālācārya was the eldest and Kṛṣṇācārya the youngest Kṛṣṇācārya was the most learned of them all, being well versed in the eighteen branches of learning, of which Nigama is the first He explained the Sūtravṛtti at the court of Rāma in the presence of that prince Kṛṣṇa's sons were Nṛsimhācārya and Rāmacandrācārya who was the younger of the two Rāmacandra's instructor was Gopālācārya and he wrote three works, the Prakriyākaumudī, Vaiṣṇavasiddhāntasaddīpikā, and a treatise on Kāla. Possibly, instead of one he wrote three treatises on Kāla. Nṛsimha was Rāmacandra's son

and wrote the commentary on his father's Kālanirṇayadīpikā. His teacher was Kṛṣṇācārya who was the son of the eldest brother of Rāmacandra, i.e., Nṛsiṁha in all probability, and who wrote commentaries on some of the Kāvyas. Viṭṭhala, the author of the Prasāda, was the son of Nṛsiṁha, the commentator on the Kālanirṇayadīpikā. His mother's name was Maṇikāmbā and his teacher was Rāghavendrasarasvatī who defeated many opponents in argument and established the Dvaitasiddhānta (?) At the end of the Praśasti Viṭṭhala renders his obeisance to Rāmeśvarācārya, the son of Kṛṣṇaguru, i e., in all probability Kṛṣṇa the teacher of his father, to Ananta the son of Viṭṭhalācāryaguru who defeated Vādirāja in argument, to Nāganātha son of Kṛṣṇa who defeated Vāji (di?) nātha and who possessed influence over the "Lord of Kings," and to Jagannāthāśrama who was versed in the Vedānta of the Yati.

The genealogy is therefore as follows .—



In the history of the family thus given the name of one king only, Rāma, is given. This name was borne by several princes of the Vijayanagara dynasty and of other dynasties which sprang from it, so that it is impossible to find out who the prince meant was But the dates of Rāmacandrācārya and his son and grandson can be approximately determined with the aid of other evidence.

DATE OF RĀMACANDRĀCĀRYA

The present Manuscript of the Prasāda is dated 1717 Saṁvat corresponding to 1661 A D A copy of the Kālanirṇayadīpikāvivaraṇa, No. 92 of my last year's Collection, was transcribed in 1651 Saṁvat or 1595 A. D., and No. 91 of the same Collection bears a double date, viz, 1621 Samvat and 1486 Śaka, corresponding to 1565 A D There is a Manuscript of the Prakriyākaumudī in the Collection belonging to the old Sanskrit College of Poona (No. 324) which also bears a double date, viz., 1583 Samvat and 1448 Śaka or 1527 A D But the lines in which the date is given run thus —"On Tuesday the 13th of the light half of the month of Bhādrapada, the current year being Samvat 1583 and Śaka 1448 [this] was transcribed at Nandigiri by Rāmacandrācāryasuta-suta-suta." Between the su and the ta of the second suta we have some letter, but there is a mark indicative of erasure on it and the usual upper horizontal stroke is wanting which shows that the letter is not to be read. Thus then that Manuscript was transcribed in 1527 A D, by the son of the son of the son of Rāmacandrācārya, i.e, by his great grandson The Rāmacandrācārya spoken of must be the author of the Prakriyākaumudī, for if he had been another person different from the author, some distinguishing particulars would have been given about him Besides, the Nandigiri where the Manuscript was copied is the same as Nanded situated on the Godāvarī in the territory of the Nizam; and the country surrounding it corresponds to the Āndhradeśa in which, as we are told in the Praśastis, the family lived. If, therefore, a great grandson of Rāmacandrācārya lived in 1527 A.D., Rāmacandrācārya himself must have lived about 1450 A D. In the beginning of the work before me, Viṭṭhala adores Śambhu, Pāṇini, Vararuci, Śeṣa (i e. Patañjali), Bhartṛ and other expounders of the Bhāṣya, the authors of the Vṛtti and the Nyāsa, Bhoja, Durga, and Kṣīrasvāmin.

PARIBHĀṢĀBHĀSKARA

The only work belonging to this class in the Maratha Section that calls for notice is the Paribhāṣābhāskara by an author of the name of Bhāskara. At the end of the work the author thus gives his pedigree. In the town of Tryambakeśvara lived Puruṣottamabhaṭṭa who belonged to a family of the name of Agnihotrin. He had a son of the name of Haribhaṭṭa who appears to have been a Vaidika. His son was Āpājibhaṭṭa who lived at Kāśī and was a physician, and Āpāji's son was Bhāskara. Two collections of Paribhāṣās, one by Sīradeva' and the other by Udayamkara have been noticed by Dr Kielhorn in the preface to his translation of the Paribhāṣenduśekhara, and this is a third

Bhāskara lived after Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita since he quotes the first line of the opening verse of the Siddhāntakaumudī (Munitrayam namaskṛtya etc). He also quotes Bhaṭṭi and the commentary Jayamaṅgalā, the Kāvyaprakāśa, Mādhavācārya, the Sāhityadarpaṇa, Sīradeva, &c Some of the Paribhāṣās given in the book do not occur in Nāgojibhaṭṭa's Paribhāṣenduśekhara. Bhāskara divides his work into eight chapters each having *four Pādas, the divisions corresponding* with those of the Aṣṭādhyāyī ; and at the end gives other Paribhāṣās which are mostly based, as he says, on Nyāyas or ordinary principles. The author appears to have lived before Nāgojibhaṭṭa Another copy of the work is noticed in Dr Burnell's Catalogue of the Tanjor Manuscripts and also another Paribhāṣābhāskara by an author of the name of Śeṣādri

KOŚAS OR LEXICONS

RĀYAMUKUṬA'S COMMENTARY ON THE AMARAKOŚA

We have a copy of the Amarakośa in the Śāradā characters (No 110), and an old copy of the Padacandrikā or Rāyamukuṭa's

commentary on it dated Saṁvat 1711 A few leaves of this are missing At folio 49*b* of the first part occurs the well-known date of the work, Śaka 1353, corresponding to 1431 A.D.

Rāyamukuṭa quotes a very large number of authors and works. The following names[1] occur in Kāṇḍa I .—

Leaf 2 wanting

Ajayakośa, 14 *b* 3, 51 *a 4*, 86 *b* 3, 96 *a 5*.

Atiśīla, 54 *a 3*.

Anunyāsa 12 *b* 6

Abhinanda, 64 *a 2*.

Amaradatta (Puṁskāṇḍa) 91 *a* 3

Amaramālā, 5 *b* 4, 33 *a 4*, 40 *a 3*, 48 *a* 2, 57 *a* 4, 62 *b 5*, 78 *b 2*, 89 *a 5*, 89 *b 6*, 90 *a* 5.

Āgama 22 *a* 4, 25 *a* 1, 28 *b* 4, 35 *b* 7, 41 *b* 6.

Āścaryaparvan, 23 *b* 2.

Āścaryamañjarī, 46 *a 3*, 86 *b* 4.

Ugaḍa, 8 *a* 5.

Ujjvaladatta, 81 *b* 3, 84 *b* 5

Uṇādivṛtti 31 *b* 2, 43 *b 4*.

Utpalinīkośa 35 *a 4*, 52 *a 1*, 54 *b 2*, 59 *b 1*, 77 *a* 1, 89 *a* 3.

Udyogaparvan, 13 *a* 1.

Upādhyāyasarvasva, 15 *b* 7, 33 *b* 3, 38 *a* 5, 50 *b 6*, 52 *b 6*.

Ūṣmabheda, 87 *a 1*, 87 *b* 4.

Ūṣmaviveka, 44 *a 2*

Aupaniṣadāḥ 11 *a* 1

Kalinga, 11 *b 3*, 12 *a* 2, 12 *b 5*, 21 *b* 6, 25 *a* 6, 27 *a* 4, 30 *a 3*, 32 *a 4*, 38 *a* 5, 40 *b 7*, 41 *b* 2, 42 *b 1*, 54 *a* 3, 61 *a* 4, 64 *a 2*, 65 *a* 1, 67 *b 2*, 75 *a 1*, 77 *a* 3, 81 *a* 5 & *2*, 82 *a* 1 & *5*, 83 *b 6*, 86 *b* 2, 87 *a* 2, 90 *a* 2, 91 *b 2*, 95 *a* 5.

Kāṇḍaśeṣa, 40 *a 4*.

Kātantra, 22 *b 3*, 47 *b* 6

1 As on a former occasion, the number in Italics shows the number of the line from the bottom of the page.—[N. B. U.]

Haḍucandra, 6 *a* 7, 14 *a* 1, 34 *a* 6, 41 *a* 5, 60 *a* 6 and 8, 66 *a* 5, 70 *b* 2, 71 *a* 4.

Hariprabodha, 34 *a* 6, 80 *a* 1, 84 *b* 2.

Harivaṁśa, 11 *a* 7, 12 *a* 2, 24 *a* 2

Harṣacarita, 59 *b* 1.

Halāyudha 17 *b* 2, 75 *b* 4, 79 *b* 4.

Hārāvalī, 39 *b* 4.

The following names occur in Kāṇḍas II and III :–[1]

AUTHORS

Ajaya
Abhinanda
Amaradatta
Aruṇadatta (identical with the commentator of Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya ?)
Kayyaṭa
Kaliṅga
Kātya
Kātyāyana
Kāmandaka
Kālidāsa
Kokkaṭa
Kauṭalya
Govardhana
Grahakṛṣṇa
Candra
Candragomin
Caraka
Jātarūpa
Jinendrabuddhi
Tārapāla
Daṇḍin
Dāmodara
Durga (Durgokta Liṅgānuśāsana); also quoted as Durgasiṁha
Dhanaṁjaya
Dhanvantari
Dharmadāsa (author of Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana)
Dharmasena
Pāṇini
Puruṣottama
Pūrṇacandra
Bāṇa
Bālapaṇḍitajātakam
Bopālita
Bhaṭṭa
Bharata
Bhavabhūti
Bhāguri
Bhāravi
Bhāṣyakāra
Bhīmasena
Śrī Bhoja

1 This list was drawn up by Pandit Durgaprasad and is printed as a Supplement in the Original Report at pp. 467-78. [N B. U.]

Manu
Māgha
Mādhava
Murāri
Maitreya
Maudgalyāyana
Yājñavalkya
Rakṣita
Rantideva
Rājadeva
Rājaśekhara
Rudra
Vararuci
Varāha
Vācaspati
Vātsyāyana (author of the Kāmasūtra)
Vāmana
Vikramāditya
Vṛddha Ṛṣi
Vyāḍi
Vyāsa
Śabara (also Śabarasvāmin)
Śākaṭāyana
Śātātapa
Śābdika
Śālihotra
Śāśvata
Śubhāṅga
Śūdraka
Śrīkara
Śrīdhara
Śrīharṣa
Sanātana
Sarvadhara
Sarvānanda
Sāhasāṅka
Subhūti
Somanandi
Svāmin
Haṭṭacandra
Halāyudha

WORKS

Anunyāsa
Anekārthamañjarī
Abhidhānamālā
Amaramālā
Arthaśāstra
Aśvatantra
Aśvaśāstra
Ārṣakośa
Āścaryamañjarī[1]
Uṇādivṛtti ("Uṇādivṛttau Puruṣottamaḥ").
Ūṣmaviveka
Kaṇṭhābhūṣaṇakāvyālaṁkāra
Kapphiṇābhyudaya (also Kaṣphiṇā,° & Kapphiṇā°)
Kalpalatā (same as the next ? sometimes simply Latā)
Kavikalpalatā

1 According to a verse attributed to Rājaśekhara in the Sūktimuktāvali, the author of the Āścaryamañjarī was Kulaśekhara.

Kātantrapañjikā
Kādambarī
Kāvyaprakāśa
Kāvyādarśa ("Kāvyādarśe Vāmanaḥ")
Kirāta
Kīcakavadha (quoted also in Ujvaladatta's Uṇādisūtravṛtti)
Kumārasambhava
Kesaramālā
Kaumudī
Gaṇitaśāstra
Cāṇakyaṭīkā
Cāndravyākaraṇa
Ṭippaṇī
Ṭīkāsamuccayasāra
Trikāṇḍaśeṣa
Dara (?Hara?) vilāsa
Durghaṭavṛtti
Deśīkośa
Dvirūpakośa
Dharaṇi
Dhātupārāyaṇa
Dhātupradīpa
Dhātupradīpaṭīkā
Nāmaprapañca
Nāmamālā
Nāmānuśāsana
Nigama
Nairukta (also Niruktam)
Naiṣadha
Nyāsa
Pañjikā
Padacandrikā (i.e., the Com. on Amarakośa by Rāyamukuṭa himself)
Pārāyaṇa[1] (same as Dhātupārāyaṇa ?)
Bhaṭṭi
Bhārata
Bhārataṭīkā
Madhumādhavī
Madhāvī
Meghadūta
Medinī
Yogaśatakavyākhyā
Raghu
Ratnakośa
Ratnamālā[2]
Rabhasa
Rāmāyaṇa
Rūpabheda
Rūpamañjarī
Rūparatnākara
Liṅgakārikā
Varṇadeśanā
Vāyupurāṇa
Vā (Pā) lakāpya
Vāsavadattā

1 The author of the Pārāyana is Pūrṇacandra as stated in the explanation of the word Jayantī

2 The author is Mādhava, as is to be concluded from the com. on the word Āśu.

Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana
Viśva
Vṛddhanyāsa
Vṛndāvanayamaka
Vyākhyāmṛta
Śabdārṇava
Śa-bheda (same as Ṣa-bheda and Sa-bheda mentioned below ?)
Śṛngāraprakāśa
Ṣa-bheda (see Śa-bheda above)
Saṁsārāvarta
Saptakumārikā
Sa-bheda (see Śa-bheda and Ṣa-bheda, above)
Sarvasva
Sahasranāmaṭīkā
Suśruta
Sūtrabhāṣya
Sūdaśāstra
Harivaṁśa
Hārāvalī

POETICS AND METRICS

COMMENTARIES ON THE RASAMAÑJARĪ

In this class we have in the Maratha Section a copy of a commentary on Bhānudatta's Rasamañjari by Śeṣa Cintāmaṇi, the son of Śeṣa Nṛsimha (No 662). In Dr Burnell's Tanjor Catalogue, Śeṣacintāmani is given as the name of a work under Śatakas and Anthologies, but there must be some mistake. Śeṣa is a family name and Cintāmaṇi, of an individual belonging to that family In the Gujarat Section there is another commentary on the same work by one Viśveśvara It is a very full commentary but the Manuscript is incomplete being about two-thirds of the whole

No 663 is a commentary on the Śrutabodha by Manohara who composed it at the request of a prince of the name of Māṇikyamalla.

MĪMĀMSĀ

No 125 is a fragment of Śabarasvāmin's Bhāṣya on the Mīmāṁsāsūtra A complete copy of the work was purchased by me for Government in 1879

SUCARITAMIŚRA'S COMMENTARY ON THE ŚLOKAVĀRTIKA

No 120 is a Manuscript of a work called at the end of some of the sections, Kāśikāṭīkā composed by Upādhyāya Sucaritamiśra,

Many of its leaves are lost. On comparing different portions of the Manuscript with Kumārila's Tantravārtika, I find that this Ṭīkā is a commentary on the Ślokavārtika or the first Pāda of the first chapter of the Tantravārtika. The Ślokavārtika thus appears to have been called Kāśikā Or perhaps, Kāśikā is a mistake for Kārikā, and this work is the same as that put down as No 8 in the Report of the examination of Ahmedabad Manuscripts. This commentary is not mentioned in Dr Hall's Index, neither is there a copy of it among the Tanjor Manuscripts catalogued by Dr Burnell

SOMEŚVARA'S NYĀYASUDHĀ

No 123 is a copy of the second Pāda of the third chapter of the Nyāyasudhā, a commentary on Kumārila's Tantravārtika, by Bhaṭṭa Someśvara, son of Bhaṭṭa Mādhava A Manuscript of the second Pāda of the first chapter of this work has been purchased since

KAMALĀKARA'S COMMENTARY ON THE TANTRAVĀRTIKA

No. 122 is a copy of the first Pāda of the second chapter of a commentary on the Tantravārtika by Kamalākarabhaṭṭa, son of Rāmakṛṣṇa and grandson of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, and author of the Nirṇayasindhu and other works. The first leaf is missing

OTHER WORKS

No 667 is a fragment of the Mīmāṃsābālaprakāśa or substance of Jaimini's work by Śaṃkarabhaṭṭa, son of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa. No 124 is a Manuscript of the well-known manual of the Mīmāṃsā by Kṛṣṇayajvan, and No. 121 of the first four chapters of Mādhava's Adhikaraṇaratnamālā.

PIṢṬAPAŚUMĪMĀṂSĀ

No. 666 is Piṣṭapaśumīmāṃsā by Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita. The followers of Madhva maintain that in this Kaliyuga, the killing

of animals at sacrifices is not allowed, but that an effigy of an animal should be made of the flour of grain, and that sacrificed, instead of the real animal Practically, whenever a Mādhva performs a sacrifice he uses such an effigy, and not a live animal This view is defended and shown to be in accordance with the Śāstras by Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita in the tract before us

He does admit that the Vedas enjoin the sacrifice of a real animal, and though the act is, per se, sinful, still, because enjoined by the Vedas for sacrificial purposes, it is not so But the reason why it is not sinful in this case is that its original sinfulness is neutralized by the holy rites that are performed, just as charms neutralize the effects of snake-poison As, therefore, the charms must be correctly muttered and properly used in order that they may neutralize the poison, so the rites must be performed with perfect accuracy, exactly as they are laid down in the Vedas, in order that they may neutralize the sinfulness consequent on the destruction of animal life Such a perfect accuracy and a perfectly faithful observance of all the conditions laid down in the Vedas are not possible in this age of ignorance and human frailty So that, at the present day the destruction of life at sacrifices cannot but be productive of sin Therefore it is that Manu has laid down that effigies of animals should be made of ghee or flour and sacrificed instead of real animals (Manu V 37) Kullūkabhaṭṭa's explanation of this verse is pronounced by Nārāyaṇa to be wrong. This is the text on which the advocates of Piṣṭapaśu take their stand, but their doctrine is cried down as heterodox by Brahmans of other sects, and there are treatises written in refutation of it.

VEDĀNTA AND OTHER SYSTEMS OF THEOSOPHY

I—ADVAITA OR ŚAMKARĀCĀRYA'S SYSTEM

COMMENTARIES ON THE UPANIṢADS ETC.

No 136 is a copy of Śamkarācarya's Bhāṣya on the Kena Upaniṣad. No. 148 is a commentary on the Śvetāśvatara by

Vijnānabhikṣu. The first two leaves are wanting, and similarly one or two at the end are missing Nos. 132, 136, 144 and 674 also belong to this branch.

COMMENTARIES ON THE BRAHMASŪTRA

No 671 is a fragment of Śaṁkarācārya's Bhāṣya with the Ratnaprabhā. No. 143 is a concise but clear commentary on the Sūtra entitled Brahmāmṛtavarṣiṇī The author is spoken of as Rāmakiṁkaravarya, pupil of Mukunda Govinda, but in some Manuscripts of the work, his name is given as Rāmānandasarasvatī. Copies of this work are by no means rare, there being two in previous Collections, and one or two offered to me since, having been rejected by me

INDEPENDENT WORKS BY ŚAMKARĀCĀRYA

Nos. 130, 131, 133, 134, 135, 138 and 139 belong to this branch. Of these No. 135 is written in the Śāradā character, and Nos 131, 133, 134, and 139 are also of a Kaśmīr origin No 138 is the Tripurīprakaraṇa with Ānandajñāna's Commentary It treats of the three bodily vestments of the soul, corresponding with the three conditions of wakefulness, dreamy sleep, and sound sleep.

WORKS BY THE FOLLOWERS OF ŚAMKARĀCĀRYA

KAŚMĪR TEXT OF THE PAÑCADAŚĪ

Nos. 141 and 145 are written in the Śāradā characters The first is a complete copy of Vidyāraṇya's Pañcadaśī with the commentary of Rāmakṛṣṇa. The Pañcadaśī has been printed several times on this side of the country, but No 141 has been purchased as a representative of the Kaśmīr text of the work

No 145 is called Vedāntasāra but it is not the work usually known by that name, and begins with an exposition of the text Tattvamasi

No 127 is a fragment of a work called Advaitacandrikā by Brahmānandasarasvatī, pupil of Nārāyaṇatīrtha and Paramā-

nanda, and No. 128 is a copy of a large portion of the Advaitalaghucandrikā, by the same author This last is an exposition of the Advaitasiddhi of Madhusūdanasarasvatī, and in the introduction the author seems to say that this exposition contains in an abridged form what he has written in the Candrikā, that is, the first work, and hence it is that he calls it Laghucandrikā or abridged Candrikā.

No. 137 is Tattvānusamdhāna by Mahādevasarasvatī, pupil of Svayamprakāśānanda

No. 149 is Tantradīpikā, otherwise called Sarvopaniṣatsāra, which in the colophon is attributed to Śamkarācārya But in the body of the tract the authors of the Vivaraṇa, the Samkṣepaśārīraka, and the Vārtikas as well as the Miśra (i e Vācaspati), are mentioned, wherefore it cannot be the work of Śamkarācārya.

No 146 is an incomplete copy of a work entitled Vedāntasiddhāntabheda. It expounds the varied views on certain points such as the nature of Māyā, Jīva, Upādāna, &c, held by different writers belonging to the school of Śaṁkarācārya There is far from agreement between them though the system followed by them all, is generally the same For instance, the question is raised, "Brahman being the only reality, and the animal spirit or individual soul being Brahman equally with God, to what is the distinction between them due?" This question is, according to our author, thus answered by various writers In the Prakaṭārthavivaraṇa, it is stated that the uncreated, undefinable, constituent cause of objects is Māyā which stands in a certain relation to the principle of Absolute Thought (Cinmātra) Absolute Thought or Cit as reflected in that Māyā is God (Īśvara), while, as reflected in the innumerable definite or determined parts of that Māyā, which are called Avidyā, and which possess the powers of hiding the true nature of the spirit and of generating appearances, it is the animal spirit (Jīva).

The view, propounded in the Tattvaviveka—the first of the fifteen essays which compose the Pañcadaśī—is that the original constituent cause which is made up of the three principles of Sattva, Rajas, and Tamas, has two forms, in one of which the Sattva or principle of goodness is predominant, not being over-powered by Rajas or the principle of action, and Tamas or the principle of evil, and in the other it is so over-powered and is impure The first is Māyā and the second is Avidyā and absolute Thought as reflected in them, becomes God and the animal spirit respectively

Some say, that the original constituent cause, when the power of generating appearances is predominant in it, is Māyā and it is the environment (Upādhi) of God, while, when the power of concealing the true nature is predominant, the same original cause is Avidyā, and in this form it is the environment of the animal spirit Hence it is that the animal spirit is ignorant of his real Brahman nature, while God is not.

The author of the Samkṣepaśārīraka holds that the original cause is the environment or Upādhi of God, while its effects are the environment of the animal spirit. But the relation between these environments and Absolute Thought is not like that of Ākāśa or space to the jar in which it is enclosed, but like that of a mirror to the thing which is reflected in it. Thus Absolute Thought, as reflected in the original cause, which is Avidyā, is God, and as reflected in the mind or the cognitive apparatus (Antaḥkaraṇa), which is an effect of Avidyā, it is the animal spirit According to these views, final deliverance consists in abandoning the conditions of reflections or images and attaining to the condition of the thing which is reflected, i.e., of Absolute Thought

Our author then proceeds to the more recondite and detailed explanations given in other treatises, into these I need not enter, my object being simply to illustrate the large variety

of theories that obtains even within the boundaries of the system of the Vedānta promulgated by Śamkarācārya.

PĀKHAṆḌACAPEṬIKĀ

No 142 is Pākhaṇḍacapeṭikā or "a slap on the face of heretics." The heretics who come in for this treat at the hands of the author Vijaya-Rāmācārya, are the followers of Madhva. Their getting their bodies branded with heated seals of the Śaṅkha or conch-shell and the Cakra or discus of Viṣṇu is the principal subject of the attack The text from the Vedas and the Purāṇas adduced by the Mādhvas in favour of their practice are declared to be forgeries, and in some cases, explained in a manner different from that in which they are understood by the members of that sect The author then adduces his own texts in condemnation of the practice and consigns the Mādhvas to the tortures of hell The tract ends with a quotation from the Kūrmapurāṇa representing Śamkarācārya as an incarnation of Śiva and recommending his system to those who seek enternal happiness.

No 129, 140, 147, 668, 669, 670, 672 and 673 also belong to this branch of the Advaita Vedānta

II—VIŚIṢṬĀDVAITA OR RĀMĀNUJA'S SYSTEM

No 153 is a commentary on the Bhagavadgītā by Rāmānuja. Rāmānuja's system is principally followed in Southern India in the Tamil and also in the Telugu country, and a good many works belonging to it have been printed in Madras in the Telugu character The system has also a pretty considerable following in Rajaputana and Marwar and also in Gujarath , and therefore the Manuscripts in this Collection purchased in the North are written in the Nāgarī character No. 153 was transcribed in 1792 Saṁvat

THE ARTHAPAÑCAKA

No. 152 is a copy of the Arthapañcaka by Nārāyaṇaparivrāṭ. This is a summary of the topics belonging to the system which

primarily are five, each being divisible again into five. The five principal ones are (I) Jīva, i e, animal spirit or dependent spirit, (II) Īśvara, i e., God, (III) Upāya, i e, the way to God; (IV) Phala or Puruṣārtha, i e, the end of life, and (V) Virodhinaḥ, i.e., obstructions to the attainment of God

ANALYSIS OF THE WORK

(I)—Jīvas are of five kinds, viz (1) Nitya i.e., those who never entered on Saṁsāra or the succession of lives and deaths at all, such as Garuda, Viṣvaksena and others, (2) Mukta, i e, those who have shaken off the fetters of life and whose sole purpose and joy is attendance (Kaiṁkarya) on God, (3) Kevala, i e, those whose hearts being purified are fixed on the highest truth and who are thus free from the succession of births and deaths, (4) Mumukṣu, i e, those who having experienced the misery of life are averse to its enjoyments and have fixed their desire only on the highest end, viz, the attainment of the condition of an attendant on God, and (5) Baddha, i e, those who devoting themselves to the life whether of a god, man, or brute that their previous merits or demerits (Karman) have assigned to them, seek only the enjoyments of such a life and are averse to the joys of Brahma(n)

(II)—The manifestations of Īśvara or God are five, viz, (1) Para, i e, he who lives in Vaikuṇṭha and whose presence is enjoyed by the Nitya and Mukta spirits who dwell near him, who is unbeginning and endless, who wears celestial ornaments, celestial garments, and celestial weapons, who possesses celestial beauty and an endless number of holy attributes, and who is accompanied by Śrī, Bhū, and Līlā, (2) Vyūha, i e, the forms of Saṁkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha assumed for the creation, protection, and dissolution of the world, (3) Vibhava, i e., incarnations such as Rāma and Kṛṣṇa for the establishment of Truth, the protection of the good and the destruction of the

wicked; (4) Antaryāmin, who has two forms, in one of which he dwells in everything and rules over all, is bodiless, all-pervading, and the store of all good attributes and is called Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa, Vāsudeva, &c, and in the other, he possesses a body bearing celestial weapons such as a conch-shell and a discus, and celestial ornaments, dwells in the heart of man, is the store of all good attributes, and is known by the names of Hṛṣīkeśa, Puruṣottama, Vāsudeva, &c, and (5) Arcā, i e, idols of stone, metal, &c, in which he dwells and allows himself to be worshipped by his devotees

In the Yatīndramatadīpikā to be noticed below and in other places, the Vyūhas are given as four, Vāsudeva possessed of the six great attributes, being the first, Saṃkarṣaṇa possessed of two, viz, Jñāna and Bala, being the second, Pradyumna having Aiśvarya and Vīrya, the third, and Aniruddha possessed of Śakti and Tejas, the fourth The first Vyūha is assumed in order that it may serve as an object of devotion, and the other three for the creation, &c, of the world In the present work the Vāsudeva Vyūha is put down as the second form of the Antaryāmin

(III)—The Upāyas or ways to God are five, viz, (1) Karmayoga, (2) Jñānayoga, (3) Bhaktiyoga, (4) Prapattiyoga, and (5) Ācāryābhimānayoga Under the first comes the whole Vedic sacrificial ritual and the Smārta or domestic ceremonies along with the fasts and observances, by going through which the person is purified Then by means of Yama, Niyama, &c, mentioned in the Yoga Śāstra, one should concentrate his mind upon himself This concentration leads to Jñānayoga, which consists in fixing the mind on Nārāyaṇa or Vāsudeva described in the Vāsudeva Vyūha as the person on whom one's own self, on which the mental powers have already been concentrated, depends Thus the devotee arrives at God through himself. The Jñānayoga leads to Bhaktiyoga which consists in continuously seeing nothing but God Prapatti is resorted to by

those who cannot avail themselves of or are not equal to the first three methods It consists in throwing one's self entirely on the mercy of God There are many details given which need not be reproduced here The last method, Ācāryābhimānayoga, is for one who is unable to follow any of the others, and consists in surrendering oneself to an Ācārya or preceptor, and being guided by him in everything The preceptor goes through all that is necessary to effect his pupil's deliverance, as a mother takes medicine herself to cure an infant

(IV.)—The Puruṣārthas are five, viz, (1) Dharma, (2) Artha, (3) Kāma, (4) Kaivalya, and (5) Mokṣa The first three do not differ from those ordinarily called by those names, and the last two are the conditions attained by the Kevala and Mukta spirits (I, 3 and 2 above)

(V.)—The Virodhins are five, viz, (1) Svasvarūpavirodhin, i.e., that which prevents one's own real or spiritual nature from being seen, such as the belief that the body is the soul, (2) Parasvarūpavirodhin, or that which prevents one's approach to the true God, such as devotion to another or false deity or disbelief in God's incarnations, (3) Upāyavirodhin, or that which prevents the true ways from being resorted to, as the belief in ways other than those mentioned above being more efficacious or in the latter being inadequate, (4) Puruṣārthavirodhin or attachment to other than the true or highest object of life, (5) Prāptivirodhin, i e, the being connected with a body that one's own Karman has entailed or with other spirits who are so embodied

YATĪNDRAMATADĪPIKĀ

No. 154 is a Manuscript of the Yatīndramatadīpikā in which the whole system of the Yatīndra or Rāmānuja is briefly explained. The author is Śrīnivāsa, son of Govindācārya of

the Vādhūla family The following persons are mentioned in the beginning as the propounders of the system —

Vyāsa
Bodhāyana
Guhadeva
Bhāruci
Brahmānandin
Dramiḍācārya
Śrīparānkuśanātha
Yāmunamuni
Yatīśvara

At the end the author states that in his explanation of the doctrines of the sect he has followed the following works —

Dramiḍabhāṣya
Nyāyasiddhi
Siddhitraya
Śrībhāṣya
Dīpasārasamgraha
Bhāṣyavivaraṇa
Samgatimālā
Ṣaḍarthasamkṣepa
Śrutaprakāśikā
Tattvaratnākara
Prajñāparitrāṇa
Prameyasamgraha
Nyāyakuliśa
Nyāyasudarśana
Darśanayāthātmyanirṇaya
Nyāyasāra
Tattvadīpa
Tattvanirṇaya
Sarvārthasiddhi
Nyāyapariśuddhi
Nyāyasiddhajñāna
Paramatabhanga
Tattvatrayaculuka
Tattvanirūpaṇa
Tattvatrayavyākhyāna
Caṇḍamāruta
Vedāntavijaya
Pārāśaryavijaya

And others

The last in the first list or Yatīśvara is Rāmānuja, and his work, the Śrībhāṣya, is the fourth in this This is so because the followers of Rāmānuja believe that the system was taught by several teachers who flourished before Rāmānuja Rāmānuja himself states at the beginning of the Bhāṣya that the Vṛtti on the Brahmasūtra written by Bodhāyana was abridged by his predecessors, and among these Dramiḍācārya is mentioned in the Śrutaprakāśikā, the commentary on the Bhāṣya

DIFFERENT DIVISIONS OF THE TOPICS BELONGING TO RĀMĀNUJA'S SYSTEM

Śrīnivāsa then proceeds to indicate the variety of views entertained by different classes of writers The Sūris admit only one entity (Tattva), the Ṛṣis divide it into two, Ātman and Anātman, and the Ācāryas professing to follow the Śruti propound three Tattvas or entities, viz, (1) Bhogya or what is to be enjoyed or suffered, (2) Bhoktṛ, the enjoyer or sufferer, (3) Niyantṛ or the ruler and controller Some Ācāryas teach the system under the four heads of (1) Heya or what is to be shunned, (2) the means of keeping it off, (3) Upādeya or what is to be sought and secured, and (4) its means Other teachers (Deśikas) divide the subject into five parts, viz., (1) what is to be attained or got at (Prāpya), (2) he who attains it (Prāptṛ), (3) the means of attainment (Upāya), (4) the fruits or objects of life (Phala), and (5) obstructions or impediments These are the five topics or Arthapañcaka described above as given in [this year's Manuscript] No 152 Some teachers add one more topic which is called Sambandha (relation), and thus expound six

There is no real difference, according to our author, between these several views, since the variety is due to the adoption of a different principle of division by each teacher The true substance of the Vedāntas or Upaniṣads is that there is only one Brahma(n), with the animal or individual spirits and the dead world as its attributes (Cidacidviśiṣṭādvaitam)

RĀMĀNUJA'S SYSTEM SAME AS THAT OF THE PĀÑCARĀTRAS

The body of doctrines which constitutes the system of Rāmānuja is eventually the same as that professed by the more ancient school of the Pāñcarātras or Bhāgavatas The doctrine of Vyūhas, Vāsudeva as the name of the Supreme Deity, and Bhakti or faith and love as the way to salvation are *characteristic of the school It does not trace all our finite*

thought and feeling to a principle alien to the soul such as Prakṛti or Māyā as the Sāmkhya or Advaita Vedānta does, and look upon freedom from that sort of thought and feeling as Mokṣa or deliverance It is a system of popular religion and has not such a metaphysical basis as either of those two has. Vāsudeva was recognised as the Supreme Deity even in the time of Patañjali, for under Pāṇini IV. 3. 98, the author of the Mahābhāṣya states that the Vāsudeva occurring in the Sūtra is not the name of a Kṣattriya, but of Tatrabhagavat, which term is explained by Kaiyaṭa as signifying a certain (form of the) Supreme Deity

HISTORY OF THE PĀÑCARĀTRA SYSTEM

The Pāñcarātra system is mentioned along with the rival system of the Pāśupatas, and with the Sāmkhya, Yoga, and Vedas or Āraṇyakas in the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Mokṣadharmaparvan which forms a part of the Śāntiparvan of the Mahābhārata (Chap 349 Bom Ed), and explained in detail to Nārada in the Śvetadvīpa by the Supreme Nārāyaṇa who manifested himself to him (Chap. 339) The whole Nārāyaṇīya section seems to refer to that system one way or another This section is older than Rāmānuja, since he refers to it in the passage in his Vedāntabhāṣya, to be noticed below, and older also than Śaṁkarācārya who quotes in his Bhāṣya under II. 1. 1, from chapters 334 and 339, (p. 409 Vol I, Bibl Ind Ed), and from chapters 350 and 351, (p 413). Dhruvasena I, one of the earlier princes of the Valabhī dynasty is called a Bhāgavata, while others are styled Māheśvaras Among the sects mentioned by Bāṇa in the eighth chapter of the Śrīharṣacarita are those of the Bhāgavatas and the Pāñcarātras

From this and also from the passages noticed below occurring in the Vedānta Bhāṣyas of Śaṁkarācārya and Rāmānuja, it appears that these were two sects, but they did not differ

materially from each other, and the Pāñcarātras considered themselves to be Bhāgavatas also Śamkarācārya refutes the doctrines of the Bhāgavata school in his Bhāṣya under the Vedānta Sūtras II. 2. 42 and 43 , and the same doctrines amended so as to avoid his objection, are refuted under Sūtras 44 and 45, and the name Pāñcarātra is used in connection with them.

RĀMĀNUJA'S DEFENCE OF THE PĀÑCARĀTRA SYSTEM

Rāmānuja, on the other hand, interprets the first two Sūtras as setting forth the objector's view or the Pūrvapakṣa; represents the opponent as giving the same doctrines that are refuted by Śamkarācārya under those two Sūtras as the doctrines of the Bhāgavatas, and makes him pronounce them to be opposed to the Śruti Then under Sūtra 44, he says that the view of the objector is based on a misconception of the doctrines of the Bhāgavata system, and gives the correct doctrines under that Sūtra and the next, one of them being the same as that mentioned by Śamkarācārya under Sūtra 44 These doctrines are, he asserts, in harmony with the Śruti, and thus according to him the Pāñcarātra system is not refuted by Bādarāyana, the author of the Sūtras In connection with his arguments he quotes from the Pauṣkara-samhitā, Sātvata-saṁhitā, and Parama-samhitā

Under Sūtra 45, Śamkarācārya accuses the Pāñcarātras of treating the Vedas with contempt, since it is stated in one of their books that Śāṇḍilya not having found the way to the highest good in the four Vedas had recourse to this Śāstra. Rāmānuja answers this accusation by saying that a similar statement occurs in the Bhūmavidyā (Chāndogya Up VII 1) Nārada is represented there as saying that he has studied all the Vedas and other branches of learning and still he only knows the Mantras and not the Ātman This does not involve the contempt of the Vedas, but the object of the statement is simply to extol the Bhūmavidyā or the

philosophy of the highest object that is explained further on. Or, the sense is that Nārada studied all the Vedas, but was not keen enough to comprehend the nature of the Ātman though set forth in those works. Precisely the same interpretation should be laid on this statement of Śāṇḍilya's not having found the way to the highest good in the four Vedas, and it should not be construed as involving contempt for the Vedas.

THE NON-VEDIC ORIGIN OF THE PĀÑCARĀTRA SYSTEM

But in spite of all this defence there can be no question that the Bhāgavata or Pāñcarātra system did not owe its origin to the Vedas or Upaniṣads. It arose from that current of thought from which the Bhagavadgītā, the worship of Vāsudeva, and the doctrine of Bhakti sprang, and the sacred books which are appealed to, are the different Saṁhitās of the Nāradapañcarātra, six of which have been mentioned before as existing in the Library of Jasvantrai Gopalrai at Patan[1], and three of which are, it will have been seen, quoted by Rāmānuja. The present Collection also contains one which will be noticed below. The book printed under the name of Nāradapañcarātra in the Bibliotheca Indica is only one of the Saṁhitās—that called Jñānāmṛtasāra, corresponding with *b* in Jasvantarai's list. Of the three quoted by Rāmānuja, one—the Pauṣkarasaṁhitā—occurs in that list. The account of the Pāñcarātra given in the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Mahābhārata is perhaps one of the oldest.

PĀÑCARĀTRA SAME AS THE SĀTVATA SYSTEM

In forming some idea of the origin of this system the following circumstances must be taken into account:—

(1) The characteristic name of the supreme deity is Vāsudeva, and Nārāyaṇa, Viṣṇu, and even Kṛṣṇa are only additional and probably later names or identifications.

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1 Ante, p. 69. [N. B. U.]

(2). In the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Mahābhārata, the Pāñcarātra is represented as an independent religion professed by the Sātvatas and is also called the Sātvata religion (Chap. 348, vv. 34, 55, and 84); and Vasu Uparicara, who was a follower of that religion, is spoken of as worshipping the Supreme God according to the Sātvata manner (Vidhi) which was revealed in the beginning by the Sun (Chap 335, vv. 19 and 24).

(3) The religion is stated to be the same as that taught to Arjuna by Bhagavat himself when the armies of the Pāṇḍavas and the Kurus were drawn up in battle-array and Arjuna's heart misgave him (Chap 348, v 8 and Chap. 346, v. 11) In the Bhāgavata the Sātvatas are represented as calling the highest Brahma(n), Bhagavat and Vāsudeva (X 9 49), and as worshipping and adoring Kṛṣṇa in a peculiar way (XI 21. 1) Rāmānuja too refers, as we have seen, to the Sātvatasamhitā

THE KṢATTRIYA ORIGIN OF THE SĀTVATA RELIGION, AND OF THE GENERAL PHILOSOPHICAL SPECULATION

Sātvat was the name of a descendant of Yadu as we learn from the Purāṇic genealogies, and his race was the race or clan of the Sātvatas The Sātvatas are mentioned in the Bhāgavata along with the Andhakas and Vṛṣṇis which were two of the Yādava tribes (I 14 25, and III 1 29) Vāsudeva himself was a prince of that race, being called Sātvatarṣabha (Bh. XI. 21 1), and Sātvatapumgava (Bh I 9 32) The worship of Vāsudeva ascends, as we have seen, higher into antiquity than Patañjali or even Pāṇini, since the name Vāsudeva is contained in the Sūtra itself About the time when he flourished or when the Upaniṣads were written, and even later, when Buddhism and Jainism arose, the energies of the Indian mind were directed to religious speculation, and we find a variety of systems coming into vogue.

In this intellectual race the Kṣattriyas took a much more active part than the Brahmans In the Chāndogya Upaniṣad,

a prince of the name of Pravāhaṇa, the son of Jaibala (V. 3), and Aśvapati, king of the Kekaya country (V. 11), appear as teachers of religious truth and Brahmans as learners; and in the former passage it is even stated that the Kṣattriyas were the orginal possessors of that knowledge. Similarly, in the Kauṣītakibrāhmaṇopaniṣad, we find Ajātaśatru, king of Kāśī, explaining the true Brahma(n) to Bālāki the Gārgya, who had only pretended to teach it to the king, but did not know it really. The same story is told in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka. Buddha was a Kṣattriya and belonged to the Śākya clan; so was Mahāvīra who belonged to the race of the Jñātṛkas.

Since then the Kṣattriyas were so active at the time in propounding religious doctrines and founding sects and schools, we may very well suppose that a Kṣattriya of the name of Vāsudeva belonging to the Yādava, Vṛṣṇi, or Sātvata race founded a theistic system as Siddhārtha of the Śākya race and Mahāvīra of the Jñātṛka race founded atheistic systems. And just as Buddha under the title of "Bhagavat" is introduced as the teacher in Buddhistic works, so is Vāsudeva as Bhagavat introduced in the Bhagavadgītā and some other parts of the Mahābhārata. That must have been one of his most prominent names, since his followers were in later times called Bhāgavatas.

Or perhaps, it is possible that Vāsudeva was a famous prince of the Sātvata race and on his death was deified and worshipped by his clan, and a body of doctrines grew up in connection with that worship, and the religion spread from that clan to other classes of the Indian people. In its origin this religion must have been simple, and it must have developed into the Pāñcarātra system when some of the Samhitās mentioned above were written. Other elements represented by the names Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa, Govinda, and Kṛṣṇa were engrafted in later times on the religion of Vāsudeva, and thus the various forms of modern Vaiṣṇavism arose

It is therefore clear that the Pāñcarātra was a distinct system

independent of the Vedas and Upaniṣads But during the early centuries of the Christian era, while the country was under the domination of foreigners of the Śaka, Pahlava, and Yavana races, the Buddhists had grown powerful With the restoration of the native dynasties in the fourth century, the influence of Brahmans increased and they then began a fierce conflict with all heretics These were cried down as scoffers, atheists, nihilists (Vaināśikas), &c The great Mīmāmsakas, Śabarasvāmin, Maṇḍanamiśra, Kumārila and others, flourished during this period of conflict They ran down even the Aupaniṣadas, or the holders of the Jñānamārga, i e , the religion of the Upaniṣads, as against the Karmamārga or the sacrificial religion. The Bauddhas and Jainas who had no regard for the Vedas whatever, met them on independent or rationalistic grounds But the Aupaniṣadas fought them on the field of Vedic orthodoxy and succeeded in maintaining their position. There were unquestionably in ancient times several Aupaniṣada systems, but it was the doctrine of the unreality of the world and the unity of spirit with which the name of Śamkarācārya is connected, and which has been characterized by the Mādhvas as but Buddhistic nihilism in disguise, that succeeded on the present occasion And that doctrine was by others considered as subversive of religion and certainty Śamkarācārya and his followers did not treat tenderly the religious systems that had become popular such as that of the Bhāgavatas or Pāñcarātras and of the Pāśupatas.

RĀMĀNUJA'S FINDING A VEDĀNTIC BASIS FOR THE SĀTVATA RELIGION

It was, therefore, Rāmānuja's endeavour to put down the pernicious doctrine of Māyā or unreality, and seek a Vedāntic and philosophic basis for the religion of Bhakti or Love and Faith that had existed from times immemorial; and thus the Pāñcarātra system which was independent of the

Vedas before, became a system of the Vedānta or an Aupaniṣada system

III.—DVAITA OR MADHVA'S SYSTEM

Rāmānuja found a Vedāntic basis for the Pāñcarātra or Bhāgavata religion and vindicated the reality of the world, and the separate existence of the human or animal spirit But the theory that he set up in the place of Śaṁkarācārya's Māyā and unity of spirit, viz , that the world and the individual spirits are the attributes of the Supreme spirit, did not sufficiently distinguish the latter from the two former, and was not calculated to emphasize the supreme greatness of God as compared with the littleness of the animal spirit and of the world.

MADHVA'S CARRYING ON THE REFORM OF RĀMĀNUJA FURTHER

Madhva or Ānandatīrtha, therefore, propounded the doctrine of Dvaita or duality, and laid particular stress on the five eternal distinctions, viz , the distinction between (1) God and the animal spirit, (2) God and the inanimate world, (3) the animal spirit and the inanimate world, (4) one animal spirit and another, and (5) one inanimate object and another In other respects he like Rāmānuja was a vindicator of the Pāñcarātra religion But he seems to have given a more general or a less exclusive form to it The name Viṣṇu is more prominent in his system than Vāsudeva, and thus the historical nature of the Pāñcarātra religion is thrown into the back-ground

In the Bhāratatātparyanirṇaya, Ānandatīrtha gives as authorities for his doctrine of the supreme greatness of Viṣṇu and for other points in his system, the four Vedas, Rk and others, the Pañcarātra (Samhitās), the Bhārata, the original Rāmāyaṇa, Brahmasūtra, and other texts that agree with these and not those that disagree. The Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas are also to

be accepted, because they are of the nature of the Pāñcarātra works, and the Smṛtis of Manu and others in so far as they agree with the doctrine, [Chapter I, vv. 30-32].

MANUSCRIPTS OF MĀDHVA WORKS

The present Collection does not contain many Manuscripts of works belonging to this school, but since the close of the year copies of important Mādhva works have been purchased and these will be noticed in the next Report

No 156 is a complete copy of Ānandatīrtha's Bhāṣya on the Brahmasūtra, and No 678 is a fragment of the same work beginning with Sūtra I. 3. 23 and coming down to the last but one Sūtra of Chap III No 675 contains the first two chapters of Ānandatīrtha's Bhāṣya on the Bhagavadgītā, and No. 679 is an incomplete copy of Vidyādhirāja's commentary on the same work. No 677 is a commentary on the Sahasranāmastotra of Vyankaṭeśa, the god whose shrine on the Vyankaṭagiri is famous. The author was a pupil of Satyavijaya who died in Śaka 1661.

IV—ŚUDDHĀDVAITA OR VALLABHA'S SYSTEM

Vallabhācārya gave a sensualistic form to Vaiṣṇavism The deity is worshipped in the form of Kṛṣṇa, the lover of the Gopīs or shepherdesses (rather cowherdesses) living in Gokula Vallabha's heaven is a region containing cows (Goloka), to which the devotees of Kṛṣṇa repair and where assuming the forms of Gopīs, they sport with their lover His Vedāntic theory is called Śuddhādvaita according to which the animal spirits and the inanimate world are but forms of the Supreme Spirit and are related to him as the sparks of fire to the fire We have got a Manuscript of one work only belonging to this school (No. 157) in the Collection.

V—MISCELLANEOUS VAIṢṆAVISM

PARAMĀGAMACŪḌĀMAṆI

No. 158 is a copy of the Paramāgamacūḍāmaṇi Saṃhitā of the Nāradapancarātra. As the Pāñcarātra Saṁhitās are

acknowledged to be the chief authorities for Vaiṣṇavism by the earlier Vaiṣṇava sects, and consequently do not belong to any one system in particular, I have put the Manuscript under the above heading, it being the only one of its class

VIṢṆUBHAKTICANDRODAYA

No. 162 is Viṣṇubhakticandrodaya which looks like a manual for the use of an ordinary Vaiṣṇava not necessarily belonging to any of the sects already mentioned but worshipping Viṣṇu according to the general precepts contained in the Purāṇas. The work is certainly older than Vallabha, for another Manuscript recently purchased was transcribed in Saṁvat 1496 and Śaka 1361, the cyclic year being Siddhārtha, in the reign of Mahārāya Śivadāsa, and was finished on Wednesday the 14th of the dark half of Āśvina, the 15th or Amāvāsyā falling in the afternoon of the day, while Vallabha is said to have been born in Saṁvat 1535

No. 160 is Bhagavadbhaktiratnāvali which consists of a collection of the several texts on Bhakti scattered in the different parts of the Bhāgavata with a commentary and introductory verses. The author is Viṣṇupurī who calls himself a Tairabhukta i.e., a native of Tīrabhukti or Tirhut

WORKS ON LATER VAIṢṆAVISM

No. 159, Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu, and No 161, Mukticintāmaṇi are representatives of later developments of Vaiṣṇavism The author of the former was a pupil of the celebrated Kṛṣṇa Caitanya of Bengal, and wrote the work in the Śaka year Rāmāṅkaśakra which expression signifies 1493 But the commentator takes it as equivalent to 1463, wherefore it appears that the word "Anka" occurring in that expression is a mistake for "Anga". The names of the author and of the commentator are not given, but the former calls himself a Varāka or "a poor thing" and Kṣudra or a "little creature". The date of

the composition of the treatise agrees well with the date of Caitanya who was born in 1407 Śaka

The Mukticintāmaṇi promises Mukti or eternal bliss to those who adore Jagannātha of Orissa.

VI—KĀŚMĪR ŚAIVISM

Śaivism is perhaps as old as Vaiṣṇavism It does not seem to have a historical element in it as Vaiṣṇavism had in the Sātvata religion founded by Vāsudeva or inculcating the worship of Vāsudeva, and hence the doctrine of Bhakti plays no prominent part in it. When the doctrines were reduced to a definite shape, the system came to be known by the name of Pāśupata or Māheśvara

PĀŚUPATA OR MĀHEŚVARA SYSTEM AND THE DIFFERENT MĀHEŚVARA SECTS

The Pāśupta system is, as we have seen, mentioned along with the Pāñcarātra in the text from the Mahābhārata referred to above Images of Śiva for purposes of worship are referred to by Patañjali The Pāśupatas are mentioned by Hwhan Thsang as existing in different towns and cities in India in his time. Bāṇa speaks of them in the Harsacaritra and Kādambarī. Most of the princes of Valabhī are styled Māheśvaras Śaṃkarācārya refutes the doctrines of the Māheśvara school under II 2. 37. Rāmānuja also does the same under that Sūtra, and mentions four sects, the Kāpālas, the Kālāmukhas, the Pāśupatas, and Śaivas Mādhava explains the doctrines of two of these sects, the first of which he calls Nakulīśa Pāśupata and the second Śaiva.

SPANDAŚĀSTRA AND ITS PROMULGATORS

The Kāśmīr Māheśvaras are different from all these Their literature has two branches, one of which is called Spandaśāstra and the other Pratyabhijñāśāstra. The principal

work belonging to the former is that called Śivasūtrāṇi, which according to Bhāskara, the author of the Vārtikas, manifested themselves to Vasugupta under the guidance of a Siddha[1]. Kṣemarāja, however, in the Spandanirṇaya states that Vasugupta found them inscribed on a stone through the will of God,[2] being directed to the place in a dream. In a verse at the end of Rāma's Spandakārikāvivaraṇa we are told that these Sūtras were communicated by Maheśa to Vasugupta in a dream[3] Utpala in the Spandapradīpikā states that he learned them from a Siddha[4] However he may have obtained them, it is clear that other people got them from Vasugupta, i e, he was their author

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1 श्रीमन्महादेवगिरौ वसुगुप्तगुरोः पुरा ।
सिद्धादेशात्प्रादुरासञ्छिवसूत्राणि तस्य हि ॥
सरहस्यान्यतः सोपि प्रादाद्भट्टाय सूरये ।
श्रीकल्लटाय सोप्येवं चतु खण्डानि तान्यथ ।
व्याकरोत्त्रिकमेतेभ्यः स्पन्दसूत्रैः स्वकैस्ततः ॥—From Manuscript No 171 of this year's Collection

2 स्वप्नोपलब्धोपदेशः श्रीमान्वसुगुप्ताचार्यो महादेवपर्वतान्तर्गतविच्छयैव महाशिलातलोल्लिखितान्यतिरहस्यानि शिवसूत्राण्यासाद्य प्रसन्नगम्भीरैरेकपञ्चाशता श्लोकैरागमानुभवोपपत्त्येकीकारं प्रदर्शयन्संगृहीतवान् ।—From Manuscript No. 512 of 1875-76

3 इब्धं महादेवगिरौ महेशस्वप्नोपदिष्टाच्छिवसूत्रसिन्धोः ।
स्पन्दामृतं यद्वसुगुप्तपादैः श्रीकल्लटस्तत्प्रकटीचकार ॥

4 अयमत्र किलाम्नायः सिद्धमुखेनागतं रहस्यं यत् ।
तद्भट्टकल्लटेन्दुर्वसुगुप्तगुरोरवाप्य शिष्याणाम् ।
अवबोधार्थमनुष्टुप्पञ्चाशिकयात्र संग्रहं कृतवान् ॥
यद्यपि तदर्थो व्याख्याज्योत्स्नाप्रकटीकृतोस्ति तेनैवत् ।
मोहनिशामध्यगता मन्दद्दशास्तदपि नाथमीक्षन्ते ॥—From Manuscript No. 173 of this year's Collection.

Another work of equal authority is the Spandakārikās, as to the authorship of which also there are varying statements. Bhāskara says that Vasugupta communicated the Śivasūtras to Kallaṭa, three parts of which he explained by composing Sūtras of his own In the Spanda-kārikāvivaraṇa it is stated that Kallaṭa only published the Spandāmṛta which was composed by Vasugupta on Mahādevagiri. Kṣemarāja in the Spandanirṇaya says that Vasugupta having obtained the Śivasūtras embodied their substance in fifty-one Ślokas. Utpala, on the other hand, tells us in the Spandapradīpikā that it was Kallaṭa who composed the fifty Anuṣṭubh Ślokas after he had learned the Rahasya or essence of the Śāstra from his preceptor Vasugupta [1] At the end of the treatise he gives a Śloka as if occurring in the original, in which the same thing is stated [2] "The Sūtras of his own" which Bhāskara speaks of must undoubtedly be the fifty or fifty-one Kārikās mentioned by others Since this author flourished before the others his account is likely to be correct. If the verse given by Utpala at the end does really occur in the original it decides the point, and the author of the Kārikās must be taken to be Kallaṭa. But even if it does not, there is another verse which is commented on both by Utpala and Rāma and which consequently does belong to the original treatise, i.e., the Kārikās, in which the author praises the style of his master.[3] This master is explained to be Vasugupta by both the commentators; hence the author of the Kārikās must be Kallaṭa. Perhaps the best way of reconciling the varying statements would be to suppose that Kallaṭa put in verse what his master taught him;

1 See the verses given before in the footnotes.

2 वसुगुप्तादवाप्येदं गुरोस्तत्त्वार्थदर्शिनः ।
रहस्यं श्लोकयामास सम्यक् श्रीभट्टकल्लटः ॥

3 अगाधसंशयाम्भोधिसमुत्तरणतारिणीम् ।
वन्दे विचित्रार्थपदां चित्रां तां गुरुभारतीम् ॥

or both together composed the Kārikās while Kallaṭa published them. Kallaṭa wrote also a short Vṛtti on the Kārikās which is given in some places in Rāma's work and is frequently alluded to by Kṣemarāja who expressly attributes it to him. The work composed of the Kārikās and the Vṛtti is called Spandasarvasva.

PROMULGATORS OF THE PRATYABHIJÑĀŚĀSTRA

The founder of the Pratyabhijñāśāstra, the other branch of Kaśmīr Śaiva philosophy, was Somānanda, the author of a work called Śivadṛṣṭi; but the writer of the principal work of the system, the so-called Sūtras which are verses, was his pupil Utpala, the son of Udayākara.

The present Collection has the following works belonging to these two branches.

No. 171 is a Manuscript in the Śāradā character of Bhāskara's Śivasūtravārtika. The introduction of this is given by Dr. Bühler in his Report for 1875-76, from which we learn that the author of the Vārtika belonged to the sixth generation after Vasugupta.

No 173 is a copy of the Spandapradīpikā in the same character. There is a modern copy of the work in Nāgarī in Dr. Bühler's Kaśmīr Collection The author is Utpala who, Dr Bühler thinks, might be the same as the author of the Pratyabhijñāsūtra. But the former was the son of Trivikrama who lived at Nārāyaṇasthāna, as we are told in the introduction of the Spandapradīpikā as well as at the end; while the latter was the son of Udayākara. The author of the Spandapradīpikā quotes from the Paramārthasāra which is a work by Abhinavagupta, the pupil of a pupil of the author of the Pratyabhijñāsūtra.[1]

No 168 is Pratyabhijñāvimarśinīlaghuvṛtti by Abhinavagupta transcribed in Saṁvat 1808. No. 165 is Paramārthasāra, and

1 F. 25, b, 2 of No. 512 of 1875-76.

Nos. 166 and 167 are copies of the same with Kṣemarāja's commentary in the Śāradā and Nāgarī characters respectively, and No. 163 is Abhinavagupta's Gītārthasaṃgraha in the Śāradā character We have also a Śāradā Manuscript of Nārāyaṇa's Stavacintāmaṇi with Kṣemarāja's commentary (No. 172). We have in the Collection two copies, one complete and the other incomplete, of a commentary on the Bhagavadgītā by Rājānaka Rāma who represents himself as the son of Nārāyaṇa who lived at Kānyakubja, and the brother of Kaṇa (?) As the doctrines set forth in the introduction of this commentary resemble those of the Kaśmīr Śaiva school, I have put the work in this class

SPANDAŚĀSTRA DIFFERENT FROM MĀDHAVA'S ŚAIVADARŚANA

In his Report for 1875-76, Dr. Bühler identifies the Spanda branch of the Kaśmīr school with the Śaivadarśana, the doctrines of which are explained by Mādhava in the Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha, and makes a broad distinction between that and the Pratyabhijñā branch which is explained by Mādhava next But this view is, I think, untenable The first Śivasūtra Caitanyamātmā and a verse attributed to Vasugupta are quoted by Mādhava as authorities for some of the Pratyabhijñā doctrines that he explains (Bibl Ind Ed , pp 94 & 95), while none of the books or writers on the Spandaśāstra are mentioned by him in his account of the Śaivadarśana

COMPARISON OF THE PRINCIPAL DOCTRINES OF THE TWO SCHOOLS

Besides, the doctrines of Mādhava's Śaiva school are totally different from those laid down in the Spandaśāstra. Śiva, according to that school, is only an efficient or Nimitta cause of the inanimate world, the Karman of the animal or human spirits being another prompting cause (p. 80), while there is also an independent material or constituent cause (p 82) The animal spirits have a separate existence from the Supreme

spirit or Śiva; and even when they are delivered or freed from the trammels of the world they become *like* Śiva but not Śiva himself. There is a plurality of animal spirits (pp. 84 & 85). Rāmānuja also represents the four schools of Śaivas mentioned by him, in the passage referred to above,[1] as holding the doctrine that God or Śiva is only an efficient cause, and not the material or constituent cause But the doctrines of the Spandaśāstra are that God or Śiva creates the world by his mere will;[2] he requires no independent material cause[3] as the Vaiśeṣikas and other schools maintain, neither is he himself the material cause as some of the Vedāntins hold, but he makes the world appear in himself, as "a whole town" or other things appear in a mirror, and is as unaffected by it as the mirror is by these[4] The illustration of a mirror is only applicable to this extent that he is not affected by his creation, while the theory that he is the material cause involves the supposition that he undergoes development and change. Being a simple substance not divisible into parts, if he develops, he must be immanent in the world and can have no existence distinct from the world That Brahma(n) is the material cause of the world is the original Vedāntic doctrine, as appears clearly from the Vedānta Sūtras, but the immanency of God and his having no distinct existence which are its consequences, are denied on the ground that the Upaniṣads represent him,

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1 Ante, p. 198. [N B U]

2 अनेन स्वस्वभावस्यैव शिवात्मकस्य संकल्पमात्रेण जगदुत्पत्तिसंहारयोः कारणत्वम् ।—Kallaṭa's Vṛtti on the first Kārikā यस्योन्मेषनिमेषाभ्यां जगतः प्रलयोदयौ &c

3 सर्वथाप्येनोपादानादिनैरपेक्ष्यं कर्तुर्व्यंजितम् ।—Kṣemarāja on the second Spandakārikā.

4 अपि तु स एव भगवान्स्वस्वातन्त्र्यादनतिरिक्तामप्यतिरिक्तामिव जगद्रूपतां स्वभित्तौ दर्पणनगरवत्प्रकाशयन्स्थितः ।—Ibid

though a simple substance without parts, to have a distinct existence at the same time that they represent him to be the material cause undergoing development. The two propositions, howsoever inconsistent, must be admitted on the authority of the sacred texts; (Vedāntasūtra, II. 1, 26 & 27).

Śaṁkarācārya, and, before him, Gauḍapāda avoided these consequences by declaring the world of which Brahma(n) is the material cause to be unreal, and due to some principle of illusion called Māyā. But they are avoided by Vasugupta and Kallaṭa by having recourse to the illustration of a mirror; while Śaṁkarācārya's illustration is that of a rope and the serpent for which it is mistaken. Creation, according to the Kāśmīr Śaivas, is therefore not unreal, and this follows also from their doctrine that it is due to God's will alone Another illustration they give is that of a Yogin who by his power produces anything he chooses without using any materials. The animal spirits are identical with the Supreme spirit[1] and become the Supreme spirit when they shake off their impurity.[2] These are the

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1 परमेश्वर एव स्वमायावशाज्ज्ञानज्ञेयग्राह्यरूपतयावभासमानः स्वामेव व्यतिरिक्तां परां शक्तिं ज्ञानज्ञेयभावेनावभासयन् जागरस्वप्नदशाव्यवहारमुद्भावयति ॥—Rāma on Kārikā 18. माया is here to be understood only as "wonderful power."
कथं पुनः स्वस्वभावस्यैव संसारिणः शिवत्वेन निर्देश इत्युच्यते तत् यत्र स्थितमिदं जगद्यस्माच्चोत्पन्नं तस्य संसारावस्थायामप्यनाच्छादितस्वभावत्वान्न कश्चिद्विरोधोऽतः शिवत्वमुच्यते ।—Kallaṭa's Vṛtti on Kārikā 2.

2 निजाशुद्ध्यासमर्थस्य कर्तव्येष्वभिलाषिणः ।
यदा क्षोभः प्रलीयेत तदा स्यात्परमं पदम् ॥—Kārikā 9. Rāma's commentary on परमं पदम् is परमं निरुत्तरं पदं स्थानं स्वात्मज्ञत्वेन प्रकाशेत । अनेन आत्मपुरुषशब्दप्रतिपादितयोः परापरयोः संविदोस्तस्यामेव दशायामुपलभ्यतया प्रथेतेत्यर्थः ।

doctrines of the Spandaśāstra, and these are exactly the doctrines of the Pratyabhijñā school also as given by Mādhava. Hence is it that he quotes the Śivasūtras and Vasugupta in his account of that school.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SPANDA AND PRATYABHIJÑĀ ŚĀSTRAS

The difference is that according to the latter school the attainment of Godhead is brought about by recognition. You are God, but you do not know yourself to be such through ignorance, you have therefore to recognise God in yourself through the instructions of your Guru or preceptor and in other ways. This doctrine was established by the founders of the Pratyabhijñā system on the basis supplied by the Spandaśāstra, and thus this system shows a further development, and in the order of time also it is later.

CONCLUSION

It will thus be seen that the doctrines of the Kāśmīr Śaivas are adualistic or Advaita and are radically different from those of the several schools of Śaivas mentioned by Śamkarācārya, Rāmānuja, and Mādhava, and in them the influence of the Aupaniṣada school—whether that of Śaṁkarācārya or any previous one, is clearly traceable.

NYĀYA AND VAIŚEṢIKA

TĀRKIKARAKṢĀVYĀKHYĀ

We have one representative of Gotama's system in the present Collection, the Tārkikarakṣāvyākhyā by Varadarāja of which we have the second and third Paricchedas in No 184 The Tārkikarakṣā consists of Kārikās or Ślokas and the Vyākhyā is the perpetual commentary on those Kārikās.

THE AUTHOR OF THE VYĀKHYĀ AND OF THE ORIGINAL THE SAME

Dr Burnell seems to think that Varadarāja is the author of the perpetual commentary only, but at the end of the work

occur two verses the sense of which is, "This is the work of Varadarāja conversant with the Nyāyavidyā and thoroughly proficient in the Mīmāṁsā Having closely studied the difficult works of Vācaspati, Udayana, and others, I have here given the substance, which those disputants who desire victory in debate should get up" Now this cannot apply to the commentary, for the substance of the works of previous writers is given, not in the merely explanatory portion, but in the original Kārikās. Then in the colophon we have, "Thus ends Varadarāja's Mūlasūtra" As this Manuscript was written by a Jaina and as Jaina scribes use the word "Sūtra" rather too frequently without looking to its propriety, it has probably no specific signification here But the word "Mūla" seems to point to the belief that the original text or the Tārkikarakṣā was the work of Varadarāja However, the point is settled by a statement occurring in a commentary on the whole work by Mallinātha, a copy of which has recently been purchased, to the effect that Varadarāja wrote the Vyākhā on the Ślokas of the Tārkikarakṣā composed by himself

Mādhava quotes a verse from this work in the Sarvadarśanasamgraha (p 70) which I find in this Manuscript. It is the 28th of the second Paricocheda. Varadarāja thus flourished a sufficiently long time before the fourteenth century to become a famous author He mentions Vācaspati and Udayana, as we have seen, and in the beginning of the second Paricocheda, quotes from the Bhāṣya, Vārtika, Ṭīkā, and Tātparyapariśuddhi The Bhāṣya meant is that on the Sūtras of Gotama by Vātsyāyana, and the Vārtika is a commentary on the Bhāṣya by Uddyotakāra or Bhāradvāja. The full title of the Ṭīkā is Vārtikatātparyaṭīkā which is a work on the Vārtika by Vācaspati Miśra, and the Tātparyapariśuddhi is a work on this last by Udayana.

KIRAṆĀVALĪ

No 183 is a Manuscript of the Kiraṇāvalī which is a commentary on Praśastapādācārya's Bhāṣya on the Sūtras of

Kaṇāda, by Udayana. It comes down to the end of the first category or Dravya.

WORKS ON MODERN NYĀYA

Relating to modern Nyāya, we have Manuscripts of parts of Gadādhara's works (Nos 693, 694, and 681), and Nos 686–688 are parts of the Bhāvānandī which, like the Gādādharī, is a commentary on the Dīdhiti of Raghunāthabhaṭṭa Śiromaṇi.

There is a commentary on the Bhāvānandī by Mahādeva Puṇtāmkara, i.e., Mahādeva, native of Puntambem in the Ahmednagar District He was a pupil of Śitikaṇṭha, probably the same as the author of the Tarkaprakāśa. Nos. 689–691 are parts of Mahādeva's work

Another commentary on Śiromaṇi's work is that by Jayarāma, of the Vyāptivāda of which No 187 is a copy.

We have a copy of a commentary (other than those noticed in my last Report) on Jānakīnātha's Nyāyasiddhānta-mañjarī (No 185) It is entitled Bālabodhinī, and the author is Narasiṁha Pañcānana, son of Govinda Tarkālaṁkṛtin who lived in Gauḍamaṇḍala or Bengal

No. 186 is an independent work on the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika systems resembling the Tarkasamgraha and entitled Padārtha-dīpikā, by Koṇḍabhaṭṭa son of Rangojibhaṭṭa, who is the same as the author of the Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇasāra.

JYOTIṢA OR ASTRONOMY, ASTROLOGY, AND DIVINATION

I—GAṆITA BRANCH

No 205 is a copy of a commentary on Bhāskarācārya's Līlāvatī by Mahīdāsa who wrote it in the year 1644. The era is not stated, but it must be the Saṁvat, since the Manuscript was transcribed in Saṁvat 1733.

ANIRUDDHA'S COMMENTARY ON THE BHĀSVATĪ

No. 198 is a commentary on Śatānanda's Bhāsvatīkaraṇa. The epoch year of this is 1021 Śaka, and the work was, we are told at the end, composed in the year 4200 of the Kaliyuga, i.e., in 1021 Śaka. The author of the commentary is Aniruddha whose father was Bhāvaśarman and grandfather Mahāśarman. The last was a physician and lived at Yamanapura, but his son Bhāva left the place in his old age and settled in the town of Śaṁkara (Benares). Examples are worked in the commentary for the Śaka year 1416 corresponding to the Vikrama year 1551, which was the year of the birth of Hīra, the son of Aniruddha. The work was finished on Saturday the 1st of the dark half of Aśvayuj (?) in the Śaka year 1417 The author gives 1520 (Saṁvat) as the date of his birth, and states that he composed the commentary when he was 31 years old. The Bhāsvatīkaraṇa follows the Sūryasiddhānta.

OTHER COMMENTARIES ON THE BHĀSVATĪ

No. 197 is a commentary on the same Karaṇa by one Mādhava, native of Kānyakubja or Kanoj, who, when he works examples, uses Śaka 1447 In speaking of the Ayanāṁśas or degrees of equinoctial precession, the commentator tells us that the author based his rule for finding them on the supposition that in Śaka 450, the precession was zero, i e., the equinox corresponded with the last point of Revatī and the first of Aśvinī, while according to the Sūryasiddhānta it was zero in 421 Śaka. For, at the beginning of the Kaliyuga it was zero, and according to the Sūryasiddhānta, each libration of the equinoxes which reaches the limit of 27° occupies 1800 years. So that the libration to the east was complete in Kali 1,800, and the return motion was complete in Kali, 3,600, i.e., the equinox corresponded with the first point of Aśvinī at the end of that Kali year. Kali 3,600 corresponds to Śaka 421, the difference between the eras being 3,179. Mādhava therefore proposes to correct his author's rule,

At present the Hindu astronomers follow a rule based on the supposition that the equinox corresponded with the first point of Aśvinī in the year 444 Śaka But all these take the precession to be one minute every year, i e, 10 second in excess, though according to the rate of 27° in 1800 years, it is 54" every year, and the difference has gone on accumulating until it now amounts to about 4°.

No 199 is another commentary on the same Karaṇa by Gangādhara who was a native of a town to the west of Kurukṣetra. He wrote his work in 1607 Śaka and his illustrative calculations are for that year.

No. 200 is another still, but the author's name is not given. The commentator states that Bhāskarācārya prepared an abridgement of the Sūryasiddhānta to render it intelligible to his pupils, under the name of Bhāsvatī, and a certain vain man of the name of Śatānanda made some changes here and there, adding something and taking away something, inserted a verse in the beginning and another in the end containing his own name, and led ignorant people to think the work as his own But there appear to be no grounds whatever for these assertions Bhāskarācārya was born in 1036 Śaka, while the epoch year of the Bhāsvatī is 1021 Śaka, on which all the rules are based. Bhāskarācārya wrote a Karaṇa in accordance with the Brahmasiddhānta and it is not likely he should write another in accordance with another Siddhānta, nor has there been any tradition to the effect that he did so. Examples are worked in this commentary for the year 1577 Śaka and 1712 Samvat. The Bhāsvatī Karaṇa seems to have been much used in Northern India, since all these commentators are natives of that part of the country, and most of the Manuscripts noticed were purchased at Delhi.

GRAHAKAUTUKA BY KEŚAVA OF NANDIGRĀMA

Keśava of Nandigrāma or Nandagaum, the father of Gaṇeśa, the author of the Grahalāghava, composed a Karaṇa which

however was superseded by his son's treatise and is now little known The work is called Grahakautuka, and as in the case of his Jātakapaddhati noticed in my last Report,[1] Keśava himself has composed a commentary on it No 700 is a Manuscript of the original as well as the commentary transcribed in 1500 Śaka. The epoch year used by Keśava is 1418, while that of his son's Grahalāghava is 1442 Śaka. The Śaka year in which the precession of the equinoxes was zero is taken to be 444. Keśava gives Kamalākara as his father's name, and speaks of Nandigrāma situated on the coast of the western sea as his native place.

No 217 is a Karaṇa by one Raghunātha who uses Śaka 1484 as his epoch

KHAṆḌAKHĀDYA

No 188 contains calculations according to the rules laid down in the Khaṇḍakhādya for the use of the Kaśmīrians The first Śloka in that Karaṇa is given at the beginning, and some of the Kārikās occurring in it are quoted The Śaka year used for most of the calculations is 1564 which was the year in which the author wrote From this we are directed to subtract 587 and the remainder 977 represents the number of years elapsed since the composition of the Karaṇa. The epoch year used in this Karaṇa is, we know, Śaka 587

MODE OF CONVERTING A LAUKIKA INTO A ŚAKA DATE

In the beginning the mode of converting a Laukika year into the corresponding Śaka is given 47 is to be taken as a constant number and to that must be prefixed the number of centuries elapsed since the beginning of the Śaka era at any given time. To the number so formed the number of passed Laukika years should be added, and the total represents the Śaka year corresponding to the current Laukika year, which Śaka year

1 Ante, p. 36. [N B U,]

appears to be the passed Śaka year, since that alone is used in calculations. Thus, in the time of the author, fifteen centuries of the Śaka era had elapsed, and with the constant number 47 we have 1547. The current Laukika year was 18, and 17 (the number of passed years) being added to 1547, we have 1564 which was the Śaka year corresponding to the current Laukika year. The Laukika year here mentioned must be the Saptarṣi year.

From the above method it will be seen, that in the first Śaka century Śaka 48 corresponded to the current Laukika year 2. Now the Śaka era began when 3179 years of the Kali had elapsed, i e Śaka 1 past corresponds to 3180 Kali past. Therefore Śaka 48 past corresponds to 3227 Kali past, i e, Laukika current 2 corresponds to Kali 3227 past Now if the Saptarṣi era began in the same century as the Kali era, in the first century of these eras, 2 Laukika current corresponded to 27 Kali past, i.e. the Saptarṣi era began after 26 years of the Kali had elapsed. This agrees with the results arrived at by Dr Bühler, if the Laukika years given by him are considered as current years and the Kali years past years

RĀMAVINODA

No 204 is Rāmavinoda, which is a Karaṇa composed by Rāmabhaṭṭa, the son of Anantabhaṭṭa and younger brother of Nīlakaṇṭha, at the orders of Rāmadāsa, minister of Akbar The epoch year is 35 of the era of Jelaluddin Akbar, who, it is stated, got possession of the throne in Vikrama 1612 and Śaka 1477 Akbar's genealogy is given in the beginning The Karaṇa was composed in 1535 Śaka.

PHATTEŚĀHAPRAKĀŚA

No 195 is Phatteśāhaprakāśa The first five leaves of the Manuscript are missing The work appears to be a Karaṇa having for its epoch the year 48 of the era of Phatteshah, who is spoken of as king of Kedāra, of Badarī, and of Śrīnagara and

as the crest-jewel of the lunar race. The era of Phatteshah began in 1713 of Vikrama or 1578 Śaka. The state he governed must have been the Punjab Hill State of Garhwal, in which there are places of the names of Kedāranātha and Kedārakānta, as well as Śrīnagara The author of the work is Jaṭādhara, son of Vanamālin, who lived in the country of Sīharanda (Sirhind). Vanamālin was the son of Durgamiśra who was the son of Uddhava of the Gargagotra.

KIRAṆĀVALĪ

No. 697 is a copy of the Kiraṇāvalī which is a commentary on the Sūryasiddhānta by a Citpāvan Brahman of the name of Dadabhai the son of Madhava, surnamed Gāṁvkar. This work is noticed by Professor Aufrecht in the Oxford Catalogue; but he does not give the date of its composition

DATE OF THE WORK

In proving that the Kali age proper has not yet begun but that we now live in the introductory period called Kalisamdhyā, by adding up the numbers of years for which the different dynasties mentioned in the Purāṇas, particulary the Viṣṇu, from Parīkṣit (who ascended the throne about the beginning of the Samdhyā) downwards, held power—the author gives his date three times as Śaka 1641, corresponding to Kali 4820. In connection with this matter he speaks of the doctrine of a complete revolution of the equinoxes as a Vedabāhyamata or a doctrine opposed to the Vedas, i e., heterodox, though it is advocated by Bhāskarācārya and others

II AND III. SAMHITĀ AND HORA BRANCHES

There are several treatises belonging to these branches of Jyotiṣa No. 210 is Vṛddha-Gārgyasamhitā. In the body of the work, the Ṛṣi is sometimes spoken of as Gārgya, and sometimes as Garga. The work is different from the Gārgī Saṁhitā mentioned by Dr Kern.

VARṢAPHALAVICĀRA BY NĪLAKAṆṬHA

No. 206 is Varṣaphalavicāra by Nilakaṇṭha. The commentary on the work is by Mādhava who represents himself to have entered on the 35th year of his age on Wednesday the 14th of the light half of Āṣāḍha in the year Saṁvat 1690 and Śaka 1555, and makes illustrative calculations with reference to himself. Nīlakaṇṭha appears to have belonged to the same family as Viśvanātha, the commentator on Keśava's and Gaṇeśa's works, but the verses containing an account of the family which are given in a detached form are corrupt and nothing certain can be made out.

AN ACCOUNT OF VIŚVANĀTHA'S FAMILY

An account of Viśvanātha's family occurs however at the end of No. 201 which is a Manuscript of the Muhūrtacūḍāmaṇi by Śivadaivajña. In Golagrāma situated on the Godāvarī and in the country of Vidarbha, lived Divākara who was the pupil of Gaṇeśa, son of Keśava. The Gaṇeśa meant must thus have been the author of the Grahalāghava. Divākara had five sons, the eldest of whom was Kṛṣṇa who was highly honoured at the court of the king, and wrote many treatises Viṣṇu was the name of the second son and Mallāri of the third; and the last two were Keśava and Viśvanātha A son of Kṛṣṇa was Narasiṁha, the author of Vāsanākalpalatā, and Narasiṁha's younger brother was Śiva the writer of the present treatise. The family belonged to the Bhāradvāja Gotra.

The dates given in three of Viśvanātha's works are, as stated in my last Report[1], 1508, 1534, and 1553 Śaka, corresponding to 1586, 1612, and 1631 A D Narasiṁha also wrote a Commentary on the Sūryasiddhānta. Ranganātha (the author of a gloss on Bhāskarācārya's Vāsanā) and Kamalākara, the author of the Siddhāntatattvaviveka, recently printed in the Benares Sanskrit series, were his sons.[2] It thus appears

1 Ante, pages 35 and 36 [N. B. U]

2 Colebrooke's Essays.

that this was a family of Maratha Brahmans, and the study of astronomy and astrology was successfully pursued by it for four generations, their original Guru or teacher being Gaṇeśa of Nandagaum.

VIVĀHAVṚNDĀVANA

No. 722 is a Manuscript of a work entitled Vivāhavṛndāvana or astrology of marriage, by Keśava who belonged to the Bhāradvāja gotra and was the son of Rāṇaga. Rāṇaga was the son of Śriyāditya and Śriyāditya of Janārdana who was a great Yājñika. The first leaf of this Manuscript contains the introduction to a commentary on the work; but in the subsequent leaves we have the original only. The author of the commentary is Gaṇeśa, son of Keśava, and author of the Grahalāghava, who gives the following list of his works.—

1 Grahalāghava, a Karaṇa
2 Works on Tithisiddhi
3 Śrāddhavidhi
4 A commentary on the Līlāvatī
5 A commentary on the Muhūrtatattva (of his father)
6 Parvanirṇaya
7 Vaivāhasaddīpikā or a commentary on the Vivāhavṛndāvana.

MĪNARĀJAJĀTAKA

No 211 is in the colophon called Mīnarājajātaka composed by Yavaneśvarācārya, but in the introduction it is stated that an ancient Muni taught the Horāśāstra consisting of a hundred thousand Ślokas to Maya, and this was abridged by Mīnarāja into eight thousand Ślokas. In the margin the work is called Yavanajātaka.

MEDICINE

No. 218 is a fragment of a commentary entitled Āyurvedarasāyana by Hemādri, the minister of Rāma of the Yādava dynasty of Devagiri, on Vāgbhaṭa's Aṣṭāṅgayogahṛdaya. In the intro-

duction it is stated that "Hemādri, the author of the Caturvargacintāmaṇi, composed this lucid commentary on the Āyurveda called Aṣṭāngayogahṛdaya in conformity with the views of Caraka, Hārīta, and Suśruta, in order to enable men to acquire a healthy bodily condition so essential for the observance of the fasts and vows, and for the performance of the ceremonies involved in making gifts and charities which have been laid down in the Caturvargacintāmaṇi. In this commentary he has incorporated the conclusions arrived at by Haricandra and others in their commentaries on the Caraka and by Jaiyaṭa and others in their commentaries on the Suśruta." Since Hemādri here speaks of himself as the minister or secretary of Rāma and mentions his works on Dharmaśāstra, he wrote this work after 1193 Śaka or 1271 A D., the year in which Mahādeva the uncle and predecessor of Rāma ceased to reign

The Aṣṭāngahṛdaya is the principal work commented on, where it is silent, the Aṣṭāngasamgraha and other works are quoted and their texts explained when difficult.

No 219 contains fragments of another important work on medicine entitled Cikitsāsāra by Vangasena The name of the author's father was Gadādhara whose original place of residence was Kāñjikā. This appears to be a very old work since we have a Manuscript dated 1376 Saṁvat or 1320 A.D, in the Collection of 1879-80.

No. 222 is a copy of a work entitled Vīrasiṁhāvaloka in which diseases are traced to sins, and their natures, and religious, astrological, as well as medical, remedies are explained. It is attributed to a prince of the name of Vīrasiṁha who belonged to the Tomara line. Vīrasimha's father was Devavarma(n) and of this latter Kamalasiṁha.

In the second Volume of the Archaeological Reports, General Cunningham gives lists of the Tomara princes of Gwalior (p. 382) In that supplied by the Tomara Zamindar occur these

three names successively:—Kunwar Pal, Deo Brahm, Bir Siṁha Deo. Of these Kunwar must be the same as Kamala, since this word is corrupted to Kaṁvala in Hindi and *l* is interchangeable with *r*. Deo Brahm is the same as Devavarmā, for according to the ordinary Hindi way of pronunciation this word is Devbarma, and Bir Siṁha is of course Vīrasiṁha. Vīrasiṁha established an independent Hindu kingdom at Gwalior soon after the invasion of Timur, having shaken off the authority of the Delhi sovereign His date is 1375 A.D., and of his two predecessors 1350 A.D., and 1325 A.D.

In the present work the following works and authors are referred to —

Śrīpati (f 10 *b*, 12 *b*, &c)
Sārāvalī (f 2 *a*, 12 *a*, &c)
Jātaka (f. 2 *a*, 42 *b*, &c)
Hārīta (f 2 *a*, 30 *b*)
Gārgya (f 2 *b*)
Māheśvaratantra (f 3 *a*)
Ātreya (f 3 *a*)
Suśrutācārya (f 3 *b*, 35 *a*, &c)
Tīsaṭācārya (f 4 *a*)
Vāgbhaṭa (f. 9 *a*, 13 *b*)
Sārāvalījātaka (f. 10 *b*)
Padmapurāṇa (f. 11 *a*, 12 *b*, &c)
Śivagītā (f. 12 *b*)
Gautama (f. 12 *b*, 37 *a*),
Brahmagītā (14 *a*)
Brahmapurāṇa (14 *a*)
Vṛndasamgraha (15 *a*, 18 *a*, &c)
Vṛddhaśātātapa (17 *a*)
Vṛddhapārāśara (17 *a*)
Baudhāyana (17 *a*, 25 *b*, &c)
Ārogyacintāmaṇi (18 *a*)
Dāmodara (18 *b*)
Śaunaka (20 *a*)
Vṛddhagautama (21 *a*, 69 *a*)
Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa (26 *a*, 31 *a*, &c)
Mahābhārata (26 *a*, 31 *b*, &c.)
Suśruta (27 *b*, 34 *a*, &c)
Vāyupurāṇa (32 *a*, 49 *a*, &c.)
Vācaspati (48 *b*)
Kūrmapurāṇa (II 9 *a*, &c)

TĀNTRIKA LITERATURE

In this class there are Manuscripts of a good many works written in the Śāradā character, more than half of which are not represented in Dr. Bühler's Collection of 1875-76.

VĀMAKEŚVARATANTRA AND THE LIST OF TANTRAS CONTAINED IN IT

No. 236 is a copy of the Vāmakeśvaratantra in which are given the names of the sixty-four Tantras. They are —

1 Mahāmāyāśambara	43 Nayottara
2 Yoginījālaśambara	44 Viṇū(ā)dya
3 Tattvaśambaraka	45 Tottala
4-11 Bhairavāṣṭaka	46 Tottalottara
12-19 Bahurūpāṣṭaka	47 Pañcāmṛta
20 Jñāna	48 Rūpabheda
21-28 Yamalāṣṭaka	49 Bhūtoḍḍāmara
29 Candrajñāna	50 Kulasāra
30 Vāsuki	51 Kuloḍḍīśa
31 Mahāsammohana	52 Kulacūḍāmaṇi
32 Mahocchuṣma	53 Sarvajñānottara
33 Mahādeva	54 Mahāpiśamata
34 Vāthu(tu ?)la	55 Mahālakṣmīmata
35 Nayottara (?)	56 Siddhayogīśvaramata
36 Hṛdbheda	57 Kurūpikāmata
37 Mātṛbheda	58 Rūpikāmata
38 Guhyatantra	59 Sarvavīramata
39 Kāmika	60 Vimalāmata
40 Kālapāda	61 Uttama
41 Kālasāra	62 Āruṇeśa
42 Kubjikāmata	63 Modaneśa

64 Viśuddheśvara

The names in this list differ a good deal from those occurring in the extract from this same Tantra given by Yajñeśvara Śāstrin in his Āryavidyāsudhākara (p. 160), and from those given by Professor Aufrecht in the Oxford Catalogue (pp. 108-9). In our list Nayottara occurs twice, being the 35th as well as the 43rd. There must be a mistake here, and we should perhaps read Vātulottara in the first place with Yajñeśvara

Śāstrin and Professor Aufrecht. Similarly we have Mahoochuṣma here for the Vāmajuṣṭa of others. This last might be taken as meant for the Vāmakeśvara or Vāmikeśvara Tantra, the name of which must be found in the list; but "Mahoochuṣma" hardly admits of being so understood, whence probably we have a mistake here also.

No. 735 is called Śābaratantra in the colophon. It contains charms and incantations in Sanskrit, Hindi, Gujarati, and Marathi the effect of which is the destruction of enemies, the averting of evil, the acquisition of miraculous powers and any desired object, &c The charms and incantations are in one or two places called Śābara Mantras.

In the beginning the following are mentioned as the twelve Kāpālikas —

Ādinātha	Mahākāla
Anātha	Kālabhairavanātha
Kāla	Vaṭuka
Atikālaka	Bhūtanātha
Karāla	Vira(Vīra ?)nātha
Vikarāla	Śrīkaṇṭha

The following are mentioned as the twelve disciples, the founders of systems (Mārgapravartaka)

Nāgārjuna	Carpaṭa
Jaḍabhṛta	Ava(?)ghaṭa
Hariścandra	Vairāgya
Saptanātha	Kaṇṭhādhārī(rin)
Bhīmanātha	Jalaṁdharī(rin)
Gorakṣa	Yamalārjuna

No. 227 contains the first and ninth chapters of the Kulārṇavatantra. Nos. 242 and 731 are from the Rudrayāmalatantra; No. 245 from the Brahmayāmala, No. 737 from the Bhairavayāmala; No. 228 from the Saṁmohanatantra; No. 226 from the

Viśveddhāratantra; and No. 246 from the Sudarśanasaṁhitā. No. 234 contains the Bhairavastava from the Bhairavayāmala and another incomplete tract.

OTHER WORKS

The rest are compilations, manuals, and original treatises. No. 224 is Siddhakhaṇḍa of the Mantrasāra by Pārvatīputra Nityanātha. It gives the Mantras to be repeated and the dark processes to be gone through, for the purpose of attaining miraculous or magical powers, such as those of subduing other people to one's own will, raising the dead, &c.

The title of No 232 is Netroddyota which is a work by Kṣemarāja, pupil of Abhinavagupta.

KĀMAKALĀVILĀSA AND VARIVASYĀRAHASYA

No. 225 is Kāmakalāvilāsa with a commentary, and No. 734 Varivasyārahasya. The author of the Kāmakalāvilāsa is Puṇyānanda, and of the commentary Naṭanānandanātha, while the Varivasyārahasya is by Bhāskararāya, the son of Gambhīrarāya who flourished in the beginning of the seventeenth century The subject of both works is the same, but the first is older and more authoritative and is quoted in the second. They give a mystic interpretation of the modes of worshipping the Devī in her agreeable or rather sensual form, and identify the philosophy ultimately involved with that of the Upaniṣads. The system is in some places called Śāmbhavadarśana by Naṭanānandanātha.

ABSTRACT OF THE DOCTRINES OF THE ŚĀMBHAVADARŚANA

Śiva and Śakti are the primordial substances. Śiva in the form of Prakāśa (light) enters into the Śakti in the form of Vimarśa or Sphūrti (feeling or appearance), and assumes the form of a Bindu (drop), and Śakti similarly enters into Śiva, whereupon the Bindu develops and there arises out of it the

female element called Nāda which is "as minute as the end of a grain of rice and is pregnant with all the primary principles", which, according to this system, are thirty-six in number. These two, the Bindu and the Nāda, becoming united form one compound Bindu, and that substance represents the intense affinity between the female and male energies It is called Kāma (Love), and the two drops, of which that representing the male, is white, and the female, red, form the Kalā. Kāma is identified with the Sun and the two drops of the Kalā with the moon and fire respectively. These three, the compound Bindu or Kāma and the two male and female drops, again form one substance called Kāmakalā, from which proceeds the whole creation of words and the things expressed by them (Vāgarthau).

In the Varivasyārahasya the three substances forming the Kāmakalā are thus stated —1st, the compound drop or Kāma, 2nd, the two male and female drops, and 3rd, what is called the Hārdhakalā which results from the development of the first Bindu after it has been entered into by the Śakti, and the nature of which, says Bhāskararāya, should be known from the mouth of a Guru only and should not be described in a book This last seems to correspond to the Nāda mentioned by Naṭanānandanātha In a text quoted in the commentary on the Kāmakalāvilāsa, the highest deity or Kāmakalā is spoken of as having the sun (compound Bindu) for her face, fire and moon (the red and white Bindus) for her breasts, and the Hārdhakalā for her organ of generation

Kāmakalā is also called Parā, Lalitā, Bhaṭṭārikā, and Tripurasundarī. Śiva is symbolically identified with the letter *a* and Śakti with *h* the last letter of the Sanskrit alphabet. Hence the female element called Nāda which arises from the development of the first Bindu is called Hārdhakalā, i.e., one-half of the Kalā mystically identified with the letter *h*. The mystic symbol of Kāmakalā or Tripurasundarī, who is the

result of the combination of Śiva and Śakti, is the combination of *a* and *h*, i.e., *Ah* or *Aha* which is the same as Aham "I." Hence Tripurasundarī is called Ahaṁtā or egoism, and hence it is that all her developments (i.e., the whole creation) have egoism or individuality; and all souls are but forms of Tripurasundarī and, according to Puṇyānanda, become Tripurasundarī when they study and practise the Kāmakalāvidyā with its series of Devīcakras or mystic circles. *A* and *h*, being the first and last letters of the alphabet, contain between them all letters and through them all words, i e, the whole speech; and just as all things are produced from Tripurasundarī, so are all words which express the things. She is thus called Parā, the first of the four kinds of speech Creation as stated by Bhāskararāya is Pariṇāma or development and not Vivarta or the generation of false appearances.

THE THIRTY-SIX PRINCIPLES

The thirty-six primary principles of this system are the following —

1	Śiva	13	Prakṛti	25	Pāyu
2	Śakti	14	Ahamkāra	26	Upastha
3	Sadāśiva	15	Buddhi	27	Śabda
4	Īśvara	16	Manas	28	Sparśa
5	Śuddhavidyā	17	Śrotra	29	Rūpa
6	Māyā	18	Tvac	30	Rasa
7	Kalā	19	Netra	31	Gandha
8	Vidyā	20	Jihvā	32	Ākāśa
9	Rāga	21	Ghrāṇa	33	Vāyu
10	Kāla	22	Vāc	34	Tejas
11	Niyati	23	Pāṇi	35	Ap
12	Puruṣa	24	Pāda	36	Pṛthivī

The first eleven only are peculiar to this system, the rest are the same as those of the Sāṁkhyas. No. 17—21 are the five organs of sense, Nos. 22—26 the organs of action, and No. 16

the organ of sense as well as action. Nos. 27—31 are the five Tanmātrāṇi or subtle elements, and Nos. 32—36 are the developed elements.

This is the philosophy of the Śāṁbhava Darśana, and it will be seen that though it admits a male element in the beginning, still it is thoroughly subdued by the female element which becomes predominant, and the highest deity is a goddess, viz., Tripurasundarī. The ambition of every pious follower of the system is to become identical with Tripurasundarī, and one of his religious exercises is to habituate himself to think that he is a woman. There is a Śākta ascetic in a village in the vicinity of Poona, who, I am told, dresses himself like a female.

MODES OF PROPITIATING THE HIGHEST DEITY

The Varivasyārahasya enters also into the details of the Śakti worship and explains their hidden sense. At the end of the commentary on the Kāmakalāvilāsa we are told that no one can attain the knowledge of Brahma(n) as above explained or enter into a union with Śiva or Tripurasundarī who does not assume a Dīkṣā, i.e., who does not devote himself to a certain system of religious exercises. There are three kinds of Dīkṣā,—Āṇavī, Śāktī and Śāṁbhavī. The Dīkṣā can be attained only by the propitiation of the supreme deity This propitiation is effected by three modes of worship which are called Para, Apara, and Parāpara. The first consists in fully concentrating the mind on the Devī as sitting in the lap of Śiva in the Mahāpadmavana (a garden of lotuses), as possessed of a body which is pure joy and is the original cause of all, and as identical with one's own self. The second is the Cakrapūjā, the worship by means of the mystic circles, which is a Bāhyayāga or material worship, and the third consists in studying and knowing the true doctrine (?).

The propitiation by the mode of Cakrapūjā is effected by offering to the Devī the highest nectar, i.e., wine. Meat

and fish are also to be offered and in a text quoted in connection with this matter, five things the names of which begin with *m* are mentioned as calculated to propitiate the Devī. The five are Madya or liquor, Māmsa or meat, Matsya or fish, Mudrā or mystic gesticulation, and Maithuna or copulation. This Śāmbhava Darśana is to be resorted to by those who are desirous of Mokṣa or final deliverance

RELATIONS BETWEEN THIS AND THE OTHER TĀNTRIKA SYSTEMS

The systems inculcated in other Tantras such as the Mahāmāyāśambara were no doubt equally with this system taught by Śiva, but they are not to be followed, for Śiva taught them in order to delude the wicked, and men with lower qualifications only should resort to them. It will thus appear that the Tantras inculcate the worship of the supreme female deity in a large variety of mutually inconsistent forms, some of which are dark and terrific There were a great many sects of Devī-worshippers and each system of worship was conceived in a distinctive spirit.

ART

No 247 is a copy of the first two out of the seven chapters of a commentary on the Saṁgītaratnākara by Kallinātha, son of Lakṣmaṇārya The Manuscript is very old and the leaves are in a dilapidated condition We have a fragment of a work on dancing (No. 248), and another of a work on house-building called Aparājitapṛcchā by Bhavadeva.

JAINA LITERATURE

WORKS OF THE DIGAMBARA SECT

DHARMA

In the Pravacanaparīkṣā by Dharmasāgaragaṇi to be noticed in connection with the literature of the Śvetāmbaras, it is stated that the Digambara sect originated in the year 609 of Mahāvīra

corresponding to 83 A.D., on the supposition that Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa took place in 470 before Vikrama, or 526 before Christ. One of the earliest authors whose works are referred to by subsequent writers is Kundakundācārya. The line of High-priests founded by him is mentioned in an Inscription dated 1127 Śaka. (JBBRAS, Vol. X, p. 236) Three of his works, the Aṣṭaprābhṛta, the Bhāvādiprābhṛta, and the Samayasāra, exist in Dr Bühler's Collection of 1875-76. There is another copy of the last in my Collection of 1882-83, and in the present Collection we have Manuscripts of two more of his works, the Pravacanasāra (No 304), and the Niyamasāra (No. 299)

PRAVACANASĀRA BY KUNDAKUNDĀCĀRYA WITH A HINDĪ COMMENTARY

The first consists of Prākṛta Gāthās by Kundakundācārya with a Sanskrit translation by Amṛtacandra, and an excellent exposition in Hindī by Hemarāja, who wrote his commentary at the instance of Kaumrapāla (Kamalapāla) of Agra. Kaumrapāla represented to Hemarāja, that the Samayasāra had already been explained in Hindī by Rājamalla, and if the same thing were done with the Pravacanasāra, the religion of the Jina would flourish in all its branches, and requested him to write a Hindī commentary on the work This commentary was finished on Sunday the 5th of the light half of the month of Māgha in the year 1709 during the reign of Shah Jahan. The present Manuscript was transcribed in Saṁvat 1809, so that the date 1709 must refer to the Saṁvat or Vikrama era, and is thus equivalent to 1653 A.D., when Shah Jahan was on the throne of Delhi.

ANALYSIS OF THE PRAVACANASĀRA

The first leaf of the Manuscript is missing but from the Hindī commentary on the second it appears that it contained a Gāthā expressive of adoration of Vardhamāna, the last Tīrthaṁkara. In the second Gāthā obeisance is rendered to the other

Tīrthaṁkaras along with the Siddhas and Śramaṇas, and in the third, to the Arhats living during the author's time. In the fourth and fifth, after having in this manner adored the Arhats, Siddhas, Gaṇadharas, Adhyāpakas, and Sādhus, who we are told constitute the five classes of Parameṣṭhins, the author expresses his submission to or dependence on (Upasampadya) that "state of serenity" (Sāmya) attained by them which leads to Nirvāṇa and which is associated with or follows upon faith in the correct doctrine (Viśuddhadarśana) and knowledge (Jñāna).

THE THREE JEWELS

The sixth Gāthā sets forth that a Jīva or soul obtains Nirvāṇa and also the dignity of the sovereign of the gods, Asuras, and men, from Cāritra (right conduct), associated pre-eminently with faith in the true doctrine (Samyagdarśana[1]) and knowledge (Jñāna). The commentator explains that there are two kinds of Cāritra, one which is unaccompanied by desire (Vītarāga) and the other which is accompanied (Sarāga). The first leads to Mokṣa or eternal bliss, and the second to the sovereign dignity spoken of in the Gāthā.

In the seventh Gāthā we are told that Cāritra, or right conduct is Dharma, Dharma is what is called Sāmya (serenity or equanimity), and Sāmya is a condition induced on the soul or the developed condition of the soul (Pariṇāma), in which ignorance (Moha) and perturbation (Kṣobha) are absent.

The eighth sets forth that the developed condition of any object is for the time that that condition lasts, the object itself; therefore, when the condition of Dharma is developed in the soul it is the soul itself, i.e., Dharma is the soul in that developed condition.

1 This expression always means seeing or believing in the truth of the doctrines of Jina.

THE THREE KINDS OF DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOUL

Ninth Gāthā.—Jīva being capable of development or change becomes meritorious (Śubha) when merit is induced in him by such deeds as alms-giving, worshipping, observing vows and fasts, full of demerit (Aśubha) when that quality is developed by deeds of demerit, and pure or serene when developed as free from desire

Tenth Gāthā —There is no substance without some development (Pariṇāma), nor is there development without substance; a thing's having existence is its being made up of substance, quality, and development

Eleventh Gāthā.—The soul or Ātman that develops in the form of Dharma obtains the bliss of Nirvāṇa when he realizes in himself the "pure" or "serene" (Śuddha) i.e, when the Dharma is of that nature, and heavenly bliss when the meritorious (Śubha) is realized, i e, when the Dharma consists of merit.

Twelfth Gāthā —When the soul realizes in himself demerit, he becomes a low man, a brute, or a denizen of hell, and being subject to a variety of torments wanders for long (through the circle of existences).

THE HIGHEST DEVELOPMENT AND ITS RESULTS

Thirteenth Gāthā —Those who become perfect through being developed into pure serenity (Śuddha Dharma) enjoy in themselves bliss surpassing every other kind of it, beyond all pleasure of sense, incomparable, endless, and indestructible.

Fourteenth Gāthā.—That Śramaṇa is to be considered as having realized the pure or serene in himself (Śuddhopayukta) who knows perfectly all things and the systems that explain them, who possesses self-restraint and has practised austerities, who is free from desire, and to whom pleasure and pain are alike

Fifteenth Gāthā.—He who has become pure by the realization in himself of the pure or serene, is free from the dust in the shape of, everything that acts as an obstruction to knowledge (Antarāya) and that deludes or misleads (Moha), and thus obtains omniscience and becomes self-sufficient

Sixteenth Gāthā —Having thus attained to his nature (the highest development of his nature) and become omniscient, deserving of respect from the lords of the three worlds, and self-sufficient, he becomes what is called Svayaṁbhū

Seventeenth Gāthā —There is in him then production (of the highest nature) not to be followed by destruction, and a destruction (of the lower nature) not to be followed by production, thus in him unchangeable existence, production, and destruction are united

Eighteenth Gāthā.—With reference to one development or another, a thing undergoes production and destruction (at the same time), everything verily has existence (which existence implies the production of one development or modification and destruction of another, and also permanence in so far as it is the same substance)

Nineteenth Gāthā.—After his Ghāti-karmans[1] (the disabling Karmans) have been destroyed and he has come to have infinite power and extensive light, his knowledge no more depends on the senses, and he develops in the form of pure knowledge and bliss.

Twentieth Gāthā.—The possessor of pure knowledge (i e, a Kevalin) has no bodily pleasure or pain, since he does not

1 The Ghātinī Karmāni are five —1, Jñānāvaranīya, that which acts as an impediment to the knowledge of the truth, 2, Darśanāvaranīya, that which acts as an impediment to the belief in the efficacy of the Jaina dispensation, 3, Mohanīya, that which produces bewilderment and disability to choose between the various dispensations promulgated by different teachers, 4, Āntarya, that which prevents one's entrance on the path that leads to eternal bliss.—Govindānanda's commentary on Śaṁkarācārya's Bhāṣya on [Vedānta Sūtra] II. 2 33.

depend on or has no senses. The nature of his knowledge and his bliss should therefore be understood.

Twenty-first Gāthā.—To him (Kevalin) who has developed in the form of pure knowledge, all the developments of substances (past, present and future) are directly perceptible; he has not to go through the efforts Avagraha[1] and others (as ordinary mortals have).

Twenty-second Gāthā.—Nothing is imperceptible to him who has himself become pure knowledge, and who possessing the perceptive power of the senses, has not the senses themselves.

Twenty-third Gāthā.—The soul or Ātman is co-extensive with knowledge, knowledge is co-extensive with the objects of knowledge, the objects of knowledge are Loka (or the universe of things) and Āloka (or pure vacuity), and therefore knowledge is all-reaching

Twenty-fourth Gāthā—He who does not believe the Ātman to be as extensive as knowledge must believe it to be either smaller or larger than knowledge.

Twenty-fifth Gāthā.—If the Ātman be smaller, then knowledge, being Acetana or not-knowing, will not be self-conscious, since being larger, knowledge must exist in some place without Ātman who alone is Cetana or knowing; if it be larger, then, in places where there is no knowledge, he will not know or be Cetana, i e, Ātman will have to be considered as Acetana in those places in which there is no knowledge

Twenty-sixth Gāthā.—The best of Jinas is everywhere and all things in the universe are in him (in the sense in which all things reflected in a mirror are in the mirror), for he is pure

1 Avagraha, Īhā, Avāya, and Dhāraṇā are the four stages through which a sensation passes. When a thing is seen at a distance and we are unable to determine whether it is a man or a post, the perception is in the Avagraha stage, desire to have a distinct perception of the thing which follows is Īhā, distinct perception is Avāya, and the retention of the impression which renders recollection possible is Dhāraṇā.—Sakalakīrti's Tattvārthasāradīpaka.

knowledge and they are the objects of knowledge. (This follows from Gāthā 23.)

Twenty-seventh Gāthā.—The doctrine [of Jina] is that knowledge is Ātman, for without Ātman there can be no knowledge, therefore knowledge is Ātman, but Ātman may be knowledge or anything else, i.e., any other attribute of Ātman such as happiness or power.

GĀTHĀS 28 to 52

WHEN KARMAN ACTS AS A FETTER

Then up to Gāthā 52 a good deal more is said with regard to Jñāna or knowledge. In the 43rd and 44th we are told that the best of Jinas have taught that Karman necessarily ripens and produces its effects; but it acts as a fetter (Bandha) only when delusion, desire and hatred are produced by those effects, if one does not allow himself to be so deluded, attracted, or repelled, it does not act as a fetter tying him down to the circle of births. Even the Arhats have to go through certain actions, such as standing, sitting and moving about, and teaching the Dharma; but these are spontaneous, as amorous movements are in the case of young women, and do not produce delusion or desire, hence they do not act as a fetter.

KṢĀYIKA JÑĀNA

That knowledge is Kṣāyika (produced by the Kṣaya or destruction of the power of Karman) which embraces simultaneously the past, present, and future conditions of all things; while that knowledge which is not simultaneous, but is produced by degrees after one comes in contact with objects, is not Kṣāyika, nor eternal, nor all-embracing

GĀTHĀS 53 to 68

HAPPINESS OF THE SECOND DEVELOPED CONDITION OF THE SOUL

Then, up to Gāthā 68 we have what is called Atīndriya-sukhādhikāra or the treatment of the bliss enjoyed by the

Kevalin who has no senses, and afterwards of the happiness derived from the senses. This last depends upon Śubhopayoga or the realization of the Śubha or meritorious. He who devotes himself to the worship of the deities, the Yatis (ascetics), and the preceptor, and to a virtuous course of conduct, and observes fasts, is a Śubhopayogin. By this course of conduct a soul attains happiness in one or all of the three conditions of life, viz, that of a brute, man, or god But this is a bodily happiness and does not spring from the nature of the soul, it is associated with misery, it only sharpens desire while being enjoyed and thus brings on restlessness So that this sort of happiness is hardly to be distinguished from the misery that follows the realization of the sinful character (Aśubhopayoga) There is little to choose between them Real bliss is to be attained by him only who puts an end to all delusion (Moha), desire (Rāga) and hatred (Dveṣa), and one can do this only by knowing the truth taught by the Jina, and learning to distinguish himself as the pure knowing soul or light from all other things which are insensate.

GĀTHĀS 69 to 92

THE CONSIDERATION OF THE JÑĀNATATTVA ENDS

With Gāthā 92 ends the explanation of Jñānatattva which is called the first Adhikāra, those mentioned before being subordinate Adhikāras. Then begins the Jñeya Adhikāra.

THE JÑEYA ADHIKĀRA

DRAVYA WITH GUṆAS AND PARYĀYAS

Jñeya or the knowable is Dravya or substance with Guṇas or qualities and Paryāyas or developments or modifications. Qualities are inseparable from Dravya and are looked upon as constituting the breadth of a Dravya, while modifications extend over time, and involve sequence, and constitute the length of a Dravya.

There are modifications of substance and modifications of qualities. The modification resulting from a combination of substances is substantial modification (Dravyaparyāya) This is of two kinds —1st, that produced by the combination of like substances, and 2nd, that produced by the combination of unlike substances The combination of atoms of the same substance to form a Skandha such as Dvyaṇuka Tryaṇuka, &c, is an instance of the first kind, and men, gods, &c., resulting from the combination of spirit (Jīva) and matter (Pudgala), are instances of the second

Modifications of qualities are also of two kinds —1st, that produced by the increase or decrease of the qualities of the same substance, and 2nd, that which is due to the combination of the qualities of different substances.

It is the nature of Dravya or substance to have qualities and modifications, and to be subject to production and destruction at the same time that it has permanence (Utpāda-vināśa-dhrauvya) To be thus is to exist Though a substance is spoken of as something distinct from its qualities or modifications, still it is to be considered as identical with them, since neither of them can exist without the other When an old form or modification, such as that of loose earth, is destroyed, a new one such as that of a jar is produced, and in both cases we have the same substance, viz, earth Thus at one and the same time we have production and destruction along with continuance or permanence

There are two ways of looking at things, one called Dravyārthikanaya and the other Paryāyārthikanaya. The production of a jar is the production of something not previously existing, if we think of it from the latter point of view, i.e, as a Paryāya or modification, while it is not the production of something not previously existing, when we look at it from the former point of view, i.e. as a Dravya or substance. So when a soul becomes, through his merits or

demerits, a god, a man, or a denizen of hell, from the first point of view, the being is the same, but from the second he is not the same, i e., different in each case. So that you can affirm or deny something of a thing at one and the same time.

THE SEVEN MODES OF ASSERTION

This leads to the celebrated Saptabhangīnaya or the seven modes of assertion. You can affirm existence of a thing from one point of view (Syād asti), deny it from another (Syān nāsti), and affirm both existence and non-existence with reference to it at different times (Syād asti nāsti). If you should think of affirming both existence and non-existence at the same time from the same point of view, you must say that the thing cannot be so spoken of (Syād avaktavyaḥ). Similarly, under certain circumstances, the affirmation of existence is not possible, (Syād asti avaktavyaḥ), of non-existence (Syān nāsti avaktavyaḥ), and also of both (Syād asti nāsti avaktavyaḥ).

What is meant by these seven modes is that a thing should not be considered as existing everywhere, at all times, in all ways, and in the form of everything. It may exist in one place and not in another, at one time and not at another, &c It is not meant by these modes that there is no certainty, or that we have to deal with probabilities only, as some scholars have thought. All that is implied is that every assertion which is true is true only under certain conditions of space, time, &c. This is the substance of the section which treats of Dravyasāmānya or Dravya generally.

SPECIES OF DRAVYA AND THEIR PROPERTIES

Then we have Dravyaviśeṣa. Dravya is divided into Jīva and Ajīva. Jīva is Cetana, i.e., sentient or conscious, and Ajīva Acetana, i e., insentient or unconscious. The latter is of five kinds—Pudgala (matter), Dharma (right conduct), Adharma (unrighteousness), Kāla (time), and Ākāśa, (space). Ākāśa is

divided into two parts, Loka and Aloka. The first is filled with Jīva and the first four unconscious substances, the other is a void. Some qualities are Mūrta, i.e., Indriyagrāhya or perceptible by the senses, others are Amūrta or not perceptible by the senses.

The qualities of Pudgala are Mūrta and of the other substances, Amūrta.

The peculiar property of Ākāśa is Avagāha, i.e., giving room for the other substances to exist in, of Dharma, to give motion to the Pudgala associated with Jīva, of Adharma, to confine the Jīvapudgala to a certain place, of Kāla or time, to render the modifications of substances possible, and of Jīva or Ātman, to undergo Upayoga, i e., the realization of the three kinds of nature mentioned before.

A Jīva or Ātman in a worldly condition has four kinds of Prāṇa or living powers, viz, 1st, Indriyaprāṇa or the sensational power of five kinds, 2nd, Balaprāṇa, or the power of action by means of the body, speech, and mind, 3rd, Āyuḥprāṇa or the power of sustaining a bodily form, and 4th, Ānāpānaprāṇa or the power of respiration The first being of five kinds and the second of three, we have altogether ten.

The four kinds of Prāṇa are the effects of Pudgala, and the Jīva having delusion, desire, and hatred developed in it, becomes tied down to the Karman which Pudgala generates and to the Prāṇas, and thus experiences the fruit of the Karman, and while so experiencing contracts the ties of other Karmans. "The Ātman being sullied by Karman assumes Prāṇas again and again as long as he does not abandon his attachment to the body and other external objects" (24). The several forms of god, man, brute, &c., which the same soul goes through, are due to Nāman (name) and Karman which spring from the Pudgala (27). The body, the Manas

(mind), and speech are the effects of Pudgala; and a Pudgala substance is a collection of atoms "I am not made up of Pudgala, nor have I made the collections of Pudgala atoms; therefore am I not the body nor its creator" (36)

Karman arises from Pudgala, but it operates as a fetter to the Ātman, because he is capable of seeing and knowing the properties of Pudgala and conceiving a desire or hatred for the objects created by Pudgala (47, 48, 49) The modification of the soul consisting of desire, hatred, and delusion produces Bandha or the fettered condition (54) The Ātman is the author of his own condition or development, not of that of the Pudgala, the actions of the Pudgala are not done by the Ātman though he is associated with the Pudgala (58, 59).

When the Ātman having desire and hatred is developed into the Śubha (good) or Aśubha (evil) condition, then Pudgala develops into the eight kinds of Karman[1] the first of which is the concealment of the truth, and since both are associated together in same place, that Karman operates as a fetter to the soul (60, 61) The fetters of the soul are really his delusion, desire, and hatred, and the actions of the Pudgala are so only in a secondary sense (63) He who does not abandon his attachment for his body and possessions and thinks 'here I am', 'this is mine', abandons the path of a Śramaṇa and goes astray (64).

'I do not belong to others, others do not belong to me, I am mere knowledge (Jñāna)'; he who thinks thus thinks really of himself as the Ātman (65). I think myself to be knowledge and faith (Darśanabhūta), not to be

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1 The eight Karmans are the four Ghātins mentioned before, and the four Aghātins. These last are—1, Vedanīya, i.e., the belief that there is something which one has to know, 2, Nāmika, i.e., the belief that I am a person bearing such and such a name, 3, Gotrika, i.e., the knowledge that I now belong to the family of the pupils of the worshipful Arhat, 4, Āyuṣka, i.e., actions necessary for the preservation of life. These four are of use to enable one to know the truth, therefore they are Aghātins, i.e., not injurious, favourable.—Govindānanda, loc. cit.

apprehended by the senses, the great being, firm, unchangeable, and independent (66). Bodies, possessions, pleasure, pain, enemies, and friends are not everlasting, the pure nature of the soul as knowledge and faith is everlasting (67). He who being purified contemplates himself as such cuts the knot of delusion (68). The knot of delusion being cut, desire and hatred being destroyed, a man assumes the nature of a Śramaṇa indifferent to pleasure or pain, and attains eternal happiness (69).

HOW TO ATTAIN THE HIGHEST CONDITION OF WHICH THE SOUL IS CAPABLE

Having in this manner explained the nature of the particular Dravyas and the three conditions of the Jīva or Ātman, our author proceeds to describe the way of attaining the highest condition, viz, that of purity and simple thought in which there is eternal bliss. That way is to become a Śramaṇa after one has taken leave of his relations and friends. Here two leaves of the Manuscript are missing But the frame of mind in which one should enter on that condition of life, appears to have been given here in this way. The man should think that nothing in the world really belongs to him, should have subdued his passions, and should be determined to go through the several modes or processes of attaining knowledge and faith, and of Cāritra, Tapas, and Vīrya

The commentator states that the modes or processes of attaining knowledge and faith are eight in each case, Cāritra is of thirteen kinds, Tapas of twelve kinds, and Vīryācāra is intended to bring forth the powers of one's own soul. The intending Śramaṇa should also have assumed Yathājātarūpa, literally "that form in which one is born," the original or primitive and uncontaminated form.

REQUISITES OF A ŚRAMAṆA

The external requisites of a Muni or Śramaṇa laid down by the Jina are that he should assume such a form, and should shave

off his hair and moustache, should have no property, abstain from killing, and should not adorn his body. The internal requisites which put a stop to future births are, that he should be free from attachment to worldly objects, that he should be devoted to the purification of his nature (Upayogaśuddhi), his actions should be pure, and he should not be dependent on any thing (other than himself) (4, 5) He should also realize in himself such other characteristics as the preceptor, who initiates him, may point out, and should learn the vows, and then it is that he becames a Śramaṇa (6).

The following are the primary requisites of a Śramaṇa as laid down by the best of Jinas, and if they are set at nought through carelessness, the Śramaṇa has to be re-initiated. (*a*) Vratas or vows for avoiding sinful actions, which are five[1] according to the commentator; (*b*) Samitis for the preservation of the vows, which are also five[2], (*c*) Indriyarodha or the restraining of the five senses, (*d*) shaving off the hair, (*e*) six[3] Āvaśyaka observances, (*f*) Acela, 'not

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1 The five Vratas or Mahāvratas are —1 Ahimsā, not to kill, i.e., to protect all life, 2 Satya, speaking the truth as well as what is agreeable, 3 Asteya, not to steal (even a blade of grass), 4 Brahmacarya, chastity, 5 Ākimcanya, poverty — Sakalakīrti's Tattvārthasāradīpakā.

2 They are —1 Iryāsamiti, going by paths trodden by men, beasts, carts &c., and looking carefully, so as not to occasion the death of any living creature, 2 Bhāṣāsamiti, gentle, salutary, sweet, righteous speech, 3 Esanāsamiti, receiving alms in a manner to avoid the forty-two faults that are laid down, 4 Ādānanikṣepaṇāsamiti, receiving and keeping of the things necessary for religious exercises, after having carefully examined them; 5 Pari-(Prati-) sthāpanāsamiti, performing the operations of nature in an unfrequented place.—Ibid, and Mādhava's Sarvadarśanasamgraha, p. 39

3 These are —I Sāmāyika. II Caturvimśatistava, III Vandanā, IV Pratikramana, V Pratyākhyāna, VI Kāyotsarga. I. Sāmāyika is freedom from love and hatred or equanimity as regards the agreeableness or disagreeableness of things. This is of six kinds. 1, Nāmasāmayika, which consists in not liking good names or disliking bad names, 2, Sthāpanāsāmāyika, not being pleased or displeased

wearing cloth' or nudity; (*g*) Asnāna, "not bathing"; (*h*) Kṣitiśayana, "sleeping on the bare ground"; (*i*) Adantadhāvana, "not cleansing the teeth"; (*k*) Sthitabhojana, "dining while standing"; (*l*) Ekabhukta, "taking one meal

with beautiful or ugly images (of gods and others), 3, Dravyasāmāyika, regarding agreeable objects such as gold and disagreeable objects such as earth, equally; 4, Kṣetrasāmāyika, making no difference between pleasant places such as a garden and unpleasant places such as a forest of brambles, 5, Kālasāmāyika, not being pleased or displeased by agreeable or disagreeable seasons and times, 6, Bhāvasāmāyika, love for all living beings and shunning everything of an evil tendency. Some of these are also otherwise explained.

II. Caturvimśatistatva is the praising with devotion of the twenty-four Tīrthaṁkaras. This is also of six kinds, Nāmastava, Sthāpanāstava, Dravyastava, &c.

III. Vandanā is humbling oneself before one who deserves to be worshipped by making obeisance, and praising, invoking a blessing, singing his triumph, &c.

IV. Pratikramaṇa is the expiation of the sins concerning Nāman (names), Sthāpanā (images), Dravya (objects), Ksetra (places), Kāla (times), and Bhāva, (mental states), or sins generally, by means of Nindana, Garhaṇa, and Ālocana, and other processes. Nindana is condemning the sinful act or repenting of it to oneself, Garhaṇa is doing the same before a Guru, and Ālocana is making a confession of it to a Guru. Pratikramaṇa is of seven kinds —That performed (1) every day, (2) every night, (3) every fortnight, (4) every four months, and (5) every year, (6) that which has reference to Iryāpatha (walking), and (7) Uttamārthika, consisting in abstaining from food for the remainder of one's life after confessing all sins and becoming careless about the body. The particular species of Pratikramaṇa are differently given in other books.

V. Pratyākhyāna is keeping aloof from or avoiding evil or improper names (Nāman), images (Sthāpanā), objects (Dravya), and the other three, in order not to incur sin.

VI. Kāyotsarga is the abandoning of one's body, i.e., one's attachment to his body in order to purify himself from sins incurred by resorting to evil names, images, objects, &c., to lessen the force of Karman and thrive in holiness. This is done while a man is standing with all his limbs immovable, his arms hanging downwards straight, the knees unbent, the feet apart from each other by the distance of four fingers, and the toes straight.—From Chap. VIII. of Āśādhara's Dharmāmṛta.

only." In all there are twenty-eight observances (7, 8). If after the holy bodily observances have been begun, a break occurs, it should be condoned by processes the first of which is Ālocana or confession. And if there is an interruption in the internal advancement, the Śramaṇa should go to another Śramaṇa who is proficient in the doctrine of the Jina, confess his fault and abide by his directions (10, 11). Wherever he lives, whether in the company of other Śramaṇas or alone, a Śramaṇa should take care that his vow is not violated, and should avoid attachment for all things other than his pure soul. The Śramaṇa's vow is to be considered as properly observed only then, when he avoids all attachment, devotes himself to the true doctrine and to the acquisition of knowledge, and fulfils the (twenty-eight) primary requisities (12, 13).

Attachment to objects other than one's pure soul operates as a fetter, therefore do Śramaṇas abandon everything. Without total renunciation the heart is not purified, and if the heart is not purified what possibility is there of the destruction of Karman (18, 19)? But this general rule has exceptions A Śramaṇa may, having in view the necessities of the time and place when and where he lives, take such things to himself as do not check his highest development (21). Such form of the body as befits a Śramaṇa, the words of a Guru, discipline (Vinaya), the study of the Sūtras, must be accepted (24), these cannot be renounced So also the things the abandonment of which would check progress must be accepted. Without the body you cannot go through the whole discipline which brings on the highest development; it should therefore be preserved and food taken to preserve it. But if the food is acquired by begging without committing the forty-two faults, the Śramaṇa who eats it may be said in effect not to eat it (26). He is a Śramaṇa who does not care for this world or for the next, who eats and moves just in the proper manner, and who is free from Kaṣāya, i.e., love and hatred or

likes and dislikes (25). The body is the only property of the Śramaṇa and for it even he has no attachment.

PERFECT FAITH IN THE TRUE DOCTRINE NECESSARY FOR A ŚRAMAṆA

This is the Ācāra or course of conduct prescribed for a Śramaṇa, but one essential thing more is required for the attainment of Mokṣa. He who is absorbed in one thing only is a Śramaṇa. Such singleness of devotion he only has whose knowledge about the nature of things is certain, and certainty of knowledge can be had from the Āgamas or Jaina sacred books only, therefore, the study of Āgamas is a matter of the highest importance (1) The Śramaṇa who has not studied the Āgamas does not know the nature of his soul, and the nature of things distinct from the soul, and it is not possible for him to put an end to Karman if he does not know the nature of these things (2) All objects with their various qualities and developments are properly explained in the Āgamas, and the Śramaṇas know them only by learning the Āgamas (4). If a Śramaṇa does not see things through the Āgamas, there can be no moral discipline for him (Saṁyama), and if there is no moral discipline, how can he become a Śramaṇa (5) ? He does not become perfect by merely learning the Āgamas, if he has no faith in what is taught there about things, nor does he obtain eternal bliss (Nirvāti) by mere faith if he does not go through the moral discipline. (6).

NO KNOWLEDGE WITHOUT FAITH IN THE SCRIPTURES NO ETERNAL BLISS BY MERE FAITH WITHOUT MORAL DISCIPLINE THEREFORE THE THREE JEWELS NECESSARY

Here is explained the necessity of the so-called three jewels (Ratnas), viz., Jñāna or knowledge of things as revealed in the Āgamas; Darśana or faith in what is taught there; and Cāritra or Dharma, i e., moral discipline —But if a man has a particle of attachment for the body and other things he does

not become perfect or attain eternal bliss even if he knows all Āgamas (8). That Śramaṇa, who has realized the five Samitis and the three[1] Guptis, restrained the five senses, got over the Kaṣāya,[2] and has Darśana and Jñāna fully, is to be considered as having undergone thorough discipline (Saṁyata) (9). Friends and foes, pleasure and pain, praise and censure, a clod of earth and gold, are alike to him (10). He who is perfected simultaneously in Darśana, Jñāna, and Cāritra is to be regarded as having attained singleness of devotion (Aikāgrya), and has completely realized the nature of the Śramaṇa.

THE ŚRAMAṆAS WHO ATTAIN THE SECOND CONDITION ONLY

The way to eternal bliss has thus been shown. The author next proceeds to mention the duties of the Śramaṇas who realize the Śubha or good only, and not the Śuddha. These two classes of monks are mentioned, he says, in the scriptures, the first have Āsrava[3], and the last are free from it. The duties of the Śubhopayogin are —Devotion for the Arhats, kindness towards

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1 Gupti means the protection of the soul from desire, hatred, and delusion, which tie him to the Samsāra. They are three —1, Manogupti or preventing the mind from wandering in the forest of sensual pleasures by employing it in contemplation, study, &c., 2, Vāggupti, i.e., preventing the tongue from saying bad things by a vow of silence, &c., 3, Kāyagupti, i. e., putting the body in an immovable posture as in the case of Kāyotsarga.—From Sakalakīrti's Tattvārthasāra.

2 Krodha, 'anger', Māna, 'pride', Māyā 'deceit,' and Lobha 'greed.'—Sarvadarśana and Sakalakīrti.

3 Āsravas are the movements of the soul corresponding to the movements of the Manas, speech, and body through which Karman flows in from the Pudgala to the soul. This Karman brought in by the movements (i.e., the Āsravas) the soul takes in when he is influenced by Kaṣāya, as a wet piece of cloth takes in all the particles of dust brought towards it by the wind.—Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha and Kārtikeyānuprekṣā. Sometimes the flowing in of the Karman through the movements which are called Yogas is regarded as Āsrava.—Sakalakīrti.

the learned ; adorning and saluting the great Śuddha Śramaṇas, treating them with respect by going forward to receive them when they come, and following them when they go, preaching Jñāna and Darśana, receiving pupils, and bringing them up, giving instruction in the worship of the Jinas, doing all the good he can to the four classes of Śrāvakas (lay-followers), Śrāvikās (females), Yatis (priests), and Āryās, and to the body of the Śramaṇas, without doing harm to his own person ; conferring benefits on all Jainas, priests as well as lay persons, through compassion without expecting anything in return ; and doing what he can, to bring relief when he sees a Śramaṇa afflicted with disease, hunger, thirst, and fatigue Such a course of conduct is good for a Śramaṇa, but for a Gṛhastha or householder it is of the highest importance and leads him indirectly to Mokṣa.

THE FIVE JEWELS

Then follow a few Gāthās which contain some general observations, and the work ends with five, each of which is, according to the commentator, devoted to each of the five jewels (Ratnas) which make up the whole Jaina creed. These five jewels are —1, Saṁsāratattva, 2, Mokṣatattva, 3, Mokṣatattvasādhaka, 4, Mokṣatattvasādhana, 5, Śāstraphalalābha.

1.—In the first of these Gāthās, it is stated that he who does not apprehend the true doctrines which form the Jaina creed and believes his fancies to be true, revolves in the circle of existences for ever.

2.—He whose conduct is not improper, and who has firm belief in the truth, and is at peace, does not remain long without the fruit.

3.—He who knows all things truly, is free from attachment for external as well as internal things foreign to his true nature,

and has no desire for the pleasures of sense, is called Śuddha or pure.

4.—He who is pure is a real Śramaṇa, he alone knows the correct doctrine and possesses true knowledge, and he alone attains Nirvāṇa.

The next five leaves being lost, the fifth Gāthā is not before me.

COMPARISON OF THE CARDINAL DOCTRINES OF JAINISM WITH THOSE OF THE SĀMKHYA, VEDĀNTIC AND BUDDHISTIC SYSTEMS

This is a summary of the Jaina doctrines as explained by a teacher of very great authority among the Digambaras. The idea of the three conditions of the soul, the sinful, the meritorious or virtuous, and the pure or serene, — with the corresponding fruits of a miserable life among the lowest orders of being, of a life of happiness and pleasure in the regions of the gods, and of eternal bliss—, is common to this system with the Sāmkhya, the Advaita Vedānta, and Buddhism. But it differs from the last in maintaining the existence of the soul as an independent substance, and from the other two in regarding love, hatred, merit or virtue, &c, as qualities of the soul, and in maintaining that the soul is capable of development or modification. According to the Sāṁkhya and Vedānta, the soul is in its nature, unchangeable (Avyaya), unperishable (Nitya), pure (Śuddha), limitless thought (Buddha), and unfettered (Mukta), while love, hatred, virtue, &c, and the fettered condition are the results of the insentient principle, which is Prakṛti in the first system, and Māyā or Avidyā in the second.

With the Jainas the fettered condition is the result of the qualities of the soul, love or desire and hatred, and of their insentient principle, the Pudgala. To distinguish the soul from the Prakṛti or Avidyā with its results, and know it as distinct, is what is necessary for Mokṣa or deliverance according to those two systems;

while according to the Jainas, that condition of the soul, in which it loves and hates, must give way to the development of the highest qualities, viz., purity, serenity, and limitless knowledge.

In admitting love, hatred, and others as the qualities of the soul, the Jainas agree with the Vaiśeṣikas. On one or two points they hold a view which is of the nature of a compromise between the Sāṁkhyas and the Vedāntins on the one hand and the Vaiśeṣikas on the other The former maintain the doctrine of Satkārya, i e, that an effect is the same as its material cause or pre-exists in that cause and is only made manifest by the operation which that cause undergoes, while the latter advocate the doctrine of Asatkārya, i e, that the effect which is produced is something new and did not exist before. But the Jainas maintain that an effect pre-exists in the cause in one sense and is a new thing in another If you look at an effect such as a jar as a mere substance, the substance is the same as in the loose earth of which the jar is made; but if you look at the jar as a modification, it is new and did not exist when the earth was in the condition of loose particles.

Similarly, Dravya as the substratum of qualities is not recognised by the Sāmkhyas and Vedāntins, with them a Dravya and its qualities are identical The Vaiśeṣikas regard the two as distinct but connected together by the relation of Samavāya (constant connection) The Jainas admit Dravya as the substratum of qualities, but like the Sāmkhyas and Vedāntins regard both as identical, since one of them cannot exist without the other.

JAINISM NOT A SECT OF BUDDHISM

The Jainas attribute the fettered condition of the soul or Bandha to delusion, desire, and hatred, or more systematically to Kaṣāya as explained in a former note, and inculcate moral discipline as the means of destroying them. The Bauddhas also seem in a way, according to some writers, to attribute it to desire; but they trace worldly misery and the succession of

births and deaths to Avidyā or ignorance of the truths that everything is momentary and there is no such permanent substance as the soul. This is unknown to Jaina metaphysics; but the two systems agree in laying down moral discipline as the way of riddance from the Saṁsāra. They have also got some names such as Arhat, Śramaṇa, and Jina, which are common, though the Jainas have altered the sense of a few, such as the term Pudgala. But the doctrinal differences and differences on minor points are so great that Jainism and Buddhism must be considered as two different systems of religion springing from the same stream of ideas, just as in modern times the systems of Rāmānuja and Madhva have sprung up from the same current of Pāñcarātra and Vedāntic ideas, and one of them can by no means be considered to have branched off from the other.

But, that as a system, Jainism is much later than Buddhism, is, I think, unquestionable, because, 1st, some of its ideas resemble those of the Vaiśeṣikas, 2nd, a morbid extravagance characterises its moral discipline, while the tone of that of Buddhism is much more healthy; and 3rd, its sacred language is the principal Prakrit, while that of the Buddhists was originally the Pāli, and the Prakrits were, as I have stated elsewhere,[1] formed in my opinion, about the beginning of the Christian era. So that though the Nigganṭha Nātaputta may have flourished about the time of Buddha, Jainism must have received a definite shape, and the sect become compact, several centuries later. But of this more hereafter.

THE NIYAMASĀRA

No. 299 is a copy of the Niyamasāra with a commentary by Padmaprabhāmaladhārideva The Manuscript is in many places unreadable In the second Gāthā it is stated that Mārga and

1 In his Wilson Philological Lectures on Sanskrit and the Prakrit Languages, included in the Fourth Volume of this Edition. [N. B. U.]

Mārgaphala are mentioned in the system of Jina ; Mārga is the way to deliverance (Mokṣa), and its fruit is Nirvāṇa.

Niyama means that which must be necessarily done , and Jñāna or knowledge, Darśana or faith, and Cāritra or moral discipline constitute Niyama. Niyama is the way to deliverance and its fruit is the highest Nirvāṇa.

NATURE OF ITS CONTENTS

The work thus expounds the whole discipline which the seeker of eternal bliss should subject himself to , and the great vows, the Samitis, the Guptis, &c., are explained In the introducion the commentator renders his obeisance to Siddhasena, to Akalaṅkabhaṭṭa who was a "sun to the lotus in the shape of reasoning," to Pūjyapāda who was a " moon to the sea of words " (grammar), and to Vīranandin In the body of the work, Padmaprabha quotes Amṛtacandra, Guṇabhadra, Samantabhadra, Somadeva and others.

The work contains twelve Adhikāras which are as follows — 1st, Jīva, 2nd, Ajīva, 3rd, Bhāva, 4th, Vyavahāracāritra, 5th, Niścayapratikramaṇa, 6th, Niścayapratyākhyāna, 7th, Ālocana, 8th, Śuddhaniścayaprāyaścitta, 9th, Paramasamādhi, 10th, Paramabhakti, 11th, Niścayaparamāvaśyaka, 12th, Śuddhopayoga. Each of these is called a Śrutaskandha. At the beginning of the fifth Adhikāra, Mādhavasenasūri is adored by the commentator and at the end, Vīranandin.

DHARMĀMṚTA WITH A COMMENTARY BY ĀŚĀDHARA AND ITS CONTENTS

No. 297 is a Manuscript of the Dharmāmṛta by Āśādhara with a commentary by himself entitled Bhavyakumudacandrikā. The work has nine chapters. In the first, the general nature of Dharma consisting of the three jewels is explained , and in the second the nature of Samyaktva as well as the way of realising

it. Mithyātva is faith in gods that have animal and human attributes such as hunger, desire, and hatred, in teachers who are encumbered with clothing, &c., and in Dharma that allows of the destruction of life; and the opposite of this is Samyaktva. So that Samyaktva is faith in the Jaina, or in this particular case, the Digambara doctrines, and Mithyātva is faith in other creeds. In the Niyamasāra also it is stated that Samyaktva is the result of faith in the doctrines laid down in the Āgamas revealed by the Āpta who is spoken of as one who is free from all shortcomings and in whom the highest qualities have been developed

The subjects treated in the following chapters are these —III Jñāna, IV Cāritra or Samyakcāritra, V Piṇḍaviśuddhi or the unobjectionable food, VI Mārgamahodyoga, i.e., the subduing of the passions, such as anger, pride, &c., and the acquisition of the gentle virtues, VII Tapas—(1) external, consisting in fasting or eating little, &c, and (2) internal, consisting in Ālocana or confession, Pratikramaṇa, and several other processes[1], VIII, the six Āvaśyakas explained in a former note[2], IX, the daily and occasional duties (Nitya and Naimittika) such as the adoration of the Jinas and of the Guru, the worship of the images of the Tīrthaṃkaras, and others.

ĀŚĀDHARA'S HISTORY

At the end of the work Āśādhara gives his own history. Āśādhara belonged to the family of Vyāghreravāla and was the son of Sallakṣaṇa or Lakṣaṇa and his wife Ratnī He was born in the fortress of Maṇḍalakara situated in the country of "a lac and a quarter" (Sapādalakṣa) which was the ornament of the Śākambharī Lake He had by his wife Sarasvatī, a son of the name of Chāhaḍa who was a favourite of Arjunadeva, king of Mālava. Āśādhara was lovingly complimented by the sage

1 These will be fully given below.

2 Ante, pp 236 ff, note 3. [N. B. U.]

Udayasena in the words, "Great is Āśādhara who is the swan on the lotus of the family of Vyāghreravāla, the son of Sallakṣaṇa, and the Kālidāsa of the Kali age, whose limbs are gratified by drinking the nectar of poetry and who possesses an all-seeing eye of wisdom" Madanakīrti the great Yati or ascetic also said to him, "You are a store of wisdom" When the country of "a lac and a quarter" was subdued by Sāhibavandina the king of the Turuṣkas, Āśādhara being afraid of religious violence (literally, destruction of righteousness), emigrated to the country of Mālava in which the holy triad flourished under the fostering care of the king of the Vindhyas, and living in Dhārā with a large family, learned the principles of the Jaina faith and Jainendravyākaraṇa from Paṇḍita Mahāvīra, the pupil of Paṇḍita Dharasena. He was praised by Vilhaṇa, "the lord of poets" and the minister for peace and war of Vijayavarman, king of the Vindhyas or Mālava, in the words, "Noble Āśādhara, know that being a son of Sarasvatī you are my brother, as a matter of course, and a friend, and to say that you are so in words involves redundancy."

Āśādhara afterwards lived in the city of Nalakacchapura for advancing the cause of the Jaina faith, in the territory of king Arjuna which was full of Śrāvakas. He taught grammar to Paṇḍita Devacandra and others, to Viśālakīrti and others, the six Tarkaśāstras, which operated in their hands as a weapon for conquering all enemies, the works or doctrines of the Jina to Vinayacandra and others, and poetry to Vālasarasvatī and Madana the great poet, so that they became renowned among men of taste and culture

LIST OF HIS WORKS

Āśādhara wrote the following works —I, Prameyaratnākara, a metaphysical treatise containing a clear exposition of the Syādvāda, 2, Bharateśvarābhyudaya, a poem, having at the end of each canto a stanza containing the word Siddhi, with a gloss;

3, Dharmāmṛta containing the essence of the teaching of the Arhat, with a gloss entitled Jñānadīpikā, 4, Rājīmatīvipralambha, a small poem on Nemi, with a gloss, 5, Adhyātmarahasya, composed at the command of his father and much liked by those who have begun the practice of Yoga; 6, glosses on the Mūlārādhanā, Caturviṁśatistava, &c, 7, Kriyākalāpa from the Amarakośa; 8, a commentary on Rudraṭa's Kāvyālamkāra, 9, Sahasranāmastavana of the Arhats with a gloss; 10, Jinayajñakalpa, with a gloss entitled Jinayajñakalpadīpikā; 11, Triṣaṣṭi-smṛti, containing stories about the sixty-three persons abridged from sacred (Ārṣa) Mahāpurāṇas, with a commentary; 12, Nityamahoddyota describing the manner of washing the [images of the] Jinas and worshipping them; 13, Ratnatrayavidhāna, explaining the importance of the worship of the Ratnatrayavidhāna; 14, Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayoddyota, written to render the Vāgbhaṭasaṁhitā plain." Āśādhara, the author of so many works wrote this commentary to elucidate the duties of the Yatis laid down in his own Dharmāmṛta.

There was a rich man of the name of Pāpa, the foremost of the citizens of Nalakacchapura, who belonged to the family of Khankhilya. He was a Jaina and a good and virtuous man of gentle manners, and liberal in his gifts for the worship of the Jinas. He had two sons of the names of Bahudeva and Padmasimha. Bahudeva's sons were three, Haradeva, Udayin, and Stambhadeva. Haradeva represented to Āśādhara that Mahīcandra the Sādhu had caused to be written a commentary on the duties of the lay followers laid down in the Dharmāmṛta, and solicited him to do him the favour of writing a commentary on the duties of the Yatis or monks, which portion of the work was unintelligible even to the most intelligent. Being so requested by Haradeva and out of regard for Dhanacandra, Paṇḍita Āśādhara composed this commentary entitled Bhavyakumudacandrikā.

It thus appears that we have before us one only of the two parts of the Dharmāmṛta, the portion containing the duties of lay followers (Śrāvakas or Gṛhasthas) not being in this Manuscript. The commentary was composed in a Jaina temple in Nalakacchapura in the reign of Jaitugideva, the son of Devapāla, king of Mālava or Avanti and belonging to the Pramāra race, and was finished on Monday the 5th of the light half of Kārttika in the year 1300 of Vikrama.

Of the works mentioned by Āśādhara as having been composed by him, we have, besides the Dharmāmṛta, No. 10, Jinayajñakalpa, in Dr Bühler's Collection of 1875-76, and Nos. 9 and 11 have been purhased by me since. At the end of the latter there is a Praśasti like the one under notice but much shorter, and most of the verses in it are the same as in the other. The work, however, was composed in 1292 of Vikrama, that is eight years before the commentary on the Dharmāmṛta. The reigning prince, even there was Jaitugideva, son of Devapāla of the Pramāra race, and Āśādhara was living at Nalakacchapura, and composed the work in the temple of Nemi.

IDENTIFICATION OF SĀHIBAVANDINA

The Sāhibavandina, after whose conquest of the country about the Sāmbhar lake, Āśādhara emigrated to Mālava, must have been Shahabuddin Ghori who vanquished Pṛthurāja, king of Ajmir and Delhi, in 1193 A D, and laid the foundation of the Mahomedan empire in India. The two dates given by our author correspond to 1236 A. D. and 1244 A. D. When Āśādhara left his country he must have been a young man, for he studied the doctrines of Jainism and grammar at Dhārā. For this reason, and also because the fear of religious violence that drove him away, must have been excited in the minds of the people immediately after the Mahomedan conquest, it appears likely that he left the Sāmbhar country soon after 1193 A. D.; so that

at the time when he wrote the Triṣaṣṭismṛti (No. 11), he must have been in Mālava for about forty-two years.

MĀLAVA PRINCES MENTIONED BY ĀŚĀDHARA

During this time he speaks of three reigning kings of Mālava, Vijayavarman, whose minister Vilhaṇa was his friend, Arjuna during whose reign he went to live at Nalakacchapura and whose favourite his son was, and Jaitugideva, the son of Devapāla. In the list of the princes of Mālava hitherto traced, we have the name of Arjuna and his latest known date is 1272 Vikrama, i e., 1216 A. D. He is therefore the Arjuna spoken of by our author, but he must have died before 1292 Vikrama, since Jaitugi was the reigning prince in that year. The name of this king as well as of his father Devapāla have not yet been found elsewhere, and the latest prince we know of is Arjuna. The Vijayavarman mentioned by Āśādhara may have been Jayavarmadeva, the son of Yaśovarman. This last prince ascended the throne in 1190 Saṁvat or 1134 A. D., wherefore it is possible that his son Jayavarman was on the throne about 1195 A D, or 1251 Saṁvat when Āśādhara must have been in Dhārā. But between 1195 A.D. and 1211 A D—the earliest date of Arjuna—we shall have to place two princes at least, Vindhyavarman and Subhaṭavarman, regarding the others as collaterals holding subordinate power, and the Āmuṣyāyaṇa of some of the Inscriptions as a pronominal derivative.[1]

SAKALAKĪRTI'S TATTVĀRTHASĀRADĪPAKA.

No. 294 is Tattvārthasāradīpaka by Sakalakīrti. Sakalakīrti was the spiritual head of one of the branches of the sect, and succeeded Padmanandin, as we learn from the Praśasti at the end of the Harivaṁśa, to be hereafter noticed, by Jinadāsa who was a pupil of Sakalakīrti.

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1 See JAOS, Vol. VII, Prinsep's Tables, JBBRAS, Vol I, p 263, and Colebrooke's Essays, Ujjain Inscriptions.

THE DATE OF SAKALAKĪRTI

Sakalakīrti was succeeded by Bhuvanakīrti, and a pupil of this latter named Jñānabhūṣaṇa wrote a work entitled Tattvajñānataraṅgiṇī, a copy of which has been recently purchased, in 1560 of the Vikrama era. Śubhacandra, the fourth High-priest of the sect after Sakalakīrti and the second after Jñānabhūṣaṇa wrote two of his works, as will be stated hereafter, in 1608 and 1613 of Vikrama. So that Sakalakīrti must have lived about 1520 Saṁvat or 1464 A. D. Sakalakīrti wrote many works some of which are represented in the present Collection, but more have been procured since.

The Tattvārthasāradīpaka is divided into twelve chapters. In the first we have, after the usual salutations, a statement of the seven Tattvas or principles. These are (1) Jīva, (2) Ajīva, (3) Āsrava, (4) Bandha, (5) Samvara, (6) Nirjarā, and (7) Mokṣa. The first four and the seventh have already been explained in the preceding pages. Samvara is preventing the Āsrava or flowing in of the Karman upon the soul by means of the Samitis and Guptis explained before, and Nirjarā is the destruction of the Karman in two ways, (1) by suffering or enjoying its fruit when it is produced (Savipāka), or (2) putting an end to it before it matures and brings about the fruit. Those who desire final deliverance resort to the latter way and destroy their Karman by means of Tapas or austere observances, bodily and spiritual.

Jīva is described as a conscious substance, capable of development (Upayoga), imperceptible to the senses, an active agent, and as big as the body it animates. He suffers or enjoys the fruits of his deeds, goes through a succession of births in consequence of Vidhi (Karman), and becoming perfect through the destruction of the Vidhi, soars upwards. He obtains knowledge of five kinds.—1st, Mati or sensational; 2nd, Śruta,

that derived from the sacred books; 3rd, Avadhi[1], limited or conditioned; 4th, Manaḥparyaya, knowledge of what passes in the minds of others; 5th, Bodha or Kevala, the highest or perfect knowledge. Sensational and revealed knowledge is explained at length in the first chapter The four stages of the former, Avagraha, Īhā, &c. are explained in a former note.

ŚRUTAJÑĀNA OR THE SACRED LITERATURE OF THE JAINAS

Under the second, the author gives an account of the whole sacred literature which I here reproduce —

The three grand divisions are Anga, Pūrva, and Aṅgabāhya.

I.—AṄGA

1. Ācārānga, in which the duties of Yatis or monks are given. It contains 18,000 words (Pada.)
2. Sūtrakṛtānga, in which the ways of condoning any violation of discipline that may have occurred are explained. It contains 36,000 words.
3. Sthānānga, which treats of Dravyas and the things comprehended under that category It is made up of 42,000 words.
4. Samavāyānga, by means of which the divisions of Dravya, Kṣetra, Kāla, and Bhāva are shown by proficient

1 Avadhijñāna is the ocular perception of visible objects existing over an extent of space, the magnitude of which is determined by the nature or merits of the seer Some gods see all things in the region below heaven up to the end of the first Naraka, others up to the end of the second, and so on to the seventh or last Naraka, but in the regions above heaven, they see only up to the end of the flag-staff of their cars. The denizens of the Narakas also see things over distances varying from a Yojana to a Gavyūti. This power of seeing things over large distances is acquired by men who go through austere religious exercises. This sort of perceptions is called Avadhi, because it is the perception of things below, as in the case of the gods, or of things which have a certain definite characteristic, viz., visibility, or perhaps of things over a certain definite or limited extent of space.—Śrutasāgara's Tattvārthaṭīkā on Sūtras I, 10 and 22 (p. 405)

men to be of the same number by the same kind of calculation. It is made up of 164,000 words.

5. Vyākhyāprajñaptyaṅga, containing the answers given by the Jinendra to the sixty thousand questions put by the Gaṇadhara, as to whether a Jīva exists or not, composed of 228,000 words.

6. Jñātṛdharmakathāṅga, containing various religious conversations between the Tīrthaṁkaras and Gaṇadharas; composed of 556,000 words.

7. Upāsakādhyayanāṅga, in which the vows and duties of the lay followers and the righteous course of conduct proper for them are detailed by the Gaṇadharas. It contains 1,170,000 words.

8 Antakṛddaśāṅga, in which is given the history of ten Kevalins belonging to the system of each of the twenty-four Tīrthaṁkaras, who with great courage overcame all obstacles and effected the destruction (Anta) of Saṁsāra. It is composed of 2,328,000.

9 Anuttaraupapādikānga, in which is similarly given the history of ten Yogins for each Tīrthaṁkara who attained to the five highest (Anuttara) conditions. It contains 9,244,000 words.

10 Praśnavyākaraṇānga, in which the questions of others are answered. It has 9,316,000 words.

11. Vipākasūtrānga, in which the results of the good and evil actions of men are explained. It has 18,400,000 words.

The total number of words in all the Aṅgas is 41,502,000.

12. Dṛṣṭivādāṅga, in which an account is given of the advocates of the theory of action (Kriyāvādins) and of other things, and which is made up of five classes of

treatises, viz., (i) Parikarman, (ii) Sūtra, (iii) Prathamānuyoga, (iv) Pūrvagata, (v) Cūlikā.

(i) Parikarman consisting of,

1. Candraprajñapti, in which the lords of the Jinas have described the power, motion, and such other things relating to the moon, and given the duration of his life. It has 3,605,000 words.

2. Sūryaprajñapti, containing a similar account of the sun. It has 503,000 words.

3. Jambūdvīpaprajñapti, containing an account of the mountain ranges, land, &c., of Jambūdvīpa. It has 325,000 words.

4. Dvīpavārdhiprajñapti, containing an account of the innumerable islands, seas, and mountains. It has 5,236,000 words.

5 Vyākhyāprajñapti, expounding the nature of the six Dravyas, with their qualities and modifications. It has 8,436,000 words.

In all, Parikarman is made up of 18,105,000 words.

(ii) Sūtra, in which men's being the agents of their actions and having to suffer or enjoy the fruits, and such other things are taught It contains 8,800,000 words.

(iii) Prathamānuyoga, containing 5,000 words and explaining the nature of the sixty-three holy persons (Śalākāpuruṣas.)

II.—PŪRVAS

(iv) Pūrvagata

1. Utpādapūrva, 10,000,000 words, treats of the production, destruction, and continuance or permanence of Jīva and others.

2. Agrāyaṇīyapūrva ; 9,600,000 words; expounds the chief things in or the essence of the Angas.

3. Vīryapravādapūrva , 7,000,000 words ; treats of the powers and knowledge of the Cakrins, Kevalins, the gods, &c.

4. Astināstipravādapūrva , 6,000,000 words , discusses the doctrines about the existence or non-existence of the five Astikāyas[1] included under Dravya.

5. Jñānapravādapūrva ; 9,999,999 words , treats of the origin of the five kinds of knowledge and of the three kinds of ignorance, and of the persons who possess them, etc.

6. Satyapravādapūrva ; 10,000,006 words , treats of Vāg-gupti or the restraint of speech and of agreeable and truthful speech, &c

7. Ātmapravādapūrva , 260,000,000 words , treats of the agency of the souls, of their suffering and enjoying the fruits of their actions, &c.

8. Karmapravādapūrva , 18,000,000 words , treats of the Karman (works) of men.

9. Pratyākhyānapūrva , 8,400,000 words , treats of the fettered condition of the soul, that condition of the Karman in which it begins to produce its effect (Udaya), its being inactive (Śama), the shunning of evil, the nature of the vows and observances, &c.

10. Vidyānuvādapūrva , 11,000,000 words , treats of the eight parts, the reason and others, of Vidyās or systems of knowledge.

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1 Jīva and four of the five subdivisions of Ajīva, i. e., Pudgala, Dharma and Ākāśa, are called Astikāyas. They are so called because they exist in time and spread over space. Kāla does not extend over space, therefore it is not Astikāya.

11. Kalyāṇapūrva ; 260,000,000 words ; recounts the blessed deeds of the 63 holy persons (Śalākāpuruṣa.)

12. Prāṇāvāyapūrva ; 130,000,000 words, treats of medicine (?)

13 Kriyāviśālapūrva, 90,000,000 words, treats of metres, figures of speech, poetry, arts, the merits (of these), &c.

14. Lokabindusārapūrva ; 125,000,000 words, teaches the way to deliverance and other things

The total number of words in the Pūrvas is 955,000,005:

It should be remarked that the Pūrvas form one of the three chief divisions and are thus contrasted with the Aṅgas, but they are also regarded as forming one of the subordinate divisions of Dṛṣṭivāda, the twelfth Anga.

(v) Cūlikā.

1 Jalagatā, 20,989,200 words, walking on water and arresting the force of water by means of charms, &c.

2 Sthalagatā, 20,989,200 words, charms and other processes (Mantra and Tantra) for walking on land.

3. Māyāgatā ; 20,989,200 words, charms for producing magical wonders.

4. Rūpagatā ; 20,989,200 words ; teaches the art of assuming various forms, such as that of a tiger, an elephant, &c.

5. Ākāśagatā ; 20,989,200 words, gives the Mantras and Tantras for moving in the sky.

In all the number of words in the Cūlikās is 104,946,000.

The total number of words in the last Aṅga composed by the Gaṇadharas with its five divisions is 1,086,856,005.

The total number of words in the Jina scipture, consisting of the twelve Aṅgas composed by the Gaṇadharas, is 1,128,358,005.

The total number of letters contained in all the Padas or words uttered by the Jina is 16,348,307,888.

In the first Pūrva there are 10 Vastus or topics, in the second 14, in the third 8, in the fourth 18, in the fifth 12, in the sixth 12, in the seventh 16, in the eighth 20, in the ninth 30, in the tenth 15, and in the remaining four 10 each. In all, there are 195 topics in the fourteen Pūrvas. Each of these Vastus or topics has twenty Prābhṛtas, so that the total number of Prābhṛtas is 3,900.

III.—AṄGABĀHYA.

1.	Sāmāyika	8.	Uttarādhyayana
2.	Caturviṁśatistava	9	Kalpavyavahāra
3.	Vandanā	10.	Kalpākalpavidhānaka
4.	Pratikramaṇa	11.	Mahākalpa
5.	Vainayika	12	Puṇḍarīka
6	Kṛtikarman	13.	Mahāpuṇḍarīka
7.	Daśavaikālika	14	Aśītikasama

These fourteen miscellaneous (Prakīrṇaka) treatises, not included in the Aṅgas (Aṅgabāhya), were composed for the benefit of persons not possessing much intelligence The total number of Padas or words contained in them is 80,108,175

The contents of the succeeding chapters of the Tattvārthasāradīpaka are as follows :—

Chapter II 1 The nature of the remaining three kinds of knowledge. 2 The fourteen Guṇasthānas or stages in the development of the soul from the lowest, that of an unbeliever and a sinful man to the highest, that of a Jina or Kevalin. The three kinds of souls (1) Bahirātman, (2) Antarātman, and (3) Paramātman. The ignorant, unbelieving, thoughtless, sinful, worldly man belongs to the first class, he who is a believer, is thoughtful, and righteous, and is engaged in working out his deliverance, belongs to the second , and those who are delivered to the third.

Chapter III. Ārtaraudradhyāna, i e., contemplation of or constant thinking about the misery in which one is or the

calamity he has met with (Ārta), and about unjust, cruel, unmerciful, and sinful deeds (Raudra) such as killing and stealing. This sort of contemplation should be avoided by one who seeks deliverance.

Chapter IV. Dharmaśukladhyāna —Dharmadhyāna, i.e., contemplating in a retired place how and when one shall be free from the circle of births (Apāya), by what means one's mind and body will be pure, and Karman be destroyed (Upāya), and the nature of the soul (Jīva), of inanimate things (Ajīva), of the ripening of the Karman (Vipāka) &c This Dhyāna is of ten kinds. Śukladhyāna, i e, externally keeping the body and the eye perfectly steady and motionless and restraining the breath, internally (1) contemplating the things included under the categories laid down in the sacred books or their names one after another, that is, first a Dravya or substance, then its quality or modification, or another substance, &c., (2) fixing the mind on one of these things only. Before, however, one is qualified to enter on this Dhyāna, he must already have made a great deal of progress in holiness and have accustomed himself to the other Dhyānas to be mentioned below, and the result of this Dhyāna is said to be the destruction of all Karman and final deliverance.

Chapter V The other Dhyānas necessary for the success of the Śukladhyāna are (1) Piṇḍastha, (2) Padastha, (3) Rūpastha, and (4) Rūpātīta. The first has what are called five Dhāraṇās, i.e., fixing the mind successively on five things They are (1) Pārthivī, (2) Āgneyī, (3) Mārutī, (4) Vāruṇī, and (5) Rūpavatī. The Yogin should imagine or place before his mind a vast ocean of milk, hushed and tranquil, and without waves. He should then imagine a lotus with a thousand petals, as big as Jambūdvīpa and shining like gold, to be situated in the midst of it, and the lotus to have a celestial pericarp like a mountain of gold. He should conceive a lofty throne resembling the autumnal moon to be placed in that pericarp, and should imagine himself as sitting at ease on that throne, serene, without desire or

hatred, and prepared to conquer his enemy the Karman. Thus ends the first Dhāraṇā. The Yogin should then imagine a shining and beautiful lotus with sixteen petals jutting out, as existing in the hollow of his navel. He should contemplate the fourteen vowels and aṁ, aḥ as marked on the sixteen petals, and the great Mantra Arham (अर्हं) with the dot over the line as shining on the pericarp. Then he should imagine a volume of smoke arising from the curvilinear r or Repha of the Mantra, then a succession of sparks, and then a continuous flame. The flame, increasing in intensity, burns the lotus which exists in the heart, upside downwards, and which is the product of the eight Karmans and has eight petals. He should then imagine fire in a triangular shape with the Svastika on its apex, away from his body, blown by the wind, and burning brightly with a golden flame. The fire from the Mantra burns the body in the inside, and this fire from the outside , and being in flames, the body is reduced to ashes and also the lotus in the navel Thus far we have the Āgneyī Dhāraṇā or the concentration of the mind on fire.

Then the man should imagine wind blowing with the violence of a tempest and scattering away the ashes, after which he should think of it as becoming still This is the Mārutī Dhāraṇā.

Then he should contemplate a number of clouds pouring down rain in torrents accompanied by thunder and lightning. After that he should imagine a stream of water bearing the standard of Varuṇa, beautiful like the crescent of the moon and overflowing the sky. With this water, he should wash off, in imagination, all the ashes of his body. This is Vāruṇī Dhāraṇā.

Then he should contemplate himself to be in qualities like an all-knowing being, free from the seven elements, sitting on the throne, adored by the gods, possessing celestial excellences, and shining like the full moon.

The contemplation or Dhyāna that is effected by using certain words or letters is called Padastha. The Yogin should imagine lotuses in certain parts of the body with a certain number of petals; and think of the sixteen vowels written on the petals of one, the twenty-five cosonants from k to m on those of another, and the remaining eight y, r, &c., on those of a third, and then sit muttering and contemplating them He should similarly, with a concentrated mind, meditate on the highest Mantra Rhruṁ (र्ह्रूं) which according to the various sects, is Brahman, Hari, Buddha, Maheśvara, Śiva, Śarva, and Maheśaha. But it is the all-pervading, all-knowing, serene Jina, the god of gods, that stands there, having assumed the form of that Mantra. The Yogin should also mutter and meditate on the Mantra ha (ह) and on Om (ॐ) which last he should imagine as existing on the pericarp of the lotus of his heart. Oṁ is made up of the first letters of the names of the five Parameṣṭhins, Arhat or Arahanta, Aśarīra or Asarīra (Kevalin), Ācārya or Āiriya, Upādhyāya or Uvajjhāya, and Muni (Sādhu), and it should thus be thought of. Again, the Yogin should mutter, imagine as drawn on lotuses on his body, and meditate on, the following Mantras containing the names of the Parameṣṭhins —

णमो अरिहन्ताणं । णमो सिद्धाणं । णमो आइरियाणं ।
णमो उवज्झायाणं । णमो लोए सव्वसाहूणं ।

There are a good many details about such matters into which I will not enter

Rūpasthadhyāna is contemplating the Lord Jina, sitting on a throne of jewel in the assembly of men who are desirous of salvation, surrounded by the twelve Gaṇas and the eight door-keepers, possessing infinite greatness, a store of infinite virtues, of a celestial body, shining more brilliantly than a Koṭi of suns, fanned by excellent chowries, attended on by the gods, free from the eighteen blemishes, endowed with all the excellences, and expounding the Dharma.

Rūpātītadhyāna consists in contemplating the highest form of one's own soul, as immaterial, a store of virtues, and resembling the Siddhas between whom and himself there is no specific difference.

Chapter VI.—Dhyānabhāvanā, which consists in imagining oneself as having realized the highest qualities. The Yogin should think, "I am a Siddha, I am like a Siddha, I am an enlightened soul, I am in infinite bliss, I possess infinite power" &c., &c. There is a long string of such assertions with regard to oneself. After this we have some general remarks on contemplation and the conditions on which success in it depends.

Chapter VII.—In this are given the characteristics of the five classes of Nirgranthas who are qualified to enter on and practise the Dhyāna of Dharma and Śukla. The names of the five classes are (1) Pulāka, (2) Vakuśa, (3) Kuśīla, (4) Nirgrantha, and (5) Snātaka. Then are described the five Bhāvas or spiritual conditions of a man. They are (1) Aupaśamika which is of two kinds, (2) Kṣāyika, of nine kinds, (3) Kṣāyopaśamika, of eighteen kinds, (4) Audayika, of twenty-one kinds, and (5) Pāriṇāmika, of three kinds

The Aupaśamika condition arises from the Karman being for a time separated from the soul, and the purity of the latter consequent upon it, is compared to that of turbid water which has been purified by its being touched with such a thing as the Kataka fruit, the sullying matter settling down at the bottom of the vessel containing the water. The Kṣāyika condition is produced by the destruction of Karman and is comparable to that of pure water which has been separated from the dirty matter and kept in a clean vessel. The Kṣāyopaśamika condition is a mixture of the last two and arises from a partial destruction of Karman. It is comparable to turbid water that has become partially clean.

The Audayika condition arises from the Karman being about to produce its effect, such as taking a soul to the world of the gods or lower animals according to his deserts. The Pāriṇāmika condition is the orginal or natural condition of the soul independently of his connection with Karman, such as his conscious nature. The circumstances under which some of these Bhāvas arise, and their spiritual effects, as well as their sub-divisions, are explained Then we have the seven Nayas, the points of view or principles with reference to which certain judgments are arrived at or arrangements made The Dravyārthika and Paryāyārthika rules mentioned before are divisions of the first of these Nayas.

Chap. VIII treats of the five divisions of the Ajīva principle, Chap IX, of the Āsrava, Chap X, of the Bandha, Chap. XI, of Samvara, and Chap XII, of Nirjarā.

KĀRTIKEYĀNUPREKṢĀ

No 290 is Kārtikeyānuprekṣā with a commentary by Śubhacandra. The original consists of Prakrit Gāthās in the Āryā metre by Kārtikeyasvāmin, who is called a Sādhu by the commentator. Śubhacandra was the spiritual head of the Balātkāragaṇa which was a branch of the Nandisaṁgha, and belonged to the same line as Kundakundācārya The succession list is thus given —Padmanandin, Sakalakīrti, Bhuvanakīrti, Jñānabhūṣaṇa, Vijayakīrti, Śubhacandra Śubhacandra finished his work on the 10th of Māgha in the year 1613, of Vikrama. Another work by Śubhacandra, the Pāṇḍava Purāṇa, a copy of which has been procured since, was composed, we are told at the end of the Manuscript, in 1608 Vikrama.

CONTENTS OF THE KĀRTIKEYĀNUPREKṢĀ

Anuprekṣā is thinking, meditation, reflection, study, and there are twelve such Meditations or Studies in the book. I. Anityānuprekṣā, setting forth the impermanence of everything. II. Aśaraṇānuprekṣā or "the reflection about helplessness,"

in which it is stated that nothing can save man except the three jewels. III. Saṁsārānuprekṣā, in which the unceasing succession of births and the miseries the soul has to go through are mentioned. IV Ekatvānuprekṣā, in which, we are told that the soul goes through the circle of existences alone, suffers alone, and can be blissful alone. When this is borne in mind, everything else becomes unworthy of the soul's desire. V. Anyatvānuprekṣā, where it is laid down that everything from the body downwards, our friends, relations, and possessions, are foreign to our soul VI Aśucitvānuprekṣā, where we are asked to reflect how impure the body with the blood, flesh, and other things is, and how in connection with it, the soul becomes impure , therefore we should cease to love the body, and concentrate our whole attention on the pure soul VII. Āsravānuprekṣā, where the nature of Āsrava is explained. VIII. Samvarānuprekṣā, where the mode of resisting the operation of the Āsrava is explained IX. Nirjarānuprekṣā, in which the manner of destroying the Karman is given X. Lokānuprekṣā, in which we have a description of Loka and the six kinds of objects contained in it. Loka was not created, nor is it supported by any being of the name of Hari or Hara, and is, in a sense, eternal Its area, the upper and the lower worlds, the beings existing in it with their different kinds, the duration of the lives of gods, beasts, &c , the different kinds of bodies made up of light, air, earth, and water, the nature of the soul, the three kinds of soul, Bahirātman and others, the connection between the soul and Pudgala, the nature of Dravya generally, of Kāla, &c , are mentioned XI Durlabhānuprekṣā. The soul dwells in various bodies and for a long time. The attainment of the human body, therefore, is a matter of great difficulty , it is more difficult to have a sound and healthy body , and still more to have a sound mind in that sound body ; therefore, one should make good use of his life as a human being and resort to the three jewels. Even as a god he is not

able to go through the whole discipline that is necessary for attaining final deliverance. XII. Dharmānuprekṣā, in which the Dharmas of householders or lay-followers and of the monks are given. The first are twelve in number and they are as follows —

DUTIES OF THE LAY-FOLLOWERS

I. A Śrāvaka or lay-follower must be Samyagdarśanaśuddha, i.e., must have faith in the Jaina dispensation and thus be free from the faults and defects leading to and arising from unbelief and false belief.

II. He should abstain from wine, flesh, and others. Under the expression "and others" the commentator puts down assafœtida, oil, ghee and water kept in a leathern vessel, honey, butter, rice-gruel, nocturnal meal, five kinds of fruit containing insects in them such as Udumbara, gambling, intercourse with a courtesan or the wife of another man, hunting, theft, onions or bulbous roots, other roots, and leaves These two duties appear to be compulsory on all Śrāvakas The following are optional.

III Vratadhārin —There are Śrāvakas who assume three kinds of vows, viz, (i) five Aṇuvratas, (ii) three Guṇavratas, and (iii) four Śikṣāvratas.

(i) THE AṆUVRATAS

The Aṇuvratas are the same in name as the Mahāvratas of the Śramaṇas or monks, but in some cases interpreted differently. They are —1. Not to destroy, or cause, or permit to destroy, life. 2. Not to speak about killing, or harshly, or abusively, or reveal a secret; but to speak what is agreeable and beneficial to all living beings, and what is righteous. The commentator quotes a verse in which not to tell a lie is spoken of as the second Aṇuvrata. 3. Not to take a very valuable

thing in exchange for one of little value, not to appropriate what has been lost by another, to be content with a small gain, and not to take what belongs to another without his permission. 4. To look upon a woman other than one's wife as a mother, a sister, or a daughter. 5. To destroy greed and be content, regarding everything as perishable, and to lay down a limit beyond which one shall not go in the acquisition of money, grain, gold, land, &c.

(ii) THE GUṆAVRATAS

The Guṇavratas are :—I. Digvirati, i e, to lay down a limit beyond which one shall not travel in the different directions, or a limit as to the countries one shall visit for the acquisition of wealth II. Anarthavirati, or the avoiding of the five evils, viz., (1) Apadhyāna, i e, finding faults in others, envying their wealth, casting a glance at their wives, and witnessing their quarrels · (2) Pāpopadeśa, or giving advice to others in matters concerning agriculture, tending of cattle, trade, and such other things and about the union of men and women; (3) Pramādacaryā, or doing anything without any purpose with earth, water, fire, and air, and cutting trees uselessly, (4) Himsādāna, i.e., keeping a cat or such other destructive animal, dealing in weapons and iron implements (such as a spade), keeping (and giving) sealing wax, the residue of oil-seeds after they are ground, and other things (i.e., according to the commentator, opium, aconite, &c), and (5) Duśśruti, i.e., hearing read the Śāstras which delude (such as Bhārata, Bhāgavata, &c.), and works containing buffoonery, and teaching the art of subduing others to one's will by means of charms, and books on erotics; and hearing others vilified. III. Bhogopabhogaparimāṇa, or regulating one's enjoyment of food, betel-nut and leaves, clothes, &c., according to one's means.

(iii) THE ŚIKṢĀVRATAS

The Śikṣāvratas are.—1. Sāmāyika, which consists in sitting or standing as long as may be convenient in a quiet place in the morning, noon, and evening, with the body motionless, the hands folded, the senses restrained, all sinful thoughts expelled, and the mind concentrated on the words of the Jina, absorbed in the contemplation of one's own pure or highest nature, and reflecting on the hidden sense of the Vandanā, (i.e., according to the commentator, the names of the five Parameṣṭhins, and the words, images, and temples of the Jinas, together with prostrations and other movements that are made in pronouncing the formulas containing their names). 2 Proṣadha[1] or Posaha, i e., to observe a fast or eat once only or one dish only on the two holy days (the 8th and the 14th of each fortnight), after having given up bathing, unguents, ornaments, company of women, odours, incense, lights, &c., and assumed renunciation as an ornament. 3 Atithisamvibhāga, i e., giving food, medicine, knowledge, and protection from danger to the three classes of persons worthy of the gifts (viz., first, a believer who has assumed the great vows, next, a believer who has assumed the Śrāvaka vows, and lastly, a simple believer). 4 Deśāvakāśika, which consists in drawing closer or contracting every day the limits already laid down (in accordance with the Guṇavratas) to the range of one's travels and to the enjoyment of the objects of the five senses, and doing the same with clothes and the other things enjoyed, in order to destroy greed and desire and avoid sin.

SĀMĀYIKAVRATA

IV Sāmāyikavratadhārin is one who with a serene heart makes Kāyotsarga, i. e., abandons his love for his body, turns the

1 This word is one of the several instances in which the Jainas have given Sanskrit forms to Prakrit words instead of finding the original Sanskrit words of which they are corruptions and using them The word in the Gāthā is Posaha, which without doubt, is the Pāli Uposatha and the Sanskrit Upavasatha.

hands twelve times,[1] prostrates himself twice, bows his head four times, reflects on his own pure nature, or the image of Jina, or the highest syllable, and contemplates the various effects of Karman. These movements of the hands and the prostrations are, it appears, to be made while pronouncing the five formulas given before (णमो अरिहन्ताणं, &c.)

PROSADHAVRATA

V. Proṣadhavratadhārin is he who on the 7th and 13th of each fortnight, going to a Jaina temple in the afternoon, and performing some ceremonies, undertakes to observe a fast, so as to abstain from eating, drinking, tasting, and licking, abandons all household occupation, passes the whole night in meditations about Dharma, rises early in the morning, goes through all the ceremonies, passes the day in the study of the Scriptures, performs the Vandanā, passes the night in the same way, goes through the Vandanā again next morning and the ceremony of worship, feeds guests belonging to the three classes (mentioned before, viz , a monk, a believer who has assumed certain vows, and a simple believer) and then dines himself.

THE OTHER DUTIES

VI He is Sacittavirata who does not eat a leaf, fruit, bark, root, and tendril which have life

VII A Niśivirata Śrāvaka is one who abstains from eating, drinking, &c., at night, and does not cause others to eat, drink, &c.

VIII. A Brahmavratin Śrāvaka is one who has no desire for any woman.

IX. He is Tyaktārambha who does not enter upon any undertaking nor causes others to do so

X. A Nirgrantha Śrāvaka is one who has freed himself from attachment to anything internal or external, considering it a sin.

1 This expression has been variously explained by the commentator.

XI. That Śrāvaka is Anumananavirata who goes through his household affairs not through a feeling of pleasure, but because they must be gone through.

XII. He is Uddiṣṭāhāravirata who eats the proper sort of food given to him by others without his asking for it, and free from the nine faults of being prepared, caused to be prepared, or wished for by the mind, speech, or body.

THE TEN DUTIES OF MONKS

The author next proceeds to describe the ten duties of monks. They are these —1st, Uttama Kṣamā or perfect forbearance, 2nd, Uttama Mārdava, perfect humility, 3rd, Ārjava or perfect simplicity, 4th, Śaucatva, perfect purity or freedom from greed, 5th, Satya or veracity; 6th, Saṁyama, or acting in a manner not to occasion the destruction of life, 7th, Tapas, or bodily mortification and purificatory exercise, 8th, Tyāga or renunciation of palatable food, furniture, and house, 9th, Ākiṁcanya or renunciation of all attachment for a living or dead thing and of worldly affairs; and 10th, Brahmacarya or chastity Then are mentioned some virtues that a believer should realize, and thus ends the twelfth Anuprekṣā.

A CŪLIKĀ AND THE TWELVE KINDS OF TAPAS

Then follows a Cūlikā in which the twelve kinds of Tapas are explained. They are —1, Anaśana, 2, Avamodarya, 3, Vṛttiparisaṁkhyāna; 4, Rasaparityāga, 5, Viviktaśayyāsana; 6, Kāyakleśa; 7, Prāyaścitta, which is of ten kinds, 8, Vinati, of five kinds, 9, Vaiyāvṛtya, 10, Svādhyāya; 11, Kāyotsarga; 12, Dhyāna. Under the sixth Dharma or duty given above viz., Samyama, come the Samitis, and the other requisites, mentioned in other treatises, come under one or other of the ten modes of Tapas. The Dhyāna which is the twelfth kind of Tapas is here of the same kind as that described by Sakalakīrti, and very often the same words are used in both the treatises in explaining

its nature. The first six modes of Tapas constitute the Bāhya or "external" Tapas; and the rest, the "internal" or spiritual Tapas.

PRAŚNOTTAROPĀSAKĀCĀRA

No. 305 is Praśnottaropāsakācāra by Sakalakīrti It is written in the form of questions from a pupil and their answers by the teacher, and contains an exposition of the duties of householders or Śrāvakas. These duties, we are told, were first of all laid down in the seventh Anga Upāsakādhyayana, which was composed by the Gaṇadhara Vṛṣabha (sena) after he had learnt the subject from the first Jina. Subsequently each successive Tīrthamkara taught the Aṅga, and last of all it was taught by Mahāvīra and Gautama and then by Sudharma, Jambūsvāmin, Viṣṇu and other Munis who knew the twelve Angas. But in the course of time when man's life became short and his intellect narrow, the Aṅgas, Pūrvas and other sacred works were lost. Then the great Yatis Kundakundācārya and others taught the duties of householders; and the knowledge traditionally handed down from them, Sakalakīrti proposes to avail himself of in the composition of his treatise. As these duties of the Śrāvakas have already been given, I need not examine the present Manuscript further.

TWO WORKS ON THE RITUAL

No 291 is Jinasaṁhitā, in which the modes of worshipping the Jinas, constructing temples, consecrating images, &c., are explained. It is put in the old form of the Gaṇadhara Gautama speaking to the king of Magadha.

No. 293 is a work of the same sort, but cast in the form of the ceremonial Prayogas of the Brahmans. The author is Śrutasāgara, the writer of another work, the Tattvārthadīpikā, which will be noticed in the next Report

ŚRUTASĀGARA AND HIS DATE

Śrutasāgara was, as stated at the end of the work, the pupil of Vidyānandin who was the successor as High-priest of

Devendrakīrti. Devendrakīrti's predecessor was Padmanandin. In a work entitled Sudarśanacarita by Nemidatta, Siṁhanandin is represented as Nemidatta's teacher, and as the pupil of Mallibhūṣaṇa, the successor of Vidyānandin Śrutasāgara who is also mentioned must have been a fellow-student of Mallibhūṣaṇa. Nemidatta wrote another work called Śrīpālacarita, a copy of which we have in the present Collection (No. 310) in Saṁvat 1585. Here he gives the following succession list — 1. Padmanandin, High-priest of the Sārasvatīya Gaccha of the Mūla Saṁgha, 2 Devendrakīrti, 3 Vidyānandin, 4 Mallibhūṣaṇa. Simhanandin, the author's teacher, was the pupil of this last Nemidatta represents himself as "devoted to the service of Śrutasāgara and other Yatis" So that Śrutasāgara's literary activity must be referred to about the year 1550 Saṁvat or 1494 A D

SŪTRAS ON JAINISM BY UMĀSVĀTI

As a further authority for the explanation of the doctrines of the Digambara Jainas here attempted, I [may refer to] the entire Sūtras of the system composed by Umāsvāti or Umāsvāmin, two copies of which I have procured since the above was written. These Sūtras are alluded to by Mādhava in his account of the Jaina sect and also a Vṛtti on them by Yogadeva, a Manuscript of which was purchased by me about a year ago Umāsvāti appears to be an old author and two other Vṛttis on his Sūtras by Pūjyapāda and Vidyānandin are mentioned by Yogadeva.

LEGENDARY LITERATURE

PADMAPURĀṆA

No. 301 is a Manuscript of the Padmapurāṇa by Raviṣeṇa. Dr. Bühler's Collection of 1875-76 contains a Hindi version of it (No. 632), and this is the original Sanskrit. The Purāṇa contains the story of Rāma and Rāvaṇa, and, as in other cases,

was first communicated by Mahāvīra to his Gaṇadhara Indrabhūti (Gautama), from whom it passed to Sudharma and thence to Jambūsvāmin. This last communicated it to Prabhava and he to Kīrti, and Kīrti to Anuttaravāgmin. Raviṣeṇa got a Manuscript of the work as composed by the last and wrote his Rāmāyaṇa. At the end the same thing is stated in other words. Indrabhūti taught the Purāṇa as he learnt it from Mahāvīra, and it was publish'ed by Uttaravāgmin the pupil of the grand pupil of Jambūsvāmin. Anuttaravāgmin is, it will be seen, here called Uttaravāgmin Raviṣeṇa was the pupil of Lakṣmaṇasena and he of Divākarayati Divākara was the pupil of Indraguru.

DATE OF THE COMPOSITION OF PADMAPURĀṆA

Raviṣeṇa composed this Purāṇa when one thousand two hundred years and one-half of the fourth after that, had elapsed since Vardhamāna attained to perfection, i. e., in 1204 of the era of Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa. From the Digambara Paṭṭāvali, two copies of which exist in Dr Bühler's Collection of 1875-76 (Nos 628 and 629), it appears plain that though the Digambaras refer the birth of King Vikrama to 470 A. Vīra, they place the beginning of his reign and consequently the epoch of the era eighteen years later, i e, in 488 A. Vīra., and calculate their dates in accordance with that.—So that 1204 A. Vīr., corresponds to 716 Vikrama or 660 A D, while if we take 470 A. Vīr, as the initial date of the Vikrama era, it corresponds to 734 Vikrama or 678 A.D.

JINASENA'S ĀDIPURĀṆA

No. 288 is a Manuscript of the Ādipurāṇa, a work by Jinasena. It contains an account of Vṛṣabha, the first Tīrthaṁkara.

THE AUTHOR'S DATE

Jinasena wrote another work entitled Harivaṁśa; and a verse occurring at the end of it, in which he gives the date of

its composition as 705 Śaka corresponding to 783 A. D., has been given by me in my Early History of the Deccan.[1] The Purāṇa, we are told, was first narrated by the first Jina to Bharata through his Gaṇadhara Vṛṣabhasena, and by Gautama, the Gaṇadhara of Mahāvīra the last Tīrthaṁkara, to Śreṇika. From Gautama it passed on to Sudharma, from him to Jambūsvāmin, and so on through a continuous line of teachers and pupils to Jinasena.

PREVIOUS JAINA AUTHORS MENTIONED BY JINASENA

In the introduction Jinasena speaks of the following authors in terms of praise .—

1. Siddhasena, who was a lion to the elephants in the shape of opponents in argumentation.
2. Samantabhadra, who with the thunderbolt of his words shattered to pieces the mountains in the shape of false doctrines.
3. Śrīdatta, who acted the lion in the destruction of the elephants in the shape of his opponents.
4. Yaśobhadra, the mention of whose very name was sufficient to humble the pride of a whole assembly of learned men.
5. Prabhācandra, who by his Candrodaya delighted the worlds.—In a marginal note the full name of the work is given as Nyāyakumudacandrodaya.
6. Śivakoṭi, by means of whose words the world resorting to the four ways of deliverance becomes happy.—The work here alluded to is called Bhagavatyārādhanā-catuṣṭaya.
7. Jaṭācārya.—In a marginal note Siṁhanandin is given as his proper name.

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1 Volume III of this Edition, p. 89, footnote 3, page 65, footnote 2, of the Edition of 1895. [N. B. U.].

8. Kāṇabhikṣu, the bright jewels of whose words, agreeing as they did with the Dharmasūtras, attained the form of Kathālaṁkāra.—Probably he was the author of a work called Kathālamkāra.

9. Deva, called Devamuni in a marginal note, the Tīrthaṁkara of all authors, the Tīrtha or holy water of whose words wash away the dirt in the shape of the flaws in the speech of learned men.

10	Akalanka	whose merits adorn the bosom of learned men like a necklace, when fully apprehended by the heart.
11	Śrīpāla	
12	Pātrakesarin	

Akalanka is praised by all subsequent writers, and he is spoken of as having defeated the Bauddhas in argument.

13 Vādisiṁha, than whose learning, dialectic skill, and clearness of exposition could go no further.

14. Vīrasena, the teacher of Jinasena and an eminent dialectician who obtained the title of Bhaṭṭāraka and was the author of glosses (Upanibandhas) on the Siddhāntas, in whom learning and a knowledge of the world were combined, and who could speak like the god of speech himself.

15. Jayasenaguru, author of Vāgarthasamgraha.

Jinasena uses in one place puns on the words Bṛhatkathā, Lambha, and Guṇāḍhya, and in another quotes a definition of poetry given by some writer, and expressing his dissent, gives his own. At the beginning of the chapter there is an interesting passage containing the refutation of the doctrine of a Creator, in which objections of the nature of those considered and answered in the first Pāda of the Second Chapter of Śaṁkarācārya's Bhāṣya on the Vedānta Sūtras are brought forward against that doctrine.

THE FIFTY-THREE RITES

In chapters XXXVIII—XL are described the fifty-three rites or ceremonies to be performed from conception to death, a good many of which correspond to those of the Brahmans and have the same names, such as Garbhādhāna, Nāmakaraṇa, Caula, Upanīti, Vivāha, &c. Fires, Mantras, and other things are admitted, but the Mantras are not those of the Brahmans but others newly composed Jinasena professes to follow in this part of his work the seventh Anga or the Upāsakadaśānga. Out of the forty-seven chapters of this Purāṇa, the last five were written by Guṇabhadra, the pupil of Jinasena, who also wrote the second part or Uttarapurāṇa, of which No. 289 is a copy.

THE UTTARAPURĀṆA BY GUṆABHADRA

The Uttarapurāṇa contains an account of the other Tīrthāmkaras down to Vardhamāna the last

At the end there is a long and valuable Praśasti already brought to notice by Mr. K B Pathak in the Indian Antiquary, and by myself in the Early History of the Deccan.[1]

PRAŚASTI AT THE END

In the beginning we are told that " the line (of teachers and pupils) known by the name of Sena was the place in the ocean of the Mūlasamgha, where were found bright jewels in the shape of great men. In that line flourished Vīrasena Bhaṭṭāraka, the leader of the army of Vīra (Mahāvīra), who frightened away all elephants in the shape of opponents in argumentation. In him Jñāna and Cāritra assumed, as it were, a bodily form, and he shone to confer benefits upon those who were his disciples. Wonderful it is that the sun-lotuses of the faces of

1 Volume III of this Edition, p 95, footnote 2 , page 69, footnote 2 of the Edition of 1895. The full text of the Praśasti is given at pp 426 430 of the Original Report. [N. B. U]

princes who prostrated themselves (at his feet) while going round him, bloomed and looked beautiful by means of the rays of the moon in the shape of the nails of his toes. The monks expound the Siddhibhūpaddhati ('the way to the region of perfection') to others, though there is a difficulty at every step, after having studied his commentary" It thus appears that Vīrasena composed a commentary on a work entitled Siddhibhūpaddhati.

Vīrasena was followed by Jinasena The king Amoghavarṣa prostrated himself at his feet and considered himself to have been purified, when he did so Jinasena was a man of great learning, and masterly in the refutation of the views of opponents, knew the exact truth as regards the Siddhāntas, was skilful in telling stories, solved knotty points in books, and was a poet of a high order He had a colleague of the name of Daśaratha in whose "perspicuous words the true import of all the Śāstras shone as clear as an image in a mirror, and could at once be apprehended even by children." Gunabhadra of a world-wide fame was the pupil of these two. He knew the truth, as well as the works which expound it, and his mind was matured by his resolutely going through the Siddhāntas which contain information on all the minor branches of learning He devoted himself to the practice of Tapas, and his words dispelled the darkness in the heart of men.

The revered Jinasena, the author of glosses on the Siddhāntas, composed "the life of Puru" (Ṛṣabhacarita), in which there are instances of all metres and figures, which sets forth the doctrines of all the Śāstras incidentally, is calculated to put to shame all other poems, and is worthy of being read even by the learned.—Whether the glosses meant were those contained in his Purāṇas or were separate treatises does not appear clear.—The work left incomplete by Jinasena was

completed by Guṇabhadra, who was obliged to have recourse to brevity on account of the long time that had already elapsed; and consequently his portion does not contain details. The reader of this Purāṇa will learn the nature of the fettered condition of the soul with its causes and effects, will know what are good deeds and what evil deeds, and will see that there is such a thing as final deliverance and a way that leads to it. His faith will increase and he will learn how the Āsrava or flowing in of Karman is prevented and how its Nirjarā or destruction is effected. Therefore this Purāṇa should be explained to others, heard, read by those who long for deliverance, thought about, worshipped, transcribed, and caused to be transcribed. Lokasena who was the chief of Guṇabhadra's disciples, obtaining influential assistance, succeeded in having his teacher's instructions as regards this Purāṇa acted up to always by respectable people.—The instructions meant must be those expressed in the last sentence

DATE OF THE CONSECRATION OF THE PURĀṆA

This holy Purāna containing the essence of all the Śāstras was consecrated by the best among the faithful and worshipped on Thursday the 5th (of the light half) of Āṣāḍha in the year 820 of the Śaka king, the cyclic year being Pingala —This was the current year, and 819 was the past year —At that time Akālavarṣa of fair fame who had destroyed all his enemies was ruling over the whole earth His "war elephants had on the one side drunk the waters of the Ganges and, as if their thirst had not been quenched, had on the other, resorted to the dense forest of sandal trees, open to the gentle breezes blowing from over the waves of the ocean, a forest into the shade of which the rays of the sun did not penetrate" The goddess of prosperity tormented in all her previous abodes, found a happy resting place in his bosom And Lokāditya alias Cellapatāka was governing the province of Vanavāsa at Bankāpura which was

named by his father after himself. He belonged to the Padmālaya family, was the son of Cellaketana and younger brother of Celladhvaja, and encouraged the growth of Jainism.— Then follow a few laudatory verses but we have had enough of that sort of matter.

IDENTIFICATION OF THE PRINCES MENTIONED IN THE PRAŚASTI

The princes Amoghavarṣa and Akālavarṣa mentioned in this Praśasti belonged to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty which ruled over the Deccan, and here as elsewhere we have evidence of the great power of the family and the large extent of territory over which it ruled The dates of the former occurring in Inscriptions are Śaka 775, 787 (which is represented as the fifty-second year of his reign), and 799 Jinasena who is spoken of as having been adored by the prince wrote his Harivamśa as has already been stated in Śaka 705, when Vallabha, son of Kṛṣṇa, whom I have identified with Govinda II, was on the throne Amoghavarṣa must have succeeded his father Govinda III in Śaka 735 , so that Jinasena lived at least 30 years after the completion of his Harivamśa and may have lived longer. Akālavarṣa's other dates are Śaka 797 and 824 There must be some mistake as regards the former, if his father's date 799, which occurs in an Inscription in one of the Kānheri caves, is correct.[1] The Praśasti represents him as reigning in Śaka 820

1 At the end of the Digambara rescension of the Praśnottararatnamālikā, Amoghavarsa is represented to have abdicated the throne through the growth of the religious sentiment, so that the inconsistency noticed in the text is to be accounted for by supposing that his son Akālavarsa was the actual sovereign in Śaka 797 and 799, but as Amoghavarṣa was not dead though he had ceased to concern himself with State affairs, his name is mentioned in the Kānheri Inscription as the reigning sovereign in the latter year The stanza referred to in the Praśnottaramālikā, a copy of which I have recently procured, is as follows —

विवेकात्यक्तराज्येन राज्ञेयं रत्नमालिका ।
रचितामोघवर्षेण सुधियां सदलंकृतिः ॥

which is perfectly consistent with the date 824. In Śaka 820, we gather that Guṇabhadra the pupil of Jinasena and the continuator of his work was not living, and it was his pupil Lokasena who consecrated the Purāṇa. So that, supposing Jinasena to have lived for about ten years after Amoghavarṣa's accession, i e., up to Śaka 745, the interval of 75 years between Śaka 745 and 820 is not too long for his pupil Guṇabhadra and Guṇabhadra's pupil Lokasena

There are Inscriptions of the times of Amoghavarṣa and Akālavarṣa in which Bankeyarasa and Śaṃkaragaṇḍa of the Cellaketana family are represented as ruling over the province of Banavāsī as their feudatories. The latter of these is probably the prince spoken of in our Praśasti

Another work of Guṇabhadra entitled Ātmānuśāsana has recently been discovered and a copy of it purchased for Government. Guṇabhadra is there also called the pupil of Jinasena.

At the end of No 288 the copyist gives a succession list of the High-priests of his sect which is as follows —1 Śubhacandradeva who belonged to the line of Kundakundācārya, to the Sarasvatīgaccha, Balātkāragaṇa, Nandyāmnāya, and Mūlasaṃgha; 2 Jinacandradeva, 3 Prabhācandradeva, 4 Candrakīrtideva, 5 Devendrakīrti The last was living in Saṃvat 1674 when the Manuscript was transcribed by his pupil Ṛṣabhadāsa.

ŚĀNTICARITA BY SAKALAKĪRTI

No. 309 is Śāntināthacarita or the life of the Tīrthaṃkara Śāntinātha by Sakalakīrti In the beginning the author offers his salutations to or adores the following —

THE PARAMEṢṬHINS

1. The Tīrthaṃkaras, some by name, and the rest generally.

2. The Siddhas, who are delivered from their enemies, the Karmans, are possessed of the eight virtues, have ascended to the highest top of Loka, are free from all misery, and enjoy infinite bliss.

3. The Acāryas, who go through the five courses themselves, and take their pupils through them. These five courses are Darśanācāra, Jñānācāra, Tapaācāra, Cāritrācāra, Vīryācāra.—These the reader will remember are mentioned by Kundakundācārya, and are given in a marginal note in this Manuscript.

4. Pāṭhaka-munis or Upādhyāyas, as they are usually called, who study the Angas, Pūrvas, and Prakīrṇakas to attain perfection and teach them to their pupils; and who are familiar with the twelve Angas.

5. Sādhus, who by difficult and terrible Tapas, and by means of the three jewels, walk by the path which leads to deliverance and are at all times absorbed in Yoga (mental concentration)

These are called the five Parameṣṭhins.

THE KEVALINS

6. All the Gaṇadharas from Vṛṣabhasena to Gautama who composed the holy twelve Angas for the benefit of those who wish to be delivered

7. Sudharmācārya, the possessor of pure knowledge (Kevalāvagama) who like a cloud rained down the nectar of Dharma.

8. Jambūsvāmin who, even in his boyhood, killed by the sword of his asceticism the enemies, desire and delusion

THE ŚRUTAKEVALINS

9. The five Śrutakevalins Viṣṇu, Nandimitra, Aparājita, Govardhana, and Bhadrabāhu. They were called by

that generic name, because they were conversant with the whole of the sacred lore.

THE SŪRIS

10. The Sūris, Viśākhācārya and others.

THE KAVIS

The Kavis, viz —

11. Kundakundācārya
12. Akalanka, the great dialectician
13. Samantabhadra
14 Pūjyapāda
15. Nemicandra who was familiar with the Siddhāntas
16. Prabhācandra
17. Jinasena

It will thus be seen that there are among the Digambara Jainas five classes of persons deserving of adoration, viz ,—I, the five Parameṣṭhins , II, the Kevalins, Gautama and his two successors , III, the five Śrutakevalins , IV, the Sūris , V, the Kavis. The Kavis are later writers of repute, and undoubtedly historical personages. According to the fifth Gāthā of the Pravacanasāra, the Gaṇadharas form the third of the five groups included under Parameṣṭins. But these groups of the Parameṣṭhins seem to be ideal and were suggested by the actual Tīrthaṁkara Mahāvīra, his Gaṇadhara Gautama, and the Śrutakevalins Viṣṇu and others They figure in all the formulas repeated at the time of Jina worship.

PĀRŚVANĀTHACARITA BY THE SAME AUTHOR

Another work of Sakalakīrti, the Pārśvanāthacarita, of which No. 303 is a copy, contains in the introduction verses of the same nature as the above, some of them being identical. The Manuscript was transcribed in Samvat 1662 or 1605 A. D., at Māharoṭha during the reign of Akbar and of a dependent native prince of the name of

Rāyasila. It was finished on the 5th of the light half of Bhādrapada.

The succession list of High-priests of the Sarasvatī Gaccha of the Balātkāragaṇa of the Mūlasaṃgha, belonging to the line of Kundakundācārya is thus given —1 Padmanandin, 2 Śubhacandra, 3 Jinacandra, 4 Prabhācandra The second pupil of this last was Ratnakīrti, his pupil Bhuvanakīrti, and his, Dharmakīrti and Viśālakīrti Lakṣmīcandra was the pupil of the last, and was perhaps the head priest of some branch of the sect, for we have the expression Tatpaṭṭe used after him So then we have this part of the list thus —1 Lakṣmīcandra, 2 Sahasrakīrti, 3 Nemicandra, 4 Yaśaḥkīrti From Ratnakīrti downwads, each of these has the title of Maṇḍalācārya Then follows the genealogy of Nīvāī, wife of Malu, who was a follower of the last priest and who caused the Manuscript to be written.

JINADĀSA'S HARIVAṂŚA

Nos 314 and 315 are copies of a work entitled Harivaṃśa by Jinadāsa, pupil of Sakalakīrti In the introduction Jinadāsa says that these legendary histories were communicated by Vīra to Gautama, and thence they passed to Sudharma, Jambūsvāmin, Vidyucara, Kīrti, Anuttaravid, Raviṣeṇa, and Jinasena in succession Raviṣeṇa's Prabhava is here called Vidyucara, and Anuttaravāgmin, Anuttaravid It will be seen that Raviṣeṇa is here placed chronologically before Jinasena, and that is the conclusion we have arrived at from the dates occurring in their works. No. 314 was transcribed in Samvat 1654 and finished on Thursday the 10th of the light half of Pauṣa. It was caused to be transcribed by Kṣemacandra, the pupil of Candrakīrti, the successor of Prabhācandra, High-priest of the Balātkāragaṇa and Sarasvatīgaccha of the Nandisaṃgha which was a branch of the Mūlasaṃgha

No 310 is Śrīpālacarita by Nemidattayati which has already been noticed It was composed by the author in Samvat 1585

in the temple of Ādijina, in the town of Pūrṇāśā which was situated in the country of Mālava.

JĪVAṂDHARASVĀMICARITA BY ŚUBHACANDRA

The Jīvaṃdharasvāmicarita (No. 292) was composed by Śubhacandra in Vikrama 16— There is a misreading in the verse in consequence of which the figures in the units and tens places cannot be made out. In the introduction the author mentions Pūjyapāda, Samantabhadra, Akalanka, Jinasena, Jñānabhūṣaṇa and Śubhacandra. There is a Praśasti of the copyist at the end but a portion of the leaf is torn off, and so it cannot be properly made out.

SUBHAUMACARITA BY RATNACANDRA

No. 313 is Subhaumacarita by Ratnacandra Subhauma is the future Tīrthaṃkara At the end of the work we have a succession list. First of all in the Sārasvata Gaccha of the Mūlasaṃgha there was a Muni of the name of Kundakunda who belonged to the school of Sīmaṃdhara In his line flourished (1) Padmanandin, whose successors were (2) Sakalakīrti, and (3) Bhuvanakīrti. Then we have two Maṇḍalācāryas, the first of whom was Ratnakīrti, the fellow-student of Bhuvanakīrti, and the second or his successor Yaśaḥkīrti In the line of this last flourished Guṇacandra who was succeeded by Jinacandra, the leader of the Balātkāragaṇa. He was followed by Sakalacandra and after him came Ratnacandra, who is spoken of in the present tense since it was he who composed the work.

DATE OF THE COMPOSITION OF SUBHAUMACARITA AND THE HISTORY OF THE AUTHOR

The composition of the work was finished on Thursday, the 5th of the light half of Bhādrapada, in Saṃvat 1683, in a temple of Pārśvanātha situated on the banks of the Gaṅgā at

Pāṭaliputra in the country of Magadha, during the reign of Salem Śah, the lord of all Mlenechha kings. Assistance was given in the composition of the Subhaumacarita by Tejapāla, son of Dhanarāja, and Hemarāja, son of Reṣā, who belonged to the Khaṇḍelavāla line and were the followers and pupils of Divijendrakīrti (Dvije), the successors of Candrakīrti, who himself followed Prabhācandra. In a marginal note it is stated that these High-priests belonged to the Delhi establishment, ("were the occupants of the Delhi throne") Teja belonged to the Gotra of Saumaṇya and Hema to the Paṭṭaṇī Gotra and lived in a city of the name of Paṭṭaṇa. Ratnacandra had come (to Magadha) on a pilgrimage to Sammedācala accompanied by Jayakīrti, son of Jaganmalla, Kamalakīrti, Kalyāṇa, Kacara, Kānhaji, and Bhogidāsa Ratnacandra, son of a merchant named Mahī of the Bhūyaḍa caste and his wife Campā, composed the work [then]

Of all the Śrāvakas who adore the Khaṇḍelavālas, Agravālas, Dānis and Jaisavālas, the assistance rendered by Tejapāla son of Dhanarāja Kesin, was the most valuable, in so far as everything needed was provided. Hemarāja, the lord of Hamīrde, together with his nephew Hīra, caused this (work) to be written. Blessing be to Mangala, the son of the merchant Hema, who lived in the town of Sāga (Sāgavāḍānāra) situated in the province of Vāgvara (Vāgaḍa)! Rājasimha and Amara, the sons of Kṛṣṇadāsa Bahuāṇa (Cāhuāṇa?) of the Kṣatriya race, Bhīma and others(?) and Hemakīrti raised Ratnacandra the author of this work to the pontifical chair —In a marginal note Salem Śah's other name is given as Jehangir, so that the Mogal Emperor during whose reign Ratnacandra wrote his work, was Jehangir the son of Akbar who reigned from 1605 A. D. to 1627 A. D. The date 1683 Samvat, the month being Bhādrapada (September-October), corresponds to 1626 A D

TRADITIONAL HISTORY OF THE JAINA SACRED LITERATURE FROM A DIGAMBARA PAṬṬĀVALI

We have seen that Raviṣeṇa, Jinasena, Sakalakīrti and others speak of the sacred lore as having passed from Gautama to Sudharma, thence to Jambūsvāmin, and so on in regular succession. This means that Jainism had no written books for a long period after the foundation of the religion But the tradition as regards this matter is fully given in the Paṭṭāvali mentioned before (No 629 of 1875-76) on the authority of old Prakrtit Gāthās which are there quoted. It is to the following effect:—

After Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa three Kevalins flourished. They were (1) Gautama who lived for 12 years, (2) Sudharma who, also lived for 12 years, and (3) Jambūsvāmin who taught the creed for 38 years.

Then there were five Śrutakevalins 1, Viṣṇunandin for 14 years, 2, Nandimitra for 16, 3, Aparājita for 22; 4, Govardhana for 19, and 5, Bhadrabāhu for 29. These knew the eleven Angas and the fourteen Pūrvas by heart But this statement does not occur in the Gāthās, it is made by the Hindi commentator It is however in every way in keeping with the whole tradition and with the name Śrutakevalin, and Sakalakīrti confirms it in the Praśnottaropāsakācāra, as we have seen Then followed eleven persons who knew ten Pūrvas by heart Their names and dates I give below It will be seen that the last Śrutakevalin ceased to be in 162 A Vīr.

DAŚAPŪRVADHĀRINS

1 Viśākhācārya, A Vīr. 162	6 Siddhārthācārya, A. Vīr 247.
2 Proṣṭilācārya, A Vīr 172	7 Dhṛtisenācārya, A Vīr. 264.
3 Kṣatriyācārya, A. Vīr 191.	8 Vijayācārya, A Vīr. 282.
4 Jayasenācārya, A Vīr. 208.	9 Buddhilingācārya, A. Vīr 295.
5 Nāgasenācārya, A Vīr 229	10 Devācārya, A. Vīr. 315.

11 Dharmasenācārya, A Vīr. 329.

Then followed five persons who know the eleven Angas

EKĀDAŚĀṄGADHĀRINS

1 Nakṣatrācārya, A. Vīr 345. 3 Pāṇḍavācārya, A. Vīr. 383.
2 Jayapālācārya, A. Vīr 363. 4 Dhruvasenācārya, A. Vīr. 422.
5 Kamsācārya, A Vīr. 436

After the last the number of Angas known went on decreasing.

1 Subhadrācārya, A Vīr 468, knew ten Angas only,
2 Yaśobhadrācārya, A Vīr 474, knew nine Angas only.
3 Bhadrabāhu, A Vīr. 492, knew eight Angas only.
4 Lohācārya, A Vīr. 515, was the head of the church for 50 years, but what the extent of his knowledge was is not clear. Probably he knew seven Angas

Then followed five men who knew one Anga only

1 Ahivallyācārya, A Vīr 565.
2 Māghanandyācārya, A Vīr 593
3 Dharasenācāryā, A. Vīr 614
4 Puṣpadantācārya, A. Vīr. 633
5 Bhūtavalyācārya, A. Vīr. 663 He was the head of the Church for 20 years.

Thus for 683 years after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra the knowledge of the Angas remained though in a gradually decreasing ratio Then, according to the Hindi commentator, the last two of these Munis reduced the whole sacred lore to writing. It will be seen that the Kevalins and the Śrutakevalins here named are the same as those mentioned by Sakalakīrti in the Śāntināthacarita, and the Ācāryas from Viśākha downwards are spoken of by him as Sūris.

MEANING OF THE TRADITION

The meaning of this very important tradition, as I consider it to be, is clear The knowledge of the doctrines of the founder of Jainism was only orally handed down and there were no books. Gradually a great change came over the system. Some of the original doctrines were forgotten or ceased to be believed in and others must have come into vogue.

WHEN THE JAINAS CAME TO HAVE WRITTEN SCRIPTURES

The Jainas came to have written scriptures about 683 A. Vir., corresponding to 195 A. Vikr, and 139 A. D., when the last of the men who knew any portion of the sacred lore by heart died Up to this time their sect must have been very unimportant, though it was probably founded about the time of Buddha. And its being in that condition is also indicated by the fact that while there are many Inscriptions referring to Buddhism there are only a few solitary ones referring to Jainism up to about the 5th century of Christ And the date 139 A D, agrees very well with my conclusions as to the period when the Prakrits were developed They began to be formed, as I have stated, about the beginning of the Christian Era, and by about 139 A D, they must have become *distinctive dialects spoken in different parts of the* country It was therefore in the vernacular prevalent in one of the provinces in the second century that the Jaina books were written

Jainism probably began to raise its head when Buddhism began to decline, and succeeded in making way by bringing its doctrines nearer to the popular creed sanctioned by Brahmanism. They gave a substantial existence to the soul which was denied by the Buddhists, and raised their Tirthamkaras to the rank of the Supreme being though they denied to them the authorship of the world They connected the popular heroes Rāma, Kṛṣna and others with their creed and even admitted domestic ceremonies such as those of the Brahmans. The compromise that some of their philosophic doctrines present between two Brahmanic schools has already been spoken of.[1]

N B.—The Manuscripts of works belonging to the Śvetāmbara Jainas were made over for examination by Sir R G Bhandarkar to his Manuscripts Assistant, Mr (afterwards Professor) Shridhar Ramkrishna Bhandarkar A Report was drawn up by the latter and it is printed on pp 126—157 of the Original Report [N B U]

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1 Ante, pp. 242 ff. [N B. U.]

A NOTE ON THE SAṀVAT ERA

[FROM THE REPORT ON THE SEARCH OF SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS FOR 1883-84, pp. 158 ff.]

In a Review of my last Report[1] characterised by a general spirit of fairness, which forms a distinguishing feature in the writer's character and has enabled him to acquire that influence over his brother scholars both in Europe and India which he now wields, Dr Bühler finds fault with me for taking the word "Saṁvat" as expressive in all cases of the Vikrama era which begins in 57 B. C. His words are —

"I must, however, add that it is hazardous to assume, as Professor Bhandarkar seems to do throughout, that all dates preceded by the word "Saṁvat" belong to the era of 57 B C. In common with other Sanskritists I too have held this opinion for many years But recent discoveries have shown that even the scribes of Gujarat and Rajputana, where the Vikrama era is universally used in everyday life, sometimes put Samvat instead of Śakasaṁvat As instances I may point out the Manuscript of the Mahābhāṣya (Kielhorn, Mah II 3, p. 8), written at Iladurga (Idar) in Samvat 1513 and 1514, where the mention (in the colophon) of the victorious reign of the illustrious Nārāyaṇadāsa the Rao Nārondās of the Ayīn Akbari, shows that Śakasamvat 1513—1514 is meant, and the copy of Govindarāja's Smṛtimañjarī in the India Office Library (No. 1736), dated Samvat 1467, which Colebrooke and the editors of the Palaeographical Series believed to correspond to 1410 A. D. In the colophon of the latter work the scribe states, however, that he wrote at Vasurāvī (Vasrāvī) during the reign of Mahārāṇā Udayasimha. As Mahārāṇā Udayasiṁha

1 That is, the Report on search of Sanskrit Manuscripts for the years 1882-83, included in this Volume earlier. [N. B. U.]

of Mevāḍ came to the throne in 1541 A. D., it is not doubtful that Saṁvat 1467 refers to the Śaka era, and corresponds to 1545 A. D Under these circumstances every 'Samvat-date' requires verification"

That the word "Saṁvat," denotes at the present day the Vikrama era alone, and the word Śaka, the era which begins in 79 A. D., is a fact that cannot admit of dispute But Dr Buhler thinks this was not the case in former times, and that the word "Samvat" was sometimes used to denote the Śaka also, and brings forward two instances in which if we understand the Vikrama era by the word "Samvat," we are led to wrong results. The wrong results only show that there is some mistake here, but they do not necessarily show that the word "Samvat" is here used to express the Śaka era And besides the Śaka will hardly do for the first of the two above dates. For Śaka 1514 corresponds to 1592 A D., when it is highly questionable whether Nārāyaṇadāsa was the reigning chief at Idar, for in 1576 A D, a large army was sent to Idar to subdue that chief, he having previously shown a rebellious spirit, and Nārāyaṇdāsa was defeated and his capital fell into the hands of Akbar. Kinloch Forbes immediately after this speaks of Viramadeva, the successor of Nārāyaṇadasa. The wrong results may be due to the transcribers of the Manuscripts having copied the dates from their originals and given the names of the princes in whose reigns they themselves lived, or to an actual slip of the pen in writing them

Not only, therefore, do these two dates afford no ground whatever for the supposition that the word "Samvat" is here used to denote the Śaka era, but I can give a mass of positive evidence to show that for the last four hundred and fifty years at least, the word "Samvat" has been, just as it is at present, used to denote the Vikrama era only, and the word "Śaka" or "Śāka" the other. I have recently collected a

large number of instances of double dates from Śaka 1361 or 1439 A. D, downwards in which the word "Samvat" is used before one, and "Śaka" or "Śāka" before the other. The manner in which these words are contrasted shows that "Samvat" denotes an era different from that which "Śaka" denotes, and the number expressive of the date in the first case being in excess of that in the second by 134, 135 or 136, the era expressed by the word "Samvat" in these instances is unquestionably that of Vikrama. These double dates are as follows —

1 A MS of the Viṣṇubhakticandrodaya recently procured has at the end संवत् १४९६ वर्षे शाके १३६१ प्रवर्तमाने सिद्धार्थनामसंवत्सरे.

2 No. 106 of 1882-83, Mitākṣara, has स्वस्ति संवत् १५३५ वर्षे शाके १४०१ प्रवर्तमाने.

3. No 533 of 1883-84 (the present Collection), Dānavākyāvalī, has संवत् १५३९ शाके १४०४ समये पौषशुदि पञ्चमी रविवासरे.

4 No 197 of 1883-84, Mādhava's Commentary on the Bhāsvatī, has (f. 65 *a*) संवत् १५८२ शाकः १४४७.

5 No 324 of the Viśrāmabāg Collection, Prakriyākaumudī, has स्वस्ति श्री संवत् १५८३ वर्षे शाके १४४८ प्रवर्तमाने भाद्रपदमासे शुक्लपक्षे त्रयोदश्यां तिथौ भौमदिने.

6. No.86 of 1883-84, Viṣṇubhaktikalpalatā with commentary has संवत् १६६७ श १५३३ प्र। जेष्ठ शुदि ९ गुरौ.

7. No. 206 of 1883-84, Varṣaphalavicārasiddhānta (a commentary on), has (f. 3 *a*) संवत् १६९० शाकः १५५५ समये आषाढमासे शुक्लपक्षे चतुर्दशी तिथिः बुधे.

8. No. 321 of 1883-84, Śrīpāla Caupāī, has संवत् १७३६ शाके १६०१ प्रवर्तमाने पौषमासे शुक्लपक्षे दशमी गुरुवासरे.

9. No. 199 of 1883-84, Gangādhara's Commentary on the Bhāsvati, has (f. 26 *b*) अस्योदाहरणं संवत् १७४२ शाके १६०७ वर्षे ज्येष्ठमासे शुक्लपक्षे तिथो (थौ) पूर्णमास्यां १५ शनौ.

10. No. 202 of 1883-84, Dhruvabhramakayantra, has संवत् १७६१ वर्षे शा १६२७ प्रवर्तमाने ॥ अथ वैशाखमासे शुक्लपक्षे १२ तिथौ भौमवासरे ॥
11. Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta, last leaf of, (found in No. 159 of 1883-84, Bhaktırasāmṛtasindhu) has संवत् १७६३ वर्षे साके १६२९॥ मीति आसोज सुदि ॥ १ ॥
12. Saptapadārthiṭīkā (recently procured) has संवत् १८११ वर्षे साके १६७६ प्र । पौषस्य शुक्ला १४.
13. No. 201 of 1883-84, Muhūrtacūḍāmaṇı, has संवत् १८१२ वर्षे साके १६७८ प्रवर्तमाने मधुमासे बहुलपक्षे त्रयोदश्यां भौमवासरे.
14. No. 103 of 1883-84, Prabodhacandrıkā, has संवत् १८५९ साके १७२४॥
15. No. 215 of 1883-84, Sārāvalı, has संवत् १८६५ साके १७३० पौषसुदि १[1] वा. आदित्यवासरे.
16. No. 204 of 1883-84, Rāmavınoda, has संवत् १८६७ साके १७३१ ज्येष्ठ शुक्ला १४ शनौ.
17. No 222 of 1883-84, Vīrasiṁhāvaloka, has संवत् १८७३ शाका १७३८ चैत्र कृष्णपक्षिद्वादश्यां शुक्रे.
18. No. 207 of 1883-84, Vāstuprakaraṇa, has सं १८७३ शा १७३८ वैशाख कृष्ण १२ बुधे.
19. No 210 of 1883-84, Vṛddhagārgyasaṁhıtā, has श्रावण शुद्ध १ संवत् १८७३ साके १७३८ गुरौ.

It is plain, therefore, from this that the word "Samvat," whatever its etymological meaning, and in whatever sense it may have been used in early Inscriptions, has within the last five centuries, if not earlier, come to be restricted by usage to the Vikrama era. In No. 200 of 1883-84, which is a commentary on the Bhāsvatı, it is expressly stated that the era of Vikramāditya is called "Samvat" and that it is in advance of the Śaka by 135 years. The words are —

> विक्रमादित्यस्य संवत्संज्ञः पञ्चाग्निचन्द्रै (न्द्रैः) हीनः शालिवाहनशको भवति ।

1 The letter पौष सुदि १ have ink rubbed over them.

20. उदाहरणं ॥ संवत् १७१२ वर्षे शाके १५७७ श्रावण वदि १० ……
……अथ(इम)मधिकृत्योदाहरणक्रमो लिख्यते ॥ संवत् १७१२
पञ्चाग्निसप्तैन्दुहीन(हीं)न १३५ शालिवाहनशको जातः १५७७ शकोपि
युते (:) १३५ युतः संवत् भवति १७१२.

Nothing could be plainer than this. And this occurs in a work written 231 years ago. We are therefore perfectly justified in taking "Samvat" as occurring in Manuscripts to mean the era which begins in 57 B. C, and if in any particular case wrong results are arrived at, they must be due to some mistake of the scribe of the nature of those we meet with in almost every line in a bad Manuscript. Such mistakes do not and cannot point to a sense of the word "Samvat" other than that which usage has clearly given to it.

EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT ON THE SEARCH FOR SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS DURING THE YEARS 1884-85, 1885-86, 1886-87[1]

I ISSUE the following pages with a feeling of keen regret. I had planned as extensive a report as the last, if not more, had examined the Manuscripts, collected materials, and got the extracts copied out But after finishing the first two articles, I had a long-continued illness , and since that time my College duties, and other work which could not be avoided and a good deal of which was of a literary nature, left me no time or energy for digesting my materials and putting them into shape. I expected to be able to take up the Report after my retirement from the service , but I had another attack of illness in the beginning of this year The Report, however, could be delayed no longer, and I had to send it to the Press immediately I, however, hastily added three more articles before actually doing so

The second article has been published in a somewhat altered form in the Transactions of the Ninth Congress of Orientalists.

THE number of Manuscripts purchased by me for Government during the three years 1884-87 is 1,406. Of these, 1,135 were collected in Gujarat and Rajputana, and 271 in the Maratha Country.

I will proceed to notice some of the interesting Manuscripts in the Collection and to state such points of importance as I have been able to gather from them.

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1 Originally published in 1894, at the Government Central Press, Bombay.

VEDAS, VEDĀṄGAS, ETC.

ṚGVEDA AND DEPENDENT TREATISES

A COMMENTARY ON KĀTYĀYANA'S SARVĀNUKRAMA

No 89 is a copy of a commentary called Bhāṣya on Kātyāyana's Sarvānukrama. The Manuscript which was transcribed in Śaka 1583, i. e, 1662 A D., is in a very bad condition, the paper has become so brittle that the slightest touch brings off a piece, and the edges of the leaves and the corners have worn away and portions of the written lines have thus disappeared, making the rest difficult to be understood and entirely unintelligible This circumstance is very much to be regretted as the work appears to be important and has not yet been subjected to examination The only other available copy of it, I know of, is a fragment which is in the Tanjore Collection, and is noticed by Burnell in his Catalogue (page 2) The author's name cannot be ascertained

The commentary on each Maṇḍala begins with a Śloka, but it is always in praise of a deity, and the author seems to have studiously concealed his name, as is not unfrequently done by some Sanskrit writers The opening Śloka is the same as that which is at the beginning of Daṇḍin's Kāvyādarśa, and as if to show that it is not his, the author gives the paraphrase of it in the second In a great many places the author gives the current legends connected with passages in the text of the Rksamhitā, introducing them with the words "Atretihāsam ācakṣate" and rarely with "Atrākhyānam ācakṣate" When these are given with simply this introduction, they appear to have been quoted from the Bṛhaddevatā. But there are legends and quotations from the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas, these latter being referred to by the name Purāṇakāra or Paurāṇika. Some are spoken of as having been given by Vṛddhācārya. This author is frequently quoted. Thus he is represented as considering Indrāgnī not to be the

principal deities of the verse I. 139. 9, but as subordinate (Nipātabhājau) against the view of the author of the Sarvānukrama. Again, he is spoken of as maintaining that the first Pāda of IV. 57. 8, has reference to the cultivation of soil, the second speaks of men who subsist on agriculture, the third is for rain, and the fourth is composed by the Ṛṣi through his desire for grain, the whole hymn referring to agriculture. This, says the commentator, is not opposed to the statement of the original author. Vṛddhācārya would thus appear to have written a work of the nature of an Anukramaṇī or a commentary on any of the existing works on the subject and to have held some independent views. The story referring to VI 75, and those about the origin of Vasiṣṭha from Urvaśī in connection with the seventh Maṇḍala, and about the relations of Purūravas with Urvaśī, which are the subject of X. 95, are quoted as given by the same author. The wording of the last is, however, the same as that of the version given by Max Müller (Ṛgveda Vol VI page 18, varietas lectionis) as belonging to the Bṛhaddevatā. This Vṛddhācārya must be the same author as that quoted by Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana as an authority in sacrificial matters[1]. Śaunaka is also very often quoted by name by our author in speaking of the deities or metres, but not as the narrator of the legends

ANUKRAMAṆĪḌHŪṆḌHŪ

No. 39 is entitled Anukramaṇīḍhūṇḍhū, and consists of the Sarvānukrama in a tabulated form In each line we have first the number of the hymn, then the first Pāda of the first verse, and afterwards follow in order the numbers of the Vargas, and of the verses of which the hymn is composed, the name of the Ṛṣi, the deity, and the metre The next hymn is noticed in the next line When the particulars referring to a hymn are not complete in one line, we have more, i.e., a paragraph. The

1 See my last Report, p. 28 ; [Ante, p. 103 N. B. U.]

Sūktas are numbered continuously from 1 to 1,017 and the end of an Adhyāya is simply marked with the letters "Adhya." The Vālakhilyas come between hymns 668 and 669, i.e., after VIII. 48, and are numbered from 1 to 10 The Manuscript was transcribed on Sunday the 7th of the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada in the Samvat year 1796 and is thus a hundred and fifty years old It was purchased by our agent from a Brahman belonging to the Śāṅkhāyana school living in Jaypur, and was brought along with No 42 and copies of other works of the Śāṅkhāyana School, which will be noticed in the next Report

This tabulated Anukramaṇī agrees in all respects with the Sarvānukrama, as I have found from a comparison of parts here and there with the statements at the top of the hymns in Professor Max Müller's Edition, and with the original Sarvānukrama The number of verses in VII 21, is, however, stated as 9, probably because the tenth is the same as the last verse of the previous hymn In other places, however, where the same verse occurs at the end of two successive hymns it is not left out of account, so that there is probably a mistake here

The number of hymns, 1,017, is the same as that given in the Anuvākānukramaṇī indexed in the Sarvānukrama, and found in the Vulgate. But our Dhūndhū differs from the last in *omitting* one of the 11 Vālakhilya hymns, that beginning with Yamṛtvijo (VIII 58), but agrees with the Sarvānukrama, for this also omits the hymn, and the commentary noticed above agrees with the text, as it contains no reference to it As the Vulgate is identified with the school of Āśvalāyama, the slightly different text represented by the Sarvānukrama must be the one prevalent in some other School.

The author of the Bhāṣya on the Caraṇavyūha often noticed by scholars gives the omission of VIII 58, as a peculiarity of the text of the Saṁhitā studied by the followers of the Śāṅkhāyana Sūtra. At the same time he notices

the insertion of two of the three verses composing the hymn into X. 88, but only as a Khila and consequently not to be counted. The work before me does not notice the insertion probably just on this account, assigning to the hymn nineteen verses, which it has in the Vulgate. The text as represented by the Sarvānukrama is thus in its entirety the text of the Śānkhāyana School, and this is confirmed by the fact that my Manuscript which agrees with it, was got from a Brahman of the Śānkhāyana Śākhā living at a village called Brāhmapol about two miles from Jaypur It follows, therefore, that the only difference between the Samhitās of the schools of Āśvalāyana and Śānkhāyana consisted in the addition or omission of VIII 58.

But the statement of the commentator and this conclusion are contested by Professor Oldenberg And the grounds are these In the Upākaraṇa ceremony, usually called Śrāvaṇī by us, after the name of the month in which it is performed, oblations are thrown into the fire after the repetition of the first and last verses of each Maṇḍala. In the Śānkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra the last verse that is directed to be repeated is Tacchamyorāvṛṇīmahe &c, which therefore must have been the last verse of the tenth Maṇḍala of the Samhitā followed by Śānkhāyana Similarly in another place in the Sūtra the teacher's having taught to his pupil the whole of the Veda ending with Śamyor Bārhaspatya is spoken of Śamyor Bārhaspatya here means, according to Vināyaka the commentator on the Sūtra, the second of the two verses Tacchamyor, &c Now on the evidence of a Kārikā quoted in a Prayoga noticed by Prof. Weber in his first Berlin Catalogue (p 314), it is concluded that the Bāṣkala Samhitā of the Ṛgveda ended with the verse Tac cham yor, &c. There is also more evidence to the same effect, or rather the source of the evidence adduced by Professors Weber and Oldenberg, and the statements of subsequent authors based on that source, which are not noticed by the two scholars.

The Kārikā itself occurs in the work entitled Āśvalāyanagṛhya-Kārikā attributed to Kumārila. Whether this writer is the same as Kumārila, the great Mīmāṃsaka, is a point which I at least do not consider to be settled. There is a copy of it in the Collection for 1883-84 and bears No. 509. The Collection A. of 1881-82 made by me contains two copies of a Bhāṣya on the Kārikās (Nos. 176 and 177) No. 176 is an excellent Manuscript and contains the original as well as the commentary. The author of the latter does not give his name, and though the name Nārāyaṇa does occur in one place, still it is written in such a manner as to leave it highly doubtful whether it is meant as the name of the commentator In the introduction we are told, "First of all Nārāyaṇa, the author of the Vṛtti, composed his work, as it was difficult for persons of little learning, who had simply a smattering of a part of the sacred lore, to perform the various ceremonies prescribed by Āśvalāyana with the help of the Sūtra alone Taking that Vṛtti as a basis and considering the views of Jayanta and others which are in conformity with the Sūtra, the author of the Kārikā composed the Kārikā setting forth the procedure in order. Still some people neglecting this Kārikā, though of use to carry one through the rites, on account of the difficulty arising from his brevity, and regarding a Paddhati (manual) alone to be useful in this respect, perform the rites for themselves and cause others to perform them in accordance with it. Therefore, on account of the impossibility of removing doubts by a mere Paddhati as to what is first, and what last, whether a thing exists or does not exist in the whole body of the rites prescribed in the Gṛhya Sūtra, some one, through the favour of the deity presiding over the ceremonial, having sat at the feet of a master, the like of whom is not to be found, of the name of Vuppadevabhaṭṭa residing in the city of Kalamba and belonging to the Āśvalāyana school of the Ṛgveda, for receiving instruction in the sense of the Kārikā, is now expounding the whole Kārikā

for removing doubts concerning the body of rites that are performed, making use of what was taught to him by the master."[1]

From this it appears that the Kārikā was written in accordance with Nārāyaṇa's Vṛtti, the views of Jayanta and others being also represented And in the work the Bhagavadvṛttikṛt and Jayanta are frequently mentioned.[2] Now, as regards the point in question, Naidhruva-Nārāyaṇa's Vṛtti on Āśv. Gṛ III 5. 9, is "It is well known to students that this itself (and no other) is the Sūtra and Gṛhya of the Śākala traditional text and the Bāṣkala text. For the Śākalas 'Samānī va ākūtiḥ' is the verse, because it is the final one of their Saṁhitā, while for the Bāṣkalas 'Tacchamyorāvṛṇīmahe' is the one, being at the end of their Samhitā. This construction is proper "[3]

The Kārikā based on this Vṛtti is that noticed by Professor Weber in the first Berlin Catalogue, and runs thus —"The

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1 तत्राद्यावाश्वलायनगृह्यसूत्रमात्रेणैवाल्पव्युत्पत्तिमतामध्ययनैकदेश-स्पर्शिनां तदुक्ततत्कर्मनिर्वाहो दुस्तर इति वृत्तिकृन्नारायणो वृत्तिमकरोत्। तामेव वृत्तिं पुरस्कृत्य सूत्रार्थानुकूलाञ्जयन्तादीन्विचार्य कारिकाकारः क्रमेणैवेतिकर्तव्यताकारिणीं कारिकां चकार। तथाप्यत्र केचन संक्षेपकाठिन्यात्कर्मनिर्वाहकारिणीमपि कारिकां निवार्य पद्धतिमेवात्रोपयोगिनीमवधार्य कर्म कारयन्ति कुर्वन्ति च। अतः कोप्यत्र कर्मदेवतानुग्रहेण गृह्योक्तसकलकर्मसु किमादौ किमन्ते किमस्ति किंवा नास्तीत्यादिरूपं संदेहं केवलं पद्धत्या दूरीकर्तुमशक्यत्वात्कारिकार्थ-परिज्ञानार्थमृग्वेदान्तःपातिन्यामाश्वलायनशाखायां कलम्बपुरवासिनं लोकोत्तरं कुप्पदेवभट्टाख्यं गुरुमुपास्य तदुक्तिमेव निमित्तीकृत्य क्रियमाणकर्मकलापसंदेहापनुत्तये तावतीमेव कारिकां विवृणोति। (From No. 176 of A 1881-82)

2 See also Dr. Bühler's review of my last Report, Ind Ant., Vol. XVIII., p. 188 A.

3 p. 168, Bibl. Ind. Ed.

last oblation (Āhuti) thrown into the fire of the Śākalas is after [the repetition of] the Ṛk 'Samānī vaḥ' and the last oblation of the Bāṣkalas after [the repetition of] the Ṛk 'Tacchaṁyor,"[1] The commentary on this is —"In the province of the Ṛgveda there are five different Śākhās, Āśvalāyanī Sāmkhyāyanī, the Śākalas, Bāṣkalas and Māṇḍūkas. Of these, the last oblation of the Śākalas is by repeating 'Samānī va' and the last oblation of the Bāṣkalas is by repeating 'Tacchamyor' Everything else is the same This same Āśvalāyana Sūtra is of use for the performance of the rites to the followers of the Āśvalāyana Śākhā and to the Śākalas and Bāṣkalas "[2] Jayanta in the Vimalodayamālā thus speaks about the point —" Since this itself (and no other) is the Sūtra of Śākala and Bāṣkala and this the Gṛhya of the two Samhitās, those who end their Saṁhitā by the verse 'Samānī va ākūtiḥ,' throw an oblatian into the fire after repeating this verse and then offer to the Sviṣṭakṛt, while those who read 'Tacchaṁyorāvṛṇīmahe' at the end of their text, throw an oblation on repeating that verse and then offer to the Sviṣṭakṛt, and not on repeating 'Samānī va ākūtiḥ.' This sense is obtained from the word Ekā which occurs in both the Sūtras "[3]

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1 शाकलानां समानीव इत्यृचान्त्याहुतिर्भवेत् । बाष्कलानां तु तच्छंयोरित्यृचान्त्याहुतिर्भवेत् । (From No 509 of 1883-84 and 176 of A. 1881-82)

2 ऋग्वेदे पञ्च शाखाभेदाः । आश्वलायनी सांख्यायनी शाकला बाष्कला माण्डूकाश्चेति । तेषां मध्ये शाकलानां समानीव इत्यृचान्त्याहुतिर्भवति बाष्कलानां तु तच्छंयोरित्यृचान्त्याहुतिर्भवति । इतरत्सर्वं समानम् । आश्वलायनशाखानुसारिणां शाकलबाष्कलानां चेदमेवाश्वलायनसूत्रं कर्मानुष्ठानार्थमुपकरोति ।

3 यतः शाकलबाष्कलयोरेतदेव सूत्रं द्वयोः संहितयोर्गृह्यं च । तत्र ये समानीव आकूतिरित्यनया संहितायाः पारं गच्छन्ति ते समानीव

It will thus be seen that the source of the information used by Professor Oldenberg is Naidhruva-Nārāyaṇa's statement in the Vṛtti, and though Jayanta's direct connection with Nārāyaṇa's work is not mentioned, still the passage from his* work is so very much alike to that occurring in the Vṛtti, that there is hardly any reasonable doubt that it is based on the Vṛtti or both derived from a common source. If then the Bāṣkala Saṁhitā ended with 'Tacchaṁyor,' &c., while the Śākala with 'Samānī va ākūtiḥ,' the Śāṅkhāyana Sūtra, which prescribes 'Tacchaṁyor,' etc., as the verse for the last oblation in the Upākaraṇa ceremony, must be a Sūtra of the Bāṣkala Śākhā; and as according to Śaunaka the Saṁhitā of this Śākhā had eight hymns more than that of the Śākalas, and the arrangement of some of the smaller books composing the first Maṇḍala was different, it follows that the statement of the commentator on the Caraṇavyūha that Śāṅkhāyana's Saṁhitā differed from Āśvalāyana's, which is the same as that of the Śākalas, only in excluding VIII. 58, cannot be true, and there is no Saṁhitā exactly corresponding to the Sarvānukrama, which also excludes this hymn, and though my Manuscript was in the possession of a Brahman of the Śāṅkhāyana school, as other works of that school were, still it should be considered not as representing the Saṁhitā of that school.

But it must not be forgotten that those same writers, who give us the information which leads us to these conclusions, tell us as a fact well-known to students of Āśvalāyana's Sūtra that, that was the Sūtra of the Bāṣkalas as well as the Śākalas. The same fact is stated by Gārgya-Nārāyaṇa in his comment on the first Śrauta Sūtra of Āśvalāyana. The expression 'Idam eva' or

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* आकूतिरित्यनयैव हुत्वा स्विष्टकृतं जुहृति। ये तच्छंयोरावृणीमह इति समाम्नायान्ते पठन्ति ते तयैव हुत्वा स्विष्टकृतं जुहृति न समानी व आकूतिरिति। अयमर्थ उभयोरेकैकग्रहणात्।

'Etad eva' used by them would show that this itself or this alone was, according to the commentators, the Sūtra of the Bāṣkalas; and if the Śaṅkhāyana Sūtra was peculiarly theirs and the Āśvalāyana of the Śākalas, they were not aware of the fact. Again, the traditional number of Ṛks, 10,580¼, is not given by the existing Śākala Samhitā, that ends with 'Samānī va ākūtiḥ,' &c., and the real number falls short of this by 15.

This confusion is, it will be seen, based on Nārāyaṇa's interpretation of Āśvalāyana's Sūtras on the Upākaraṇa, III. 5, 8 and 9, which assigns definitely one of the verses to the one school, and the other to the other, and will disappear if we interpret the Sūtras in a manner which, though it may differ from that of Nārāyaṇa, is still consistent with the positive information given to us by him and the other authors. By the use of the word Ekā in III 5 8, Nārāyaṇa understands that Āśvalāyana directs the use of the verse 'Samānī va ākūtiḥ' to the exclusion of 'Tacchamyorāvṛṇīmahe' prescribed in the next Sūtra, and by the word Ekā in this last Sūtra, the use of this last verse alone is meant to be prescribed to the exclusion of the other. Thus the sense, he says, is, that or this is to be used i e, Vikalpa or option is here allowed, but it is a Vyavasthita Vikalpa, i.e, one course is to be followed by one class of men and the other by another

Now Āśvalāyana's usual way of expressing a Vikalpa is by the use of the word 'Vā' as in I. 10. 9, I. 11. 13, I 14. 5, I. 15 6, I 19 2, I. 20 1, &c., &c., and we find the word used even a little before in the section under consideration in the Sūtra III. 5 3 Different courses for two classes of persons are prescribed by naming one of the classes as in I. 7. 9, where the Jāmadagnas are mentioned, and I 10. 19, where we have the Pañcāvattis, or by using the word Eke, i e., "some," as in I. 4. 2, I 13. 6, &c So, then, if he meant the verse mentioned in III. 5. 8, for the Śākalas, and that in III. 5.

9, for the Bāṣkalas, we should expect him to name the first School in the first Sūtra or the second in the second At any rate, even if this mode of expression should be considered unnecessrry, the word Vā is quite indispensable And Nārāyaṇa himself is by no means certain about the explanation he has given ; for he winds it up with the words 'Ityevaṁ niveśo yuktaḥ,' which means "this construction is reasonable," or, according to the sense of the word Niveśa as used by the grammarians, it means "Āśvalāyana should properly have put in words to that effect." Again, the word is interpreted here by Nārāyaṇa in quite a different sense from that in which he interprets it in III. 5 6.

The true explanation seems to me to be this. Āśvalāyana evidently meant to prescribe the first and the last verse of each Maṇḍala. But since those for whom he wrote were supposed to know the whole Samhitā by heart continuously without proper divisions, or perhaps to possess a book in which the verses were written continuously without a break, he prescribes a pair of verses in each case, the first of which is the last of the previous Maṇḍala and the second the first of the next Maṇḍala. This mode of statement can evidently not be used in prescribing the first verse of the first Maṇḍala or the last verse of the last Maṇḍala, and they must be prescribed singly But to prevent the possibility of the learner connecting the word Dvyṛca "pair of verses" with the first verse that has to be prescribed singly and of his repeating the second verse also of the first Maṇḍala, the word Ekā is used in the Sūtra III 5. 6, Agnimīḍe purohitamityekā But there is no such necessity in the Sūtra which prescribes the last verse of the tenth Maṇḍala, for even if the word "pair" were brought over to it, it could have no signification, as nothing follows the last verse. If, notwithstanding this, the word Ekā is used in that Sūtra also, it follows that there were some verses in the Samhitā which came after

the last verse of the tenth Maṇḍala 'Samānī va ākūtiḥ.' And Āśvalāyana prescribes the last of these verses also in III. 5. 9, but there too the word Ekā is used. What could be the purpose of the word here?

We can understand the purpose only if we suppose that the verses which followed 'Samānī va ākūtiḥ' constituted such a hymn as the Saṁjñāna hymn with fifteen Ṛks as given by the commentator on the Caraṇavyūha, the fifth of which was 'Tacchamyor,' etc, and the fifteenth or the last also the same If the word ekā had not been used in the Sūtra which prescribes 'Tacchamyor,' etc, the learner by connecting the word "pair" with it might have used the first 'Tacchamyor,' etc, i e, the fifth verse of the hymn and along with it the sixth also Nairhastyam, etc But Ekā prevents the use of this, and the result is that the last verse of the hymn is prescribed

But now the question arises, if another hymn followed 'Samānī va ākūtiḥ,' why does Āśvalāyana not prescribe its last verse only Tacchamyor, etc, as is done by Śāṅkhāyana, and why does he prescribe Samānī va ākūtiḥ, also? The reason must, I think, be sought for in some such fact as this, that in his time there was no general agreement that the Ṛk Saṁhitā ended with Samānī va ākūtiḥ, but that some included the Saṁjñāna hymn also in it To meet both these views he prescribes both the verses So that there is no Vikalpa or option here to be construed as resulting in the prescribing of two different Ṛks for two different schools; but 21 Ṛks are prescribed and 21 Āhutis or oblations for the followers of the Ṛk Saṁhitā. And since the authors of the commentaries on both the Śrauta and Gṛhya Sūtras, as well as Jayanta, inform us of the tradition that Āśvalāyana's Sūtra was intended for the Śākalas as well as the Bāṣkalas, the 21 Ṛks and Āhutis must be understood as laid down for both.

If then Nārāyaṇa's interpretation that Āśvalāyana lays down two courses for the two schools is to be rejected and we must suppose that Āśvalāyana prescribes 'Tacchaṁyor' &c., because the Saṁjñāna hymn formed a part of his Saṁhitā, though not acknowledged as such by all, the reason why Śāṅkhāyana prescribes Tacchamyor etc. only, must be, not that his Sūtra is peculiarly the Sūtra of the Bāṣkala school, for that fact is implicitly denied by our scholiasts, but because he acknowledged the Samjñana hymn as decidedly the last hymn of the Saṁhitā, and probably the view of its being apocryphal was not started in his time, or he neglected it. Thus like Āśvalāyana's Sūtra, Śāṅkhāyana's also was intended for both the Śākalas and the Bāṣkalas, that is, the first two are Sūtra Śākhās only, and do not represent any difference in the Samhitā

That the Āśvalāyana School is a Sūtra Śākhā only and is not tied down to a particular Saṁhitā is, in addition to the statement of the scholiasts, also pointed to by the present practice of Brahmans of that school, who at the end of their Samdhyā adorations have to speak of themselves individually as Ṛgvedāntargata Āśvalā yana-Śākala-śākhādhyāyin The name Śākala is added to show the Saṁhitā, as the name Āśvalāyana in itself is not sufficient to show it

But the view that the Samjñāna hymn was apocryphal, which is only indicated by Āśvalāyana, gradually gained strength, especially in the Śākala school, through the influence of the Anukramaṇī which rejects it, and it was thrown out of the Saṁhitā; but probably the Bāṣkalas did not keep pace with the Śākalas in this respect, and hence the statement of Nārāyaṇa and others that the Saṁhitā of the former had 'Tacchaṁyor,' etc., for its ending verse. But though the Śākalas rejected it, the verse 'Tacchaṁyor,' etc., is at the present day repeated every day by the followers of the school in winding up the Saṁdhyāvandana and the Brahmayajña. It is repeated

before the verse 'Namo Brahmaṇe.' The last is prescribed by Āśvalāyana in III. 3. 4, and both in the Gṛhyapariśiṣṭa (Bibl. Ind. Ed., p 270, 1, 8)

The Bāṣkala Saṁhitā seems not to be extant now. For the author of the commentary on the Caraṇavyūha, after giving its peculiarities on the authority of a Vṛtti on the Anukramaṇī, says, Evamadhyanābhāvacchākhābhāvaḥ, "the Śakhā does not exist because such a text is not studied" The only Saṁhitā, therefore, to which both Āśvalāyana and Śāṅkhāyana now refer is that of the Śākala school Hence this statement of the commentator on the Caraṇavyūha that the only difference between them is the exclusion or inclusion of Rgveda, VIII. 58, and herein is the explanation of the fact that our No. 39 belonged to a Śānkhāyana Brahman

The Samjñāna hymn of fifteen verses having thus very likely formed originally a part of the Śākala Samhitā, one can understand why it is necessary to add the number of verses contained in it to make up the traditional number of 10,580¼ It may here be remarked that the Sūtras of Āśvalāyana and Śānkhāyana about the Upākarana oblations that we have been discussing, are adduced by the commentator on the Caranavyūha as authorities for including that hymn in the text One can understand how, in his eye, the Sūtra of the latter is an authority, believing as he did that the Samhitā of Śānkhāyana was the same as that of the Śākala school But he has not explained the significance of Āśvalāyana's giving the last verse of X. 191, and also of the Samjñāna hymn He, of course, does not adopt Nārāyaṇa's interpretation According to the commentator the Saṁhitā of all the Ṛgveda schools is the same, which, of course, is true, as we have seen in the case of the four that are extant. The fifth Māṇḍukī has not yet been traced.

There are two copies recently transcribed of the Caraṇavyūha-bhāṣya in the Deccan College Collections, No. 19 of 1871-72 and

No. 5 of 1873-74. Neither of them contains the name of the author. But the work has been lithographed at Benares and also printed in the Benares Sanskrit Series as an appendix of the edition of the Prātiśākhya of the White Yajurveda. In both, the name of the commentator is given as Mahīdāsa, who wrote the work in the year (expired) Tridaśāṅgadharāmite, which, in the edition in the Benares Sanskrit Series, is given as equivalent to 1613, but which really means 1633, tridaśa meaning 33, the traditional number of the gods This Mahidāsa or Mahīdāsa is probably the same as the author of the commentary on the Līlāvatī written in 1644 Samvat and noticed in my Report for 1883-84 under No 205 (pp. 82 and 368).[1]

ĀPASTAMBADHVANITĀRTHAKĀRIKĀS

No. 83 is a transcript of Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana's Āpastambadhvanitārthakārikās. In my last Report I gave the results[2] of the examination of the fourth part of the work. The following is a list of the authors and works quoted in the first three parts.—

I.—Adhikāra Kāṇḍa

Ātharvaṇa Sūtra 15 *b* 1.
Āpastamba 4 *b* 9.
Kaṭha 17 *a* 12.
Karka 24 *b* 1; 25 *a* 6.
Kātīya 22 *b* 9.
Keśavasiddhānta 19 *b* 5
Keśavasvāmin 21 *a* 11.
Jaimini 23 *a* 2.
Devala 21 *b* 12.
Baudhāyanamata 5 *a* 7, 24 *b* 5
Bhāradvāja 6 *a* 11.
Bhāradvājasūtrabhāṣyakṛt 4*b* 10.
Bhāradvājīya 24 *a* 10.
Bhāradvājīyabhāṣya 23 *a* 14.
Mantrabrāhmaṇabhāṣyakṛt 25 *a* 6.
Laugākṣi 24 *a* 12
Laugākṣikārikā 17 *a* 8.
Vāmana 21 *b* 3.
Vārtikadarśana 15 *a* 3.
Śālīkanātha 14 *b* 13.
Śabdānusārin 18 *b* 3.

1 Ante, p. 307. [N. B. U.]
2 Ante, pp. 101 ff. [N. B. U.]

II.—Pratinidhi Kāṇḍa

Āpastamba 5 *a* 7.
Āśvalāyana 3 *b* 12; 10 *b* 11.
Kaṭha 6 *a* 5; 9 *a* 6· 9 *b* 1, 10 *a* 6, 9.
Kaṭhaśākhinaḥ 5 *a* 5.
Kaṭhaśruti 5 *a* 7, 8, 11.
Kaṭhāśaya 7 *a* 12.
Kātīyasūtra 4 *a* 14.
Kātyāyanāśaya 1 *b* 9; Kātyāyana 6 *b* 14.
Kalpabhāṣya 9 *b* 11.
Keśavasiddhānta 7 *a* 3.
Chandoga 2 *a* 5.
Kauṣītakibhiḥ 2 *a* 4.
Chandogagṛhya 2 *b* 11; 3 *a* 6.
Dāmodara 3 *a* 4.
Bahvṛc 2 *a* 5.
Baudhāyana 1 *b* 14, 2 *b* 14; 3 *a* 7 8; 4 *b* 10; 6 *a* 14.
Bhāradvāja—Bharadvāja 3 *a* 7, 13; 4 *a* 5, 4 *b* 1, 4, 6 *b* 6; 7 *a* 13.
Bhāradvājīyabhāṣya 8 *a* 12.
Mādhyaṁdinaśruti 3 *a* 3.
Vājinām 7 *a* 14.
Vidhiratnamata 4 *b* 11.
Sāmagāḥ 5 *b* 5.

III.—Punarādhāna Kāṇḍa

Ātharvaṇa 5 *b* 6.
Karka 7 *b* 8, 8 *a* 6.
Karmadīpa 28 *a* 13, *b* 5
Kātyāyana 24 *b* 2, 6.
Kauṣītakiśruti 14 *a* 8.
Chandogapariśiṣṭa 16 *a* 1, 21 *a* 6.
Bahvṛc 4 *b* 9, 11; 32 *b* 3.
Baudhāyana 4 *b* 6; 19 *b* 1.
Baudhāyanīyaka 32 *a* 12; 35 *b* 1.
Bhavanāga 32 *b* 3.
Bhavabhāṣya 19 *b* 8
Bhāradvāja 17 *a* 3, 28 *b* 5.
Mādhyaṁdinaśruti 4 *a* 5, 11.
Yajñapārśva 30 *b* 7.
Laugākṣi 13 *b* 8, 25 *a* 7, 13.
Vājinaḥ 4 *b* 10.
Satyāṣāḍhādi 4 *a* 11.
Sūtrakāra 3 *a* 13.

The Vāmana in the list of the first part is spoken of as having given a certain opinion on a sacrificial point in commenting on the Puruṣārthādhikaraṇa (Brahmasūtra, III 4.1.) He thus appears to be an old writer on the Vedānta.

Devala, Dāmodara, Laugākṣikārikā, Karmadīpa and Bhavabhāṣya, mentioned in the first three Kāṇḍas do not occur in the fourth, a list of the names mentioned in

which is given in my Report for 1883-84[1] "Jaimini" given in that Report under the head of "other authors" must be considered to be the author of a Kalpa Sūtra.

Professor Hillebrandt states in the preface to his edition of the Śāṅkhāyana Sūtra that Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana ignores wholly the Sūtra of Śāṅkhāyana and adduces the authority of my last Report. In the first group of names at page 28 of the Report,[2] I have put down Śāṅkhāyana occurring twice in the fourth part of Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana's work as the name of a Vedic Śākhā or school to be on the safe side But it is quite possible, or even probable that in the two passages, the author means to speak of the author of the Sūtra, for Śāṅkhāyanāśaya, or the opinion of Śāṅkhāyana, is what is spoken of Still, from the fact that the name does not occur in the first three parts of Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana's work, and occurs only twice in the fourth, it would appear that the Sūtra was rarely studied as is stated by the Professor.

DIGAMBARA JAINA LITERATURE

DHARMAPARĪKṢĀ OF AMITAGATI

In the Collection of Manuscripts of the Digambara sect of Jainas, we have a copy of a work of Amitagati not known before, the Dharmaparīkṣā, as well as one of his Subhāṣitaratnasamdoha. The date of this last is known to be 1050 of the Vikrama era, while that of the new work is given at the end to be 1070, corresponding to 1014 A D

In this work, Amitagati represents a demi-god (Vidyādhara) of the name of Manovega, son of a prince of demi-gods of the name of Ajātaśatru, to be a devout follower of the Jaina faith. He had a friend of the name of Pavanavega, who, however, was not a Jaina. Manovega ardently desired

1 Ante, pp. 101 ff [N.B.U.]

2 Ante, p. 101. [N B U.]

that his friend should be of the same faith with himself; and while moving in his aerial car and thinking in what way he should be converted, his car stumbled when he reached Ujjayinī. Then getting down near the great garden of the city, he found a famous Jaina saint of the name of Jinamati discoursing on religion. At the end of the discourse, which is given at some length, the Vidyādhara asked the saint whether his friend would ever become a believer, and was told that he would, if Manovega went to Puṣpapura with him, showed him the contradictions and discrepancies in the doctrines of other sects by conversing with the followers of these, and instructed him by arguments and illustrations.

Manovega accordingly went with his friend to Puṣpapura. The method he follows is, on each occasion, to assume a different form, to go to the place in that form, beat a drum, and sit on what is called the 'golden' seat. People of all sorts gather round him, he shows them something which is out of the ordinary course of things, or tells a story with many inconsistencies and improbabilities, and when they raise questions he asks them whether, in their own religious works and beliefs, there are not things equally out of the way and equally inconsistent and improbable After they admit that there are, he turns to his friend and calls his attention to these faults in the ordinary religious works of the Brahmans, and thus endeavours gradually to convert him to his faith.

Thus, at the first visit to Puṣpapura, the two friends appear as young men adorned with golden ornaments and gems, and still bearing heaps of hay and faggots of firewood to sell The people asked them the reason of this incongruity, whereupon Manovega, after telling them a good many stories of unthinking persons who do not consider a thing properly or impartially, to induce them to give a calm consideration to his observations, asks them in return how it was

that the Great Viṣṇu—the Creator, Protector, and Destroyer of the world, by whose mercy men attain to eternal bliss, and who pervades everything, and is eternal and pure,—became a cowherd in Nanda's Gokula, and looked after the cows and played with the cowherds, how it was that he went to Duryodhana as a messenger at the bidding of the son of Pāṇḍu like an ordinary foot-soldier, how it was that on the battlefield he became Pārtha's charioteer and drove his chariot, how it was that he became a dwarf and, like a beggar, begged of Bali in humiliating terms a piece of land, and how it was that the All-knowing, the All-pervading, the Unchangeable Protector of the world, was oppressed in every way by the fire of separation from Sītā like a mortal lover. "If Viṣṇu does things like this, no mortal can be blamed for doing them; if a mother-in-law is ill-conducted, the daughter-in-law cannot be reproached for acting likewise. When the whole world is in the inside of him, how can Sītā be taken away from him ? Nothing existing in space can be taken out of space If the god is all-pervading, how can he be separated from his beloved ? If he is eternal, how can he be afflicted with separation ? How can the Lord of the world do the behests of others ? Kings do not do the work of their servants. How can the All-knowing ask others (what he does not know), how can the Ruler (of all) beg, how can the Wakeful sleep, or the Unsensual be a lover ? How can He, like an ordinary miserable being, become a fish, a tortoise, a boar, a man-lion, a dwarf and three Rāmas successively ?"[1]

After having argued thus with the Brahmans, he went to the garden and spoke to his friend in the same strain "Friend, I will tell you another thing. There are six periods mentioned in the Bhārata in order, having each its peculiarity like the

1 स मत्स्यः कच्छपः कस्मात्सूकरो नरकेसरी ।
वामनोऽभूत् त्रिधा रामः परः प्राणीव दुःखितः ॥

seasons. In the fourth period there were sixty-three eminent men: the twelve Supreme Sovereigns, the twenty-four Arhantas (Jinas), and nine Rāmas, nine Keśavas, and the nine enemies of these nine. All of them have passed away; there is no substance existing that is not destroyed by death (time). The last of the Viṣṇus (Keśavas) was the son of Vasudeva, and his Brahman devotees call him the Pure, the Supreme Being. (They say) 'He who meditates on the god Viṣṇu, who is all-pervading, a whole without parts, indestructible and unchangeable, and who frees a man from old age and death, is free from misery.' He is traditionally known to have ten (forms) —A fish, a tortoise, a boar, a man-lion, Vāmana, Rāma, Rāma, and Rāma, Buddha, and Kalkin.[1] Having spoken of him as a whole without parts, they represent him to have ten different forms though there is inconsistency."

It will be seen that the idea of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu had become quite an article of ordinary belief by the year 1070 of the Vikrama era or 1014 A.D., and Buddha had been received into the popular Brahmanic pantheon. In the first of the two verses quoted in the notes, the two last incarnations have been omitted, probably because the object was to represent the birth of Viṣṇu in previous ages of the world, while the ninth belongs to the present and the tenth to a future age.

On another occasion Manovega transforms himself into a Pulinda and his friend into a cat without ears, and offers the cat for sale, saying that the smell of the cat drove mice away for ten or twelve Yojanas on all sides. In the story he told of the cat

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1 मीनः कूर्मः पृथुः प्रोक्तो नारसिंहोऽथ वामनः ।
रामो रामश्च रामश्च बुद्धः कल्की दश स्मृताः ॥

There is a marginal note on पृथु in which the word is explained as meaning सूकर or "boar." The three Rāmas are, of course, Paraśurāma, Rāma the son of Daśaratha, and Balarāma or Kṛṣṇa.

the Brahmans discovered an incongruity ; and Maṇovega, on his part, tells the following story as occurring in one of the Purāṇas of the Brahmans containing like incongruities.

There was a recluse of the name of Maṇḍapa Kauśika. On one occasion he sat down to dinner along with other recluses. Seeing him sitting in their company, the recluses rose up, afraid to touch him as if he were a Cāṇḍāla. Maṇḍapa Kauśika asked them why they rose up, as they should at the sight of a dog. They told him that he had become a recluse immediately after he had been a Brahmacārin, and without going through the intermediate order by marrying a wife and seeing the face of a son. A man without a son does not go to Heaven, nor are religious mortifications successful if gone through by one in that condition. He then went away and asked men of his caste to give him a girl in marriage, but as he had become an old man, nobody would give his daughter to him Thereupon he went back to the recluses and told them of this, when they advised him to marry a widow and assume the life of a householder By doing so no sin was incurred by either party, as stated in the scriptures of the recluses (Tāpasāgame). For, they said

पत्यो (त्यौ)प्रव्रजिते क्लीबे प्रनष्टे पतिते मृते ।
पञ्चस्वापत्सु नारीणां पतिरन्यो विधीयते ॥

" In these five distressful conditions, viz , when the husband has renounced the world, is an eunuch, is not found, has fallen away from caste, or is dead, another husband is allowed to women "

The text on this subject occurring in the Smṛtis of Parāśara and Nārada, and also in that of Manu, according to a statement of Mādhava contained in his commentary on Parāśara, though not found there now, is

नष्टे मृते प्रव्रजिते क्लीबे च पतिते पतौ ।
पञ्चस्वापत्सु नारीणां पतिरन्यो विधीयते ॥

The difference between the two texts is little ; the words are merely transposed in the first line, and we have प्रनष्टे for नष्टे. This transposition, however, allows of the proper locative पत्यौ of पति being used without the violation of the metre.

In connection with another story of a re-marriage, the Brahmans of Kusumapura are represented to have said to Manovega, who had on that occasion appeared there in the form of an ascetic, "Even if a woman is married once, when through ill-luck the husband dies, it is fit that she should go through the ceremony [of marriage] again, provided there has been no cohabitation. When the husband has gone away from home, a good wife should wait for eight years if she has already borne a child, and for four if she has not. If husbands in five such conditions are taken when there is reason, the women do not incur sin. This is what Vyāsa and others say."[1]

From all this, it follows that widow-marriage was not a thing unheard of in 1014 A D., and that the principal Smṛti texts were very well-known at the time and quoted in support of it

The story goes on. Maṇḍapa Kauśika married a widow as directed by the recluses , and they lived together as husband and wife.. A girl was born to them, and she grew to be a woman of uncommon beauty. Her name was Chāyā. Subsequently, Maṇḍapa Kauśika conceived the idea of going with his

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1 एकदा परिणीतापि विपन्ने दैवः (दैव) योगतः ।
भर्तर्यक्षतयोनिः स्त्री पुनःसंस्कारमर्हति ॥
प्रतीक्षता(ते)ष्ट वर्षाणि प्रसूता वनितां(ता)सती ।
अप्रसूता च चत्वारि प्रोषिते सति भर्तरि ।
पञ्चस्वेषु गृहीतेषु कारणे सति भर्तृषु ।
न दोषो विद्यते स्त्रीणां व्यासादीनामिदं वचः ॥

The numeral 'five' here must refer to the five cases mentioned in the text given above

wife on a pilgrimage to holy places; but as Chāyā, on account of her tender age, could not be taken along with them, he was for a long time considering who would be the proper person to whose care he should commit her. Brahman, Viṣṇu, and Śiva would not do, on account of their various misdeeds in matters of women, which are here narrated in detail and with zest; and the only person fit to take care of the girl was Yama, the God of Death. The father committed the girl to his care and went away with his wife Yama, however, enamoured of her beauty, used her as his wife, but, in order that she might not be seen and taken away from him, he concealed her in his stomach.

After some time, Vāyu, the God of Wind, remarked to his friend Agni, the God of Fire, that Yama was the happiest of the gods, living as he did in the company of a woman of incomparable beauty Agni asked how he could have access to her, but Vāyu replied that Yama concealed her in his stomach and it was not possible even to see her. Still, he said, when Yama went to perform ablutions and the sin-wiping ceremony (Aghamarṣaṇa) he disgorged her, and then only she was to be found alone. Agni took advantage of that opportunity and appeared before her on one occasion. He could win her easily and spent some time in amorous intercourse with her. When it was time for Yama to come back, Chāyā told Agni to disappear, as he would destroy both of them if seen together. But Agni refused to go, whereupon she swallowed him and kept him concealed in her stomach.

Agni having thus disappeared from the world, the usual course of sacrifices and of cooking was interrupted, and gods and men were greatly troubled. Thereupon Indra told Vāyu to find out Agni. Vāyu searched for him everywhere, but did not find him He informed Indra of this, but said that there was one place which he had not searched and

where he was likely to be found. Thereupon he invited all the gods to a feast. He gave one seat and one offering to each of the gods, but provided Yama with three. Yama asked why he gave him three. If he was thinking of his beloved who was concealed within him, he should give two; but why three? Vāyu promised to explain the reason, and told him to disgorge Chāyā. This Yama did, and when Chāyā appeared, Vāyu told her to disgorge Agni. She did let out Agni accordingly and everybody was surprised.

Here we have one of the many stories about the disappearance of Agni.

In this way the Vidyādhara goes on transforming himself into a different person on each occasion, discoursing with the Brahmans and afterwards pointing out the absurdities of the Brahmanic sacred books to his friend. The following are some of the observations he addresses to the latter. "All people divide property between themselves everywhere, but the division of a woman [among several men] is censured even by the censurable.[1] The Vyāsa who was the son of Yojanagandhā was a different man from him who was the son of Satyavatī, a happy princess. Parāśara the king was a different man from Parāśāra the ascetic, people confound them, being deluded by the identity of name. Duryodhana and others were the sons of Gāndhārī, and Dhṛtarāṣṭra, the five Pāṇḍavas are well-known in the world as the sons of Kuntī and Mādrī. All the sons of Gāndhārī, together with Karṇa, allied themselves with Jarāsaṁdha and the Pāṇḍavas with Keśava. The powerful Vāsudeva, having killed Jarāsaṁdha in battle, became the [one] lord of the earth on the whole surface of the earth. The sons of Kuntī having practised religious austerities went to the place of Śiva or a holy place;

1 This is an allusion to Draupadī's becoming the wife of the five Pāṇḍavas.

the two sons of Mādrī being desirous of salvation attained to accomplishment in all respects. Duryodhana and the rest having resorted to the teaching of the Jina reached the abode of the gods in accordance with their respective deeds. This is old history, but it is told in a different manner by Vyāsa, how can men whose minds are warped by a false faith speak the truth?"

Again, Manovega said to his friend, "You have heard the Śāstra of our opponents which is full of incredible things. He who follows their precepts or the directions laid down by them does not obtain the desired fruit. Does anybody ever obtain oil by wringing sand? It is not possible for monkeys to kill Rākṣasas, what a difference between gods possessed of the eight great virtues and unintelligent brute creatures! How can huge mountains be lifted up by monkeys, and how can they stand (float) on the sea the waters of which are deep? If Rāvaṇa became incapable of being killed by the gods through a boon [of Śiva], how could a god becoming a man kill him? It will not do even to say that gods became monkeys and killed the Rākṣasas, you do not get what you want even thus How can the All-knowing Śaṁkara grant such a boon—a boon which was the source of irremediable harm to the world, even to the gods? When one thinks over the Purāṇas of the opponents, one finds no worth in them, can anybody find butter by churning water? These [beings] Sugrīva and others were not monkeys, and Rāvaṇa and others were not Rākṣasas, O friend, such as people imagine All these were men, pure, righteous, and spirited, following the religion of Jina. They were called monkeys because their banner had a monkey on it, and the Rākṣasas, who were acquainted with a great many powerful arts, were so because they had a Rākṣasa on their banner. One who desires salvation should have his eyes clear and believe these beings to be as they were described by Gautama, the lord of the Jinas, to Śreṇika."

Again; "Thus were great and righteous men of olden times described differently from what they were by Vyāsa and others, whose minds were darkened by a false faith and who were not afraid of being precipitated into the great Hollow. The deluded Vyāsa spoke a falsehood when he said that Duryodhana, the bee on the lotuses in the shape of the feet of the Jina, who was in his last bodily form, died, being killed by Bhīma. Kumbhakarṇa, Indrajit and others whose hearts were anxious to embrace the lady Mukti or Salvation, had the nature of a Rākṣasa attributed to them, which is sinful, involving, as it does, the abominable practice of the eating of flesh and even of men Vālmīki spoke falsely when he said that the great-souled Vāli, who was the bridegroom of the bride in the shape of Perfection, and the fetters of whose deeds were broken, was struck by Rāma and killed"

A good deal of this is written in the manner of a sectarian, but it does appear that the stories of the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa are differently told by the Jainas, and point perhaps to different authentic rescensions.

In the event, Pavanavega's mind is turned away from the popular religion, whereupon Manovega takes him again to Jinamati, the saint of Ujjayinī, who instructs him in the Jaina faith.

Amitagati's spiritual genealogy is as follows —1 Vīrasena the best of the Māthuras (monks of Mathurā), 2 Devasvāmin, 3 Amitagati, 4 Nemiṣeṇa, 5 Mādhavasena, 6 Amitagati, the author.

AN ANTHOLOGY BY DHANAṀJAYA

Nos. 1145 and 1146 are two copies of a thesaurus by a Digambara Jaina of the name of Dhanamjaya. At the end of the first Paricheda or part occurs a stanza in which Dhanaṁjaya is called a Kavi or poet. In the next it is said, "The argumentation of Akalanka, grammatical rules of Pūjyapāda, and the poem of

the poet of the Dviḥsaṁdhāna—this is a triad of jewels." "Dviḥsaṁdhāna" is two-fold interpretation; and a poem each verse of which is written with the intention of bringing out two senses is a Dviḥsaṁdhāna Kāvya. It appears, therefore, from these two Ślokas that Dhanamjaya, the author of the thesaurus, is the author of Dviḥsaṁdhāna Kāvya also. No. 1142 is a copy of this Kāvya, and No. 1143 of a commentary on it by Nemicandra. Here also the author is named Dhanaṁjaya. Vardhamāna in his Gaṇaratnamahodadhi quotes Dhanaṁjaya. I find the Ślokas in the copy of the Dviḥasaṁdhāna before me. That in p. 97 of Eggeling's Edition is the 51st stanza of Canto IX, that in p. 409, is the 22nd of Canto XVIII, and that in p. 435, is the 6th of Canto IV.

The proper title of the poem is Rāghavapāṇḍavīya and each verse has two senses, one applicable to the Mahābhārata story and the other to the Rāmāyaṇa story. As the Jainas copy the Brahmans in their profane literature, and as we have a Meghadūta of the Digambara Jainas, and also one of the Śvetāmbaras, it is not unreasonable to suppose that Dhanaṁjaya borrowed the idea of a Rāghavapāṇḍavīya from the Brahmanic poem of that name by Kavirāja.

Kavirāja must have flourished about or after the time of Muñja of Dhārā, since he compares his patron Kāmadeva of Jayantīpurī with Muñja. Muñja was put to death in about 996 A.D. by Tailapa.[1] Vardhamāna composed his Gaṇaratnamahodadhi in the year 1197 Vikrama or 1141 A.D. Both Kavirāja and Dhanamjaya, therefore, must have lived in the interval between those two dates, the latter being considerably younger than the former, if the supposition of imitation is correct.

According to Mr. K. B. Pathak, the Kanarese poet Abhinava-Pampa speaks of one Śrutakīrtitraividya as the author of a Rāghavapāṇḍavīya. A writer of the name of Meghacandra

1 See my Report for 1882-83, p. 45. [=Ante, p. 51. N. B. U.]

appears from a certain statement of his to be a contemporary of this Pampa, and Meghacandra's son wrote a work in 1076 Śaka or 1154 A.D.[1] There is nothing to show definitely that Śrutakīrti was the same as Dhanaṁjaya and his Rāghava-pāṇḍavīya the same as Dhanaṁjaya's. But the date of the son of a contemporary of Pampa does harmonize with the dates arrived at before, and is not against the supposition of the identity of the two individuals and the two poems.

NOTICES OF SOME MANUSCRIPTS BELONGING TO THIS COLLECTION

[Originally included in the Report on search for Sanskrit Manuscripts for 1887-91, pages LV—LXXXVIII]

PRAYOGAPĀRIJĀTA BY NṚSIṀHA

No. 294 is Prayogapārijāta Pākayajñakāṇḍa.

The following are the authors and works quoted in this Manuscript.—

Agnipurāṇa.	Devala.
Atri.	Devīpurāṇa.
Amarakośa.	Nārada.
Ādipurāṇa.	Nāradīyapurāṇa.
Āpastamba.	Padmapurāṇa.
Āśvalāyanācārya.	Pulastya.
Uśanas	Pracetas.
Ṛgvidhāna.	Bṛhaspati.
Kālanirṇaya.	Brahmapurāṇa.
Kūrmapurāṇa.	Brahmavaivarta.
Garuḍapurāṇa.	Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa.
Gobhila.	Bhagavadgītā.
Candrikā.	Bharadvāja.
Chandogapariśiṣṭa.	Bhaviṣyapurāṇa.
Jātukarṇya.	Bhṛgu.

1 Indian Antiquary, Vol. XIV, p. 14.

Matsyapurāṇa.	Viṣṇupurāṇa.
Marīci.	Vyāsa.
Mārkaṇḍeya.	Śaṅkha.
Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa.	Śambhu.
Yama.	Śātātapa.
Yājñavalkya.	Śālaṅkāyana.
Laugākṣi.	Śaunaka.
Varāhapurāṇa.	Ṣaṭtriṁśanmata.
Vasiṣṭha	Sumanta.
Vāyupurāṇa.	Saurapurāṇa.
Vṛddhamanu.	Skandapurāṇa
Vṛddhavasiṣṭha.	Smṛtibhāskara.
Viśvāmitra.	Smṛtyarthasāra.
Viṣṇu.	Hārita.
Viṣṇudharmottara.	Hemādri.

Prayogapārijāta is quoted in the Prayogaratna by Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa whose latest known date is 1568 A.D, and it quotes Hemādri whose latest date is 1272 A.D No closer approximation to the date of Nṛsimha, the author, can be made In a passage on fol 73 he states that he will give the names of the articles not to be used in certain rites in the Karnataka language, wherefore he appears to have been a Kanarese Pandit.

GĪTAGOVINDA WITH A COMMENTARY

No. 346 is Gītagovinda with a commentary entitled Rasikapriyā. The 1st leaf is wanting and the opening words of the 3rd verse.

This is a commentary on Jayadeva's Gīta-Govinda by Kumbhakarṇa, who, as stated in the introduction, was a prince belonging to the dynasty that ruled over Medapāṭa or Mewar in Rajputana. The progenitor of the race was Bappa and the first prince of note was Guhila, after whom the dynasty was called by the name of Gehlote. In the course of time a famous prince of the name of Hammīra belonging to the family ruled

over Mewar He was succeeded by his son Kṣetrasiṁha and this latter by Lakṣa. After Lakṣa his son Mokala came to the throne, and Mokala was followed by Kumbhakarṇa.

These names are also given by Tod in his Annals of Rājasthāna and in this order. The dates of accession of the princes are according to him the following —

Hammīra, 1301 A.D
Khaitasimha (Kṣetrasimha), 1365 A.D.
Lakṣa, 1373 A D
Mokala, 1398 A.D
Kumbho (Kumbhakarṇa), 1419 A.D, and reigned to 1469 A.D

This king is noticed in my Report for 1882-83 as the patron of the architect, Maṇḍana, the author of the Rājavallabha-maṇḍana Tod mentions Kumbho's having composed this commentary or what he calls "Appendix to the divine melodies in praise of Crishna."

In the commentary the author quotes Kārikās from the Kāvyaprakāśa and also some of the instances. The metre of the first verse of the original, which is Śārdūlavikrīḍita, is thus defined —

सूर्याश्वैर्मस[ज]स्तताःसगुरवः शार्दूलविक्रीडितं ।

and Vasantatilakā of the next is given as

उक्ता वसंततिलका तभजा जगौ गः ।

These are the definitions of the two metres given in the Vṛttaratnākara of Kedārabhaṭṭa, so that this work is not later than the first quarter of the fifteenth century In commenting on the 3rd verse, Kumbhakarṇa makes out the six following poets as mentioned therein —

Umāpatidhara,	Govardhana,
Jayadeva,	Śrutadhara,
Śaraṇa,	Dhoyī (Kavikṣmāpati),

and reports the tradition that these six Pandits adorned the court of Lakṣmaṇasena. A verse from Goi-Dhoikavirāja, quoted by Jahlaṇa will be found in the succeeding pages. Kavirāja is a paraphrase of Kavikṣmāpati. Lakṣmaṇasena came to the throne in Bengal after 1168 A D, as will be seen hereafter.

PŪRṆABHADRA'S PAÑCOPĀKHYĀNA

No 371 is Pañcopākhyāna.

This is an edition of the Pañcatantra prepared under the direction of a Mantrin or minister of the name of Soma and completed on the 3rd Tithi of the dark half of Phālguna of the year 1255 by a man of the name of Pūrṇabhadra. The text of the Pañcatantra, he says, had become corrupt, and he corrected every letter, word, sentence, story and verse. Accordingly we find on comparing this edition with the existing text as printed in the Bombay Sanskrit Series that there are differences of reading in almost every line Some of the prose passages and verses in the latter are omitted and sometimes there are others in the place of those occurring there Sometimes there are verbose prose passages to which there is nothing corresponding in the existing text The work might be characterized as Pañcatantra re-written Who the Soma-Mantrin mentioned by the author was it is difficult to say The date in all probability refers to the era of Vikrama, wherefore it is equivalent to 1199 A.D.

PADYAVEṆĪ BY VEṆĪDATTA

No. 375 is Padyaveṇī by Veṇīdatta, son of Jagajjīvana, grandson of Nīlakaṇṭha, and belonging to Yājñika family.

Names of authors and works occurring at the end of the verses quoted —

Akabbarīkālidāsa	Amara
Akālajalada	Amaracanda.
Anantabhrātā	Āśāmitra.

Indrakavi.
Uddāmakavi.
Kavikankaṇa.
Kavirāja.
Kavīndra.
Kālidāsa.
Kūrmācalanṛpati.
Kṛṣṇadāsa.
Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita
Keralī.
Kesarikavi.
Kṣemendra.
Gaṇapati.
Gūrjara.
Govardhana.
Govindabhaṭṭa.
Gaurī.
Gaurīpriya.
Ghanaśyāma
Candracūḍa.
Cintāmaṇi.
Cintāmaṇidīkṣita.
Jagajjīvana
Jagajjīvanavṛjyā.
Jagannātha
Jayadeva
Trivikramabhaṭṭa.
Daṇḍin.
Dāmodarabhaṭṭa.
Devasiddhivedin
Deveśvara.
Dhūrta.
Nāthopādhyāya.
Nīlakaṇṭha.
Padmāvatī.
Pingala.
Prabhākarabhaṭṭa.
Bālakṛṣṇa
Bālājībhaṭṭa.
Bindukavi.
Bilhaṇa
Brahmendrasvāmin
Bhartṛhari
Bhavadeva.
Bhānukara.
Bhuvanānanda.
Bhūpatimiśra
Bhojaprabandha
Madhusūdanasarasvatī.
Madhusūdanasvāmin.
Mahākavi
Mādhava.
Maithila
Morikā.
Mohana
Mohana Otrā (drā ?)ka
Raghunāthopādhyāya.
Ratnāvalī
Ramānāthakavirāja
Rāmacandra.
Rāmacandrabhaṭṭa
Rāmacandrāgamin.
Rāmacandropādhyāya.
Rāmajit.
Rāyabhaṭṭa.
Rudra
Rūpaka.
Lakṣmaṇa.

Lakṣmaṇasena.
Lakṣmaṇasenaputra
Lolimba.
Vaṁśīmiśra.
Vāṇīkaṇṭhābharaṇa.
Vāṇīrasālavṛjyā.
Vāhinīpati.
Vijaśeṣara (Dvijaśekhara ?)
Viṭṭhaleśvara.
Virāja.
Viśvambhaṭabhyaṭṭa.
Veṇīdatta.
Verādidātta (dattā ?).
Vaidyabhānu.
Vyāsa.
Śaṃkaramiśra.
Śārngadhara.
Śiva
Śivānanda.
Śiṣṭa.
Śrīyājñika.
Śrīharṣa.
Ṣāṇmāsika.
Sadāśiva.
Sarvadāsa.
Sārvabhauma.
Simhadatta.
Subhāṣitamuktāvalı.
Smarapuṅgava.
Harinārāyaṇamiśra.
Hariharabhaṭṭa.
Hanūmat.

Dr Rajendralal Mitra notices a MS dated 1701 of a glossary composed by the author and entitled Pañcatattvaprakāśikā (Vol. IV, p 48). From the letters SK printed after the date, it appears that it is to be referred to the Śaka era Prof Aufrecht, however, seems to refer it to the Vikrama era and consider its equivalent (1644 A D.) to be the date of the composition of the work (Catalogus Catalogorum, Part I, p 314)

PADYĀMṚTATARAṄGIṆĪ BY BHĀSKARA

No 376 is Padyāmṛtataraṅgiṇī by Bhāskara, son of Āpājibhaṭṭa and belonging to the family of Agnihotrin

Names of poets and works occurring at the end of verses —

Akabarīyakālidāsa
Anyoktikaṇṭhābharaṇa.
Amaruśataka.
Kāvyaprakāśa
Gaṇapati.
Gadādhara.
Guṇākara.
Gauḍa
Candrakavi.
Jayadeva

Trivikrama.	Mūrtakavi
Devagaṇa.	Rāmacandra.
Dharaṇīdharabhaṭṭa.	Lakṣmaṇa.
Paṇḍitarāja.	Vaṁśīdharamiśra.
• Prastāvacintāmaṇi	Vālmīki.
Bhaṭṭanīlakaṇṭha.	Vidyāpati
Bhānukara.	Viśvanāthavāhinīpati.
Bhāvaśataka	Śārṅgadhara.
Bhāskara.	Ṣāṇmāsika.
Bherībhānkara.	Sadāśiva.
Matkṛta (Bhāskarakṛta)	Sabhyakaṇṭhābharaṇa.
• Bhāskaracaritra.	Haribhaṭṭa.

The commentary on the Vṛttaratnākara to be noticed below, apparently by the same author, was composed in Vikrama 1732 or 1676 A D. Probably this author is the same as the author of the Paribhāṣābhāskara noticed in my Report for 1883-84 p. 60;[1] for in both cases the author's name was Bhāskara, his father's Āpāji, grandfather's Hari, and great-grandfather's Puruṣottama, the family name being Agnihotrin In the colphon of the commentary on the Vṛttaratnākara, Bhāskara's other name is given as Hari Probably his grandfather's name was given to him according to the usual Maratha custom Bhāskara's chronological relations with Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita and Nāgojibhaṭṭa mentioned in the Report[2] are consistent with the above date.

SABHYĀLAṀKARAṆA BY GOVINDAJĪ

No 417 is Sabhyālamkaraṇa by Govindajī (Sanskritized into Govindajit).

Names of poets and works occurring at the end of the verses quoted —

Amaraka.	Uḍḍīyakavi.
Amaracandra.	Utpala.

1 Ante. p. 164 [N B U]
2 Ante. p. 162 [N B U]

Kalaśa.
Kavirāja.
Kālidāsa.
Kumāradāsa.
Kṣemendra.
Gāṇapati.
Gadādhara
Gopāditya
Govardhana
Ghaṭakharpara.
Jayamādhava
Trivikrama
Daṇḍin.
Darpaṇa.
Dharmadāsa.
Nirmala
Nīlakaṇṭha.
Nīlakaṇṭhaśukla.
Prabhākarabhaṭṭa.
Bālabhārata.
Bāṇabhaṭṭa.
Bilvamangala.
Bilhaṇa
Bhaṭṭasomeśvara.
Bhartṛhari
Bhavabhūti
Bhānukara.
Bhānupaṇḍita
Bhāravi
Bhāvamiśra.
Bhāsa.
Bhīmasiṁha
Bhīmasena
Bhojaprabandha.
Mahānāṭaka
Māgha
Murāri
Medha (dhra ?).
Raghupati
Rajaśekhara.
Rāghavānandadeva
Rudra.
Lakṣmaṇa.
Vararuci
Varāha
Vāsudeva
Vikaṭanitambā.
Vedavyāsa
Śakavṛddhi
Śārngadhara.
Śivasvāmin
Śrīharṣa
Ṣāṇmāsika.
Saṁkula
Harihara.

ALAṀKĀRAMAÑJŪṢĀ BY DEVAŚAMKARA

No 519 is Alaṁkāramañjūṣā by Devaśaṁkara.

[After the Introduction] follow the following verses, in which Bājirāv the First of the Peshwa family, and his descendants

Mādhavarāv and Rāghava or Raghunātharāv are noticed, and curious etymology of the word Peshwa is given —

पेषणं रिपुगणस्य महाजौ यश्चकार बहुधोद्यतखड्गः ।
वाति पेषमिति पेशलमर्थं पेषवापदमुपैति वदन्तं ॥ ६ ॥
पेषवा इति पदं स्पृशन्वशी बाजिराव इति कोपि महींद्रः ।
नाकनाथ इव देवसमूहैर्वंदितोभवदहो नरदेवैः ॥ ७ ॥
तस्य शुद्धतमवंशकरीरौ सूनवौ परविभेदसमर्थौ ।
माधवो मधुरिपोः समतेजाः राघवो रघुपतेः समकीर्त्तिः ॥ ८ ॥
यौ विलोक्य हरिणा इव सिंहं शत्रवो हि विदिशो विभजंते ।
ताविमाविह महीनरदेवौ प्रायशः प्रतिपदं किल वर्ण्यौ ॥
रम्यमन्यदपि वस्तु तदीयं बाजिहस्तिभटवीरशरादि ।
वर्णनीयमिह संभवदुक्त्याभ्यर्हितत्वमनयोस्तु तथापि ॥
उपमानोपमेये द्वे धर्मसादृश्यवाचके etc

This is a work on Alaṁkāras alone like Appayya Dīkṣita's Kuvalayānanda. The instances are framed by the author, and in them he sings of the glories of the Peshwas Mādhavarāv the First and his uncle Raghunātharāv, who is spoken of as Rāghava. This is the latest instance of the embodiment of the idea of making the flattery of a royal personage subserve a scientific purpose, the earliest known to us being Halāyudha's Kavirahasya and later ones, the Ekāvalī to be next noticed and the Pratāparudrīya.

Both Mādhavarāv and Raghunātharāv are styled kings, and in the instances, sometimes Mādhavarāv is spoken of, and sometimes Raghunātharāv Mādhavrāv became Peshwa in 1761 and up to 1768 his uncle was associated with him in the Administration The author, therefore, had that state of things before his mind's eye and must have composed his treatise during that period Rāmśāstrin, the celebrated Nyāyādhīśa or Chief Justice in Mādhavarāv's time, is thus spoken of —

वृथाभिमानोक्षिपदो महामुनेर्वृथैव दर्पः कणभुक्षहेशितुः ।
श्रीरामशास्त्री भवतीह तादृशो न किं भुवि श्रीनृपमाधवार्चितः ॥

Rāmaśāstrin is thus placed on a level with Gautama and Kaṇāda.

From the following colophon it appears that the author's name was Devaśaṃkara, his father's Nāhānābhāyi, and his surname Purohita He was a Gujarati Brahman, native of Rāner, probably the same as Rānder, and lived at Uraḥpattana, which must be Olpād. Both places are near Surat.

इति श्रीरानेरनगरजन्मभुवा उरःपत्तनकृतनिकेतनेन पुरोहितोपनामकेन भट्टदेवशंकरेण पुरोहितनाहानाभायिसुतेन विरचितालंकारमंजूषा समाप्ता ॥

VIDYĀDHARA'S EKĀVALĪ WITH MALLINĀTHA'S COMMENTARY

No 535 is Ekāvalī with Mallinātha's commentary

This is a transcript, caused to be made by me for our Collection, of a Manuscript belonging to Govind Śāstri Nirantar of Nāsik. In Part I of my "List of Sanskrit MSS. in Private Libraries, etc.," published in 1893, that Manuscript bears No 133 The author's name is Vidyādhara.

The Ekāvalī is a work on the Alaṁkāraśāstra written on the lines of the Kāvyaprakāśa. Like the latter it consists of Kārikās followed by an explanation Sometimes we have the same expressions and passages as in the older work It consists of eight parts called Unmeṣas, the subjects treated in which are the following —

I.—Dhvanivyavasthāpana.
II.—Śabdārthanirūpaṇa.
III.—Dhvanibheda.
IV.—Guṇībhūtavyangya
V —Gunanirūpaṇa
VI —Doṣanirūpaṇa.
VII.—Śabdālaṁkāra.
VIII —Arthālamkāra

In the first of these we have the subject-matter of the first Ullāsa of the Kāvyaprakāśa and the latter part of the fifth, in which Vyaṅgya or Dhvani, i.e., suggested sense, is established

as something independent of the Abhidheya or conventional and Lakṣya or figurative, and as forming the soul of a Kāvya. The second Unmeṣa corresponds to the second Ullāsa, the subject-matter of the third Ullāsa being despatched with a short notice at the end. The third and fourth of the above correspond to the fourth and fifth parts of the Kāvyaprakāśa, the fifth to the eighth, the sixth to the seventh, and the seventh and the eighth to the ninth and tenth. There is nothing corresponding to the sixth Ullāsa of the Kāvyaprakāśa, for Mammaṭa himself considers that as a separate chapter to be unnecessary, as its subject-matter is embraced in the ninth and tenth Ullāsas.

At fol. 8 *b* and 9 *a* and *b* occur the following verses —

एष विद्याधरस्तेषु कांतासंमितलक्षणं ।
करोमि नरसिंहस्य चाटुश्लोकानुदाहरन् ॥
अंतरेण नरसिंहभूपतिं नेतरोस्ति मम वाङ्मयोचितः ।
चंद्र-चूडमपहाय जान्हवीवारि वोढुमपरः क ईश्वरः ॥
विश्वोल्लंघनजांघिकीं वितनुते कीर्तिं विधत्ते श्रियं
हेलाधिकृतप(य)क्षराजविभवां चिंताकरं हंत्यघं ।
दुग्धे स्वादुतरान्रसान्वितरति स्फारं क्रियाकौशलं
काव्यं निर्वृतिमावहत्यपि परिस्पंदापहं चेतसः ॥
कृत्वा काव्यमपा(वा)प विश्वमहितां कीर्तिं कविग्रामणीः
श्रीहर्षः श्रियमद्भुतां हरिहरो लेभेर्जुनक्ष्माभृतः ।
मृत्योल्लासमपाचकार मलयक्ष्मामंडलाखंडल-
स्तत्किंचिन्न विलोक्यते न किल यत्काव्यात्समुन्मीलति ॥

What is peculiar to this work is that the instances of the rules have been framed by the author and they are all in praise of a prince of the name of Narasimha. It will be seen that Vidyādhara mentions Harihara in the above. The prince Arjuna, from whom he got amazing wealth, must have been the ruler of Malwa of that name whose earliest and latest known dates are

1211 A.D. and 1216 A D[1] Harihara, a Jaina poet named Madanakīrti, and Someśvara the author of the Kīrttikaumudī and Surathotsava, were contemporaries[2] and the last wrote the Surathotsava while Vastupāla was alive Vastupāla died in 1298 Vikrama, i. e., 1242 A D[3] So that all these authors, flourished during the early decades of the 13th century

In the body of the work certain attributes are applied to Nṛsiṁha or Narasiṁha of a nature calculated to afford help in determining his identity They are as follows —

F 31 *a* त्रिलोकीकल्याणं जयति तव दोरुत्कलपते। F 92 *a* श्रीमन्नु-त्कलभूमिपाल, F 95 *a* त्वामुत्कलाधीश.

F 33 *b* धर्मस्यैव महोदयो विजयते वीरः कलिंगेश्वरः। F 66 *a* यशोराशिः कलिंगेश्वरः.

F 49 *b* कलिंगेश्वरे, 52 *b* इत्याहवे वीक्ष्य कलिंगनाथं नाथंत्यमी प्रांजलयः सपत्नाः।

F. 61 *a* केषामेष न वर्णनीयमहिमा वीरः कलिंगेश्वरः। कलिंग-वसुधाधिप.

F 93 *a* द्यौः पारिजातेन कलिंगनाथ.

F 99 *a* हम्मीरमानमर्द्दन भवतस्तेजो विभावसुं जयति।

Narasiṁha was thus king of Utkala and Kalinga. Utkala is the name of modern Orissa, and the province bordering on it to the south was called Kalinga. They both appear to have constituted one kingdom Narasiṁha is represented by his magniloquent flatterer to have humbled the pride of Hammīra. It is more than doubtful whether he actually did so, but from the use of the epithet we may safely infer that Narasiṁha was a contemporary of Hammīra, but which Hammīra is meant must be determined, as there were three princes of that name.

1 See my Report for 1883-84, p. 105 [=Ante, p. 250 N.B.U.].

2 Ibid, p 57 [=Ante. p 158 N.B U].

3 Ibid, pp 22 and 14 [=Ante, p. 98 and p. 80, respectively N B.U].

The first belonged to the Harauti branch of the Chohan family and appears not to have been a person of note. He was a dependent of Pṛthirāja and was killed in 1193 A.D. As the terminus a quo for Vidyādhara (who must have been a protege of Narasiṁha, as no poet bestows such fulsome praise on a deceased prince) is, as shown above, the early decades of the 13th century, this Hammīra cannot have been Narasimha's contemporary. Besides, Orissa was not ruled over by a king of that name from 1024 to 1237 A.D.

Another Hammīra was the prince who belonged to the Gehlote family and was, as stated in the Introduction to the Rasikapriyā,[1] an ancestor of Kumbhakarṇa, king of Medapāṭa or Mewar and reigned from 1301 A D. to 1365 A D A third was the king of Śākambarī of the race of Chāhuvāna mentioned by Śārṅgadhara in the beginning of his anthology, and represented by him to have been famous for his bravery which equalled that of Arjuna. He is the hero of the Hammīra Mahākāvya of Nayacandrasūri and is represented to have begun to reign in 1339 of Vikrama Saṁvat, i.e., 1283 A D[2] It was this Hammīra who defended the fortress of Ranthambhor (Raṇastambhapura) with bravery against Alla-ud-din Khilji for more than a year and fell at last when it was taken in the year 1301 A D

Both these princes bearing the name of Hammīra were famous. But as the Chohan prince is represented by Nayacandra as having attempted the conquest of Southern countries, he was probably the Hammīra alluded to by Vidyādhara. The Mahomedan power must have been firmly established in India at the time of Narasimha, for his panegyrist says in the following verse, which contains an instance of the figure called Vyājokti, that the supreme lord of

1 Ante, p. 321 [N.B U]

2 Kirtane's edition, pp. 27 and 66, v. 56.

the Śakas trembled when he heard a peal of thunder, thinking it to be the sound of the drum of the marching army of the lord of the Utkalas, and concealed his fear and tremor by pretending that the embrace of his beloved had sent a thrill of joy into his frame.

आकर्ण्योत्कलभूपते जलमुचो निर्घोषमाकस्मिकं
त्वत्सेनापटहभ्रमेण सहसा संजातकंपाकुलैः ।
अंतर्भीतिपराहतोपि दयिताकंठग्रहक्रीडया
सांद्रानंदमयीं दशामभिनयत्यंगैः शकाधीश्वरः ॥

The Mahomedans were, for some time after the conquest of the country by them, called Śakas by some of the Sanskrit writers, and the name Yavana to designate them came into more general use afterwards

All these considerations lead us to about the end of the 13th century as the period when Narasiṁha and Vidyādhara, the author of the Ekāvalī flourished And from the list of the kings of Orissa given by Sir W W. Hunter and copied by Mr Sewell in his "Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India," it appears that there was a Narasimha who ruled over the country from 1282 A D to 1307 A D If the Hammīra alluded to was the Mewar prince of that name, our Narasimha may have been the one who reigned from 1307 to 1327 There were two more Narasimhas after 1327, but they reigned for only 2 years and 1 year respectively, and therefore neither can have been the hero panegyrised by Vidyādhara. There was another still, who reigned from 1257 to 1282 But he has been excluded by the whole trend of our argument.

Thus then the Ekāvalī was written about the end of the 13th or the beginning of the 14th century of the Christian era. It is quoted by Mallinātha in his commentaries and also by Appayya Dīkṣita in the Kuvalayānanda. In the Ekāvalī I

find quoted the verse Kimasubhir glapitaiḥ, etc., which occurs in Śrīharṣa's Naiṣadhīya.

The commentary called Tarala, or central gem, of the Ekāvalī, or one-stringed necklace, is by Mallinātha, the celebrated commentator on the Kāvyas. In the sixth of the Introductory verses which has a double sense, the commentator says that "this Ekāvalī, though a work of merit and an ornament, was because it had not a commentary (this Tarala) kept or secreted in treasure-houses as a necklace is, though it has a string and is an ornament when it has not the central gem Now that the Ekāvalī necklace has a bright central gem in the shape of an elucidatory commentary (Tarala), may blessed persons wear it round the neck and on the bosom, that is, get the work by heart and commit it to memory."

It would thus appear that the Ekāvalī was not for some time studied and the work was neglected because it had no commentary, from which it is to be concluded that Mallinātha wrote the Tarala after a certain period had elapsed since the composition of the original What the duration of the period was it is difficult to determine But it must have been pretty long, since the Ekāvalī is not a string of unintelligible Kārikās which require a commentary from the very beginning, but consists of Kārikās and the author's Vṛtti or elucidatory remarks At any rate it would not be unsafe to suppose that Mallinātha did not live before the middle of the 14th century

In the Catalogus Catalogorum Professor Aufrecht mentions apparently three different works of the name of Ekāvalī, evidently because he had not the means of going beyond the vague statements contained in the catalogues before him The second is by Mahāmaheśvara Kavi noticed by Burnell (54 b). This work is the same as the one I have described, for its beginning, Prāleyācalakanyakā etc., is the same as that of my Ekāvalī (see the extract in Part I of my 'Lists' referred to above,

p. 64) and like the latter contains eight Unmeṣas. Where Burnell gets the name Mahāmaheśvara Kavi from, if it is not to be taken as an epithet of Vidyādhara, and the curious identification with Abhinavagupta, the famous author of the Dhvanyālokalócana which he calls Kāvyālokalocana, I do not know.

The commentary Tarala noticed by Professor Weber (Berlin *Catalogue*, No. *1723*) is the same as the Tarala mentioned above, as will be seen from the extract. It is a commentary on Vidyādhara's work. The third noticed by Professor Aufrecht is, of course, the same as ours, since the name of the author is the same, and the first must also be the same, though no particulars are given. Mallinātha cites the Ekāvalī which he has commented on So that it follows that we know of one work only of the name, and its author was Vidyādhara and commentator Mallinātha.

PIṄGALĀRTHAPRADĪPA

No 545 is Piṅgalārthapradīpa.

This work appears from a statement in Dr. Kielhorn's Report for 1880–81 (p 71) to have been composed in Samvat 1657 or 1601 A D Burnell's Manuscript of the work was written in Śaka 1554 i e, 1632 A D (Tanjore Cat., pp 53 and 175), and Kielhorn's in Saṁvat 1716 or 1660 A.D.

Among the works and authors quoted are the following :—

Hārāvalī.
Śālivāhana.
Vāṇībhūṣaṇa.
Vṛttaratnākara.
Pingala and Pingalanāga
Chandoratnākara.
Vṛttamauktikavārtikaduṣkaroddhāra, composed by himself.
Śrutabodha by Kālidāsa.
Udāharaṇamañjarī, composed by himself.
Daśakumāra.
Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa.
Chandomañjarī.

In the instances of the different metres, there are Prakrit verses in praise of several princes of the middle ages. They are as follows :—

I. Caṇḍeśvara—

19*a* गाहमुदाहरति । जहा ।

चंदो चंदण हारो तावअ रूअं पआसंति ।
चंडेसरवरकित्ती जावअ अप्पं ण दंसेइ ॥

Com. यथा चंद्रश्चंदनं हारः एते तावदेव रूपं स्वात्मनं श्वेत्याभिमानेन प्रकाशयंति चंडेश्वरस्य राज्ञो वरा कीर्तिर्यावदात्मानं न दर्शयति ।

II. Cedipati—

21*b* उग्गाथामुदाहरति । जहा ।

सोऊण जस्स णामं अंसू णअणाइ सुमुहि रुधंति ।
भण वीरचेइपइणो पेछामि मुहं कहं जहिछं से ॥

Com. चेदिपतावनुरक्ता काचिद्दर्शनोत्कलिका कुलवधूका निजसखीमाह । यथा । श्रुत्वा यस्य नामाश्रूणि नयने सुमुखि रुंधंति भण वीरचेदिपतेः प्रेक्षिष्यामि(ष्ये)मुखं कथं यथेच्छमस्य ।

III. Hammīra—

(1) 21*b* and 22*a* गाथिनीमुदाहरति । जहा ।

मुंचहि सुंदरि पाअं अप्पहि हसिऊण सुमुहि खग्गं मे ।
कप्पिअ मेछसरीरं पेछइ वअणाइ तुह्म धुअ हम्मीरो ॥

Com. संग्रामयात्रायां चरणपतितां पत्नीं प्रति वीरहम्मीरवचनं । यथा । मुंच सुंदरि पादं संग्रामयात्राविघ्नं मा कुर्विति भावः । हे सुमुखि अर्पय हसित्वा मम खड्गं ।.....कल्पयित्वा छेदयित्वा म्लेच्छशरीरं प्रेक्षते वदनानि युष्माकं ध्रुवं हम्मीरः ।

(2) 25*b* रोलामुदाहरति । जहा ।

पअभर दरमरु धरणि तरणि रह धुल्लिअ झंपिअ ।
कमठपिट्ठ दर परिअ मेरुमंदरसिर कंपिअ ।
कोहे चालिअ हम्मीरवीर गअजूहसंजुत्ते
किअउ कट्ठ हाकंद मुछि मेछहुके पुत्ते ॥

Com. कश्चित्कविर्वीरहम्मीरप्रयाणमनुवर्णयति । यथा । पदभरेण मर्दिता धरणिः । तरणिः सूर्यः स्थितस्तदा धूल्या समाच्छादितः । तरणिरथस्तस्मिन्समये धूल्या समाच्छादित इति वा । कमठपृष्ठमधः पतितमतिभाराद्‌वादिकूर्मोऽप्यधस्ताद्गत इति भावः । किंच । मेरुमंदरयोरपि शिरः कंपितं । यदा कोपेन चलितो हम्मीरवीरो गजयूथसुयुक्तस्तदा कृतो हाकष्टाक्रंदः । मूर्छितं च म्लेच्छानामपि पुत्रैरिति ।

(3) *36b* कुंडलिकामुदाहरति । जहा ।

ढोल्ला मारिअ ढिल्लिमह मुच्छिअ मेच्छसरीर ।
पुरजज्जल्लामंतिवर चलिअ वीरहम्मीर ॥
चलिअ वीरहम्मीर पाअभर मेइणि कंपइ ।
दिगमग णह अंधार धूलि सूरजरह ढंकइ ।
दिगमग णह अंधार आण खुरासाणक ओल्ला ।
दरमरि दमसि विपक्ख मारु ढिल्लिमह ढोल्ला ।

Com. कश्चिद्वंदी वीरहम्मीरप्रयाणमनुवर्णयति । यथा । यदैव ढिल्लीमध्ये प्रयाणडिंडिमः समाहतस्तदानीमेव मूर्छितं म्लेच्छशरीरैरनंतरं पुरस्कृतजाजलमंत्रिवरश्चलितो वीहम्मीरस्ततश्चलिते वीरहम्मीरे ...(पाद्) भरेण मेदिनी कंपते । दिग्मार्गे नभसि चांधकारः । स्फुरित इति शेषः । धूलिः सूर्यरथमाच्छादयति । एवं दिग्मार्गे नभोमार्गे चांधकारावस्तृत आनीतः खुरासानस्यातुलो दंडः । हे राजन् त्वं चरणमर्दनेन (आहत्य ढिल्लीमध्ये डिंडिमं) दमयसि विपक्षान्किमुत संग्रामेण ।

(4) *37b* गगनांगनमुदाहरति । जहा ।

भंजिअ मलअ चोलवइ णिवलिअ गंजिअ गुज्जरा ।
मालवराअ मलअगिरि लुक्किअ परिहरि कुंजरा ।
खुरसाणा खुहिअ रणमह अहिअ लंघिअ साअरा ।
हम्मीर चलिअ हारव पलिअ रिउगणह काअरा ॥

Com. यथा । भग्नो मलयराजः । चोलपतिर्निर्वृत्तः । गंजितो गूर्जरपतिः । मालवराजो मलयगिरौ लीनः । परित्यज्य कुंजरान् खुरासाणाधिपती रणमध्ये खुहिअ क्षोभं प्राप्य अहितं सागरं लंघते स्म । यद्वा ।

अधिकं यथा स्यात्तथा लंघते स्म । ततोपि दूरतरं गत इति भावः । एवं हम्मीरे चलिते सति हारावः पतितो रिपुगणेषु कातरेषु ॥

(5) 43*b* लीलावतीमुदाहरति । जहा ।

घर लग्गइ अग्गि जलइ धहधह कइ णहपह दिगमग अणलभरे ।
सवदेस पसरि पाइक लुट्टइ धणिथण हर जहण दिआवकरे ।
भअलुक्किअ थक्किअ वइरितरुणीगण भेरवभेरिअसद्द पले ।
महि लुट्टइ पिट्टइ रिउ सिर टुट्टइ जक्कण वीरहम्मीर चले ॥

Com. कश्चिद्बंदी वीरहम्मीरप्रयाणमुपवर्णयति । यथा । यस्मिन् क्षणे वीरहम्मीरश्चलितः (स्) तस्मिन् क्षणे शत्रुगृहेषु लग्नोऽग्निर्धध- हेति कृत्वा ज्वलति । नास्ति पंथाः कुत्रापि दिग्मार्गोऽनलेन भृतः । यद्वा । णहपह इति क्वचित्पाठस्तत्र नभोमार्गो दिग्मार्गश्चानलेन भृतः पूर्णः । तस्मिन्नेव च क्षणे सर्वदेशे प्रसृतः पदातिश्चलति पदातिवर्गः (र्गो) धनीनां शत्रुवधूनां स्तनौ गृह्णन् जघनानि द्विधाकरोति । धणेति पाठे धनस्तनौ गृह्णन् जघनानि द्विधाकरोति । सपदातिश्चलतीति । यस्य हम्मीरस्य भैरवभेरीशब्दे पतिते सति पलायमानवैरितरुणीगणाः श्रांताः संतो भयेन क्वचिन्निलीना रिपुरपि मह्यां लुठति शिरः पिट्टइ आहंती- त्यर्थः । त्रोटयति केशानितिशेषः ॥

IV. Sāhasāṅka—

22*a* सिंहिणीमुदाहरति ।

वरिसइ कणअह विट्ठि तप्पइ भुअणे दिवानिशं जग्गंतो ।
णीसंक साहसंको णिंदइ इंदं च सूरबिंबं च ॥

Com. विक्रमादित्यं दृष्ट्वा कश्चित्कविः स्तौति । यथा । वर्षति कनकस्य वृष्टिं तपति भुवनानि दिवानिशं जाग्रत् । निःशंकं साहसांकः निंदतींद्रं सूर्यबिंबं च ।

V. Kāśīśvara—

(1) 23*a* अथावनंदाख्यं स्कंधकमुदाहरति । जहा ।

चंदा कुंदा कासा हारा हीरा तिलोअणा केलासा ।
जेत्ता जेत्ता सेत्ता तेत्ता कासीस जिणिआ ते किती ॥

Com. कश्चित्कवी राजानं दिवोदासं स्तौति । यथा । चंद्रः कुंदः काशः हारः (रो) हीरं त्रिलोचनः शिवः कैलास इति यावत् श्वेतानि तावत् हे काशीश वाराणसीय ते राजन् दिवोदास ते कीर्त्या जितानि ।

(2) 46*a* दुर्मिलामुदाहरति । जहा ।

जे किज्जिअ धाला जिण्णु णेवाला भोट्टन्ता पिट्टंत चले
भंजारिअ चीणा दप्पहि हीणा लोहावल हाकन्द पले ।
उड्डा उड्डाविअ कित्ती पाविअ मोलिअ मालवराउबले
तेलंगा भग्गिअ बहुरिणलग्गिअ कासीसर र(रा)अ जखण चले ॥

Com. कश्चित्कविः काशीश्वरप्रयाणमुपवर्णयति । यथा । तेन काशी-श्वरेण धाला व्यूहः कृतः । अस्मिन्नेवांतरे नृपालाः प्रत्यर्थिपृथ्वीपाला जिता एव । णेवाला इति क्वचित्पाठस्तत्र नेपालो देशविशेषो जित एवेत्यर्थः । भोटाख्याश्चोत्तरदेशो लक्षणया तद्देशस्थलोकः पिट्टयन्नुरः शिरश्च ताडयन्निर्गतः । भग्नाश्चीनाश्चीनदेशस्थाः । कीदृशाः । दर्पेण हीनाः । लोहावले हाक्रंदो हाहाकारः पतितः । किं च उत्कल उड्डायितः । ततश्च कीर्तिरपि प्राप्ता मोटितं च मालवराजस्यावंतीपतेर्बलं । तैलंगास्तु बहुतरऋणग्रस्ता भग्नाः पलायिता एव काशीश्वरो राजा यस्मिन्क्षणे चलितः ।

VI. Acala—

24*b* रसिकामुदाहरति । जहा ।

विमुह चलिअ रण अचलु परिहरिअ हअगअबलु ।
हलहलिअ मलअणिवइ जसु जस तिहुअण पिअइ ।
वणरसिणरवइ लुलिअ सअलउवरि जसु फुलिअ ।

Com. विमुखं पराङ्मुखं चलितो रणादचलाख्यः कश्चिद्राजा । परिहृत्य हयगजबलं.... ....मलयनृपतिः......हलहलित आकस्मिक-संजातसाध्वसोभूत् । यस्य यशस्त्रिभुवनं पिबति । अथ च वाराणसी-नरपतिरपि लुलितः पराङ्मुखो बभूव । सकलस्य लोकस्योपरि यस्य यशः पुष्पितं विकसितपुष्पसदृशमभूत् ।

VII Karṇa—

(1) *26a* गंधाणामुदाहरति । जहा ।

कण्ण चलंते कुम्म चलइ पुणवि असरणा ।
कुम्म चलंते महि चलइ भुअणभयकरणा ।
महि अ चलंते महिहरु तह व सुरअणा ।
चक्कवइ चलंते चलइ चक्क तह तिहुअणा ।

Com. कश्चित्कविः कर्णनरपतिं स्तौति । यथा । कर्णे राजनि संग्रामार्थं चलति सति कूर्मः...पुनरशरणस्सन् चलति...एवं च कूर्मे चलति सति भुवनभयंकरा मही धरणी चलति ।......मह्यां चलंत्यां सत्यां महीधराः......पर्वता मेर्वादयश्चलंति । तथा च सति तदाश्रिताः सुरजनाः ...चलंति । एवं चक्रवर्तिनि महासार्वभौमे कर्णे चलति चक्रं दिक्चक्रं तथा त्रिभुवनं च चलति ।

(2) *33a* पज्झटिकामुदाहरति । जहा ।

जे गंजिअ गोलाहिवइ राउ उद्दंड उड्डइ समअ पराउ ।
गुरुविक्कम विक्कम जिणिअ जुज्झता कण्ण परक्कम कोइ बुज्झ ॥

Com. कश्चित्कविः कर्णनरपतिं स्तौति । यथा । हे कर्ण तव पराक्रमं कोपि बुध्यते । अपि तु न कोपि ।...येन त्वया गंजितो गौडाधिपतिः । यस्य तव भयेनोद्दंड उद्धतदंडोपि उड्डायि स उत्कलदेशः पलायितः । गुरुविक्रमो यस्यैवंविधो विक्रमो येन त्वया युद्धे जितः ।

(3) *42b* सिंहावलोकनमुदाहरति । जहा ।

हणुउज्जरगुज्जरराअदलं ।
दलदलिअचलिअमरहट्ठबलं ।
बलमोलिअमालवराअकुला ।
कुलउज्जल कलचुलिकण्ण फुला ।

Com. कश्चित्कविः कर्णमुपवर्णयति । यथा । हतं उज्ज्वलमतिस्फीतं गुर्जरराजस्य दलं सैन्यं येन सः । तथा दलेन स्वसेनासमुदायेन दलितं चूर्णीकृतं महाराष्ट्राणां बलं कटकं येन । बलेन......मोटितमुत्खातं मालवराजस्य......कुलं येन । एवंविधः कुलोज्ज्वलः कलचुलिः कलचुलिवंशोद्भवः कर्णः फुला स्फुरतीत्यर्थः ।

KINGS MENTIONED IN THE PRECEDING VERSES

I. This extract refers to Caṇḍeśvara. The verse contains nothing historical Who this Caṇḍeśvara was, it is difficult to say with certainty. But he was not unlikely Caṇḍamahāsena or Caṇḍa of the Chohan race, who ruled over Dholpur and built a temple dedicated to Caṇḍasvāmin, and consecrated it in the Vikrama year 893 or 842 A.D [1]

II. Cedipati is lord or king of the Cedi country. What particular King is meant cannot be determined, but he may be Karṇa, of whom more below

III. What is historical in the passages about Hammīra is that he was at war with the Mlecchas, i e., Mahomedans, whose king reigned at Delhi His marches are described He had a counsellor or follower of the name of Jājala The kings of Khorasan, Mālava, Malaya, and of the Gūrjaras, and Colas were defeated. This is probably a tall *talk* always indulged in by sycophants. I have shown[2] that there were two Rajput Hammīras, one of whom was a Chohan and held the fortress of Ranthambhor and the other a Gehlote, who ruled over Mewar. It is not distinct which of the two is meant Both fought with the Mahomedans Perhaps the Chohan prince is alluded to here, as Nayacandra represents him to have a faithful follower of the name of Jājadeva [3] Jājadeva and the counsellor Jājala alluded to in III (3) are probably one and the same person

IV. Sāhasāṅka was a prince who reigned at Kanoj and who is mentioned by Maheśvara in his introduction to the Viśvaprakāśa. One of his works, as also one of the works of the author of the Naiṣadhīya, is called Sāhasāṅkacarita Govinda IV of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty, whose latest known date is 933 A D., was

1 Inscription translated by Dr Hultzsch in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, Vol XL, p 88.

2 Ante pp 330 ff. [N. B. U]

3 See Kirtane's edition of Hammīra Mahākāvya, p. 91, v 88, and p. 131, v. 14.

also called Sāhasāṅka; and the description given of him in his Sāngalī grant, that "he rained down gold in showers," closely resembles that given in the above verse The commentator says that by Sāhasāṅka is meant Vikramāditya, which is but a random statement.

V. and VI. Who the lord of Kāśī is, whose fame by its fair colour put to shame moonlight, etc., I do not know, nor that other prince or Vārāṇasī, who fled from the field of battle. Acala also, who turned his back against his enemy, is unknown to me.

VII. Karṇa was a prince of Cedi, belonging to the Karaculī race. He is here represented to have humbled the lord of Gauḍa, to have scared away the king of Utkala or Orissa (Odra), vanquished Vikrama, defeated the powerful army of the Gūrjara king, pulverized the forces of the Mahārāṣṭras, and extirpated the race of the Mālava prince. Whether he was able to do all these things is more than questionable, but it appears certain that he was constantly engaged in wars with his neighbours, and had succeeded in establishing his sway over some of them. He was a contemporary of Bhīmadeva of Gujarāt and Āhavamalla of Mahārāṣṭra Perhaps the Vikrama he is represented to have vanquished was Vikramāditya I of the later Cālukya dynasty who was the uncle of Āhavamalla and the immediate predecessor of his father on the throne. About the time of Bhoja's death Karṇa formed a confederacy with Bhīmadeva against Mālava and sacked Dhārā,[1] and it was Udayāditya, the son of Bhoja, that freed the country from his power. Some of the Inscriptions also speak of him as having humbled the neighbouring princes.

In the Prabodhacandrodaya, Gopāla, who was the commander of the forces of Kīrttivarman, a Candella prince, is represented

1 Early History of the Deccan, 2nd ed, p 82 [=Volume III of this Edition, p. 114 N B, U]

to have defeated Karṇa and re-established the independent sovereignty of his master by delivering him from Karṇa's yoke. A copperplate grant issued by Karṇa bears a date which is equivalent to 1042 A.D.[1] Vikramāditya I came to the throne in 1008 A.D., Āhavamalla reigned from 1040 to 1069 A.D., and Bhīmadeva of Gujarāt from 1022 to 1064, 1072, or 1074 A.D.[2] It is quite possible that on some occasion during his long continued wars he may have "vanquished Vikramāditya I, and pulverized the forces of the Mahārāṣṭras" as represented in the above verse, but it appears from Bilhaṇa that he was eventually defeated or deposed by Āhavamalla.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE EXTRACTS

The above extracts present vernacular speech in three forms. The oldest form, i.e., the Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit, we have in I, II, III (1), IV, and V (1). It had become classical as Sanskrit itself and could be used for literary purposes at any time.

Then we have another form in VI, and VII (1), (2), (3). This resembles the Apabhraṁśa form, as we have it in the instances quoted by Hemacandra in his Prakrit grammar and in the 4th Act of the Vikramorvaśīya.

A third stage is represented by III, (2), (3), (4) and (5), and V. (2). This is what might be called the earliest form of the modern Hindī, the forms Ḍhilhīmaha, "in Delhi," and Jakhaṇa. or Jakkhaṇa "when," being specimens of the new formations which became necessary after the old terminations had gradually faded away up to the Apabhraṁśa period

The last two forms must represent the vernacular speech of the period when the poets wrote, and since they could not have

1 Epigraphia Ind., Vol. II, pp. 299, 302-3.

2 Early History of the Deccan, pp 81, 82, 84, and my Report for 1883-84, p. 150. [Former = Volume III of this Edition, pp 112 ff N B U.]

praised the particular princes if they had died and been forgotten at the time when they lived, the conclusion is not unwarranted that the forms of the language used by them were the forms current about the time when the kings flourished Thus about the time of Karṇa, i.e., in the first half of the eleventh century, the stage of development at which the vernacular tongues had arrived, was still that represented by the Apabhraṁśa, the origin of which is to be referred to about the seventh century; and they began to assume their modern character about the end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth, when the poet Canda flourished, and that was the form they had in the time of the Chohan Hammīra, i.e., 1283—1301 A D

NYĀYARATNAPRAKĀŚA OF VĀCASPATI

No. 775 is Nyāyaratnaprakāśa.

This is a commentary on the Nyāyaratna of Maṇikaṇṭha by Vācaspati who wrote it at the command of Padmāvatī the queen of Pratāpa. Pratāpa was the son of Vīryabhānu and belonged to the Chohan race. He is spoken of as the lord of the Pāñcāla country. As this country is to be identified with the north-eastern portion of Rajputana, nearest to Agra and Gwalior, these princes probably belonged to the branch of the Chohan race that ruled over Dholpur and the surrounding districts noticed under No 545. The Manuscript appears to have been written in Samvat 1616 in the month of Kārttika, i.e., in 1559 A.D.

ADBHUTASĀGARA BY BALLĀLASENA

No. 801 of 1884-87 is Adbhutasāgara by Ballāḷasena, king of Gauḍa.[1]

The Manuscript is incomplete, but the second which by oversight has been put into the Dharmaśāstra branch, is complete. Prof. Eggeling has described a Manuscript of the work in his

1 See also No. 231 of 1887-91.

Catalogue of the India Office Library As, however, it is incomplete, and the introduction which gives the date, and is important for historical and chronological purposes, is wanting, I proceed to describe the Manuscripts in our Collection.

In the introduction we have verses about the king and his genealogy. Some of them are unintelligible owing to the corruption of the text.

Then follow verses in which the authorities used are stated:—

ग्रंथेत्र वृद्धगर्गं गर्गपराशरवसिष्ठगार्गीयान् ।
बार्हस्पत्यबृहस्पतिकठश्रुतीर्ब्रह्मसिद्धांतं ॥
आथर्वणाद्भुतासितषड्विंशब्राह्मणार्षिपुत्रकृतीः ।
गार्गिमयर्वौशनसे(सौ?) कालावलिसूर्यसिद्धांतौ ॥
विंध्यवासिबादरायणौशनसः । शालिहोत्रविष्णुगुप्तसुश्रुतान् ।
पालकाप्यराजपुत्रदेवलान् । भार्गवीयवैजवाप्यकाश्यपान् ॥
नारदमयूरचित्रे चरकं यवनेश्वरस्य मतं ।
निखिलं वराहमिहिराचार्यग्रंथं वसंतराजकृतिं ॥
मार्कंडेयपुराणं स्कांदं भागवतमाद्यमाग्नेयं ।
पाद्मं मत्स्यपुराणं रामायणभारताख्याने ॥
हरिवंशविष्णुधर्मोत्तरे निबंधिष्यति क्षितिपः ।
पभिर्गृहीतसारान्बहुशोन्यान्वीक्ष्य सोत्याक्षीत् ॥
विषमपदवाक्यभंगो विरुद्धवचनार्थभेदपरिशुद्धिः ।
पुनरुक्तक्लिष्टनतोस्मिन्बहुशो बहुसंमतिर्ग्राह्या ॥

After this we have a short statement of the contents; but the contents are given more fully in a Sūcipatra attached to No. 231 of 1887-91, to which reference may be made.

Then occur the following verses giving the dates of the commencement of the work by Ballālasena and its continuation by his son and successor, Lakṣmaṇasena .—

शाके खनवखेंद्वब्दे आरेभेद्भुतसागरं ।
गौडेंद्रकुंजरालानस्तंभबाहुर्महीपतिः ।

ग्रंथेस्मिन्नसमाप्त एव तनयं साम्राज्यरक्षामहा-
दीक्षापर्वणि दीक्षणान्निजकृतेर्निष्पत्तिमभ्यर्थ्य सः ।
नानादानचितांबुसंचलनतः सूर्यात्मजासंगमं
गंगायां विरचय्य निर्जरपुरं भार्यानुयातो गतः ॥
श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणसेनभूपतिरतिश्लाघ्यो यदुद्योगतो
निष्पन्नोऽद्भुतसागरः कृतिरसौ बल्लालभूमीभुजः ।
ख्यातः केवलमग्रभुवः (?) सगरजस्तोमस्य तत्पूरण-
प्रावीण्येन भगीरथस्तु भुवनेष्वद्यापि विद्योतते ॥

No 801 of 1884-87 comes down to the end of Pravarṣaṇādbhutāvarta, which ends on fol. 199 *a* of No 231 of 1887-91, the total number of leaves of the latter being 390 At the end of each Āvarta we have the following colophon *mutatis mutandis* —

इति श्रीमहाराजाधिराजनिःशंकशंकरश्रीमद्बल्लालसेनदेवविरचिते श्रीअद्भुतसागरे काकाद्भुतावर्तः ।

At the end of the whole after ०विरचिते we have श्री-अद्भुतसा[ग]रः समाप्तिमगमत् ॥

From the statements in the Manuscripts, it appears that the Sena kings of Bengal traced their descent to the lunar race of Kṣatriyas, while the popular belief in Bengal is that they belonged to the Vaidya caste. The first prince mentioned is Vijayasena. He was followed by Ballāḷasena, and after him his son Lakṣmaṇasena ruled over the country. The work, it is stated, was begun in 1090 Śaka by Ballāḷasena, and before it was finished, he raised his son to the throne and exacted a promise from him to finish it. Then he gave many gifts and " went to the city of the gods with his wife " The work was afterwards brought to a completion by the labours of Lakṣmaṇasena.

At the end of a Manuscript of the Dānasāgara, another work by Ballāḷasena existing in the India Office Collec-

tion, the date of its completion is given as Śaka 1091.[1] Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, in his Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts,[2] gives 1019 Śaka as the date. Prof Aufrecht has recently justified this last by correcting the Śaśinavadaśa, i.e. 1091, occurring in the India Office Manuscripts, to Navaśaśidaśa, i e, 1019.[3] But there is nothing to show that the former expression is wrong beyond Dr Mitra's second-hand statement of the date. And the date of the commencement of the Adbhutasāgara as to the correctness of which there can be no question and which will not admit of such a correction as is applied in the other case, is Khanavakhendu, i e, 1090 Śaka, with which Dr Mitra's date of the Dānasāgara, 1019 Śaka, can in no way harmonize. That date, therefore, must have been arrived at by somebody misreading the correct expression Śaśinavadaśa as Navaśaśidaśa. So that Ballālasena died after 1091, i e, 1169 A.D., and Lakṣmaṇasena succeeded him

But Dr Rajendralal Mitra, in another place, gives 1106 A.D. as the date of Lakṣmaṇasena's accession on the evidence of an era called after Lakṣmaṇasena which is current in Mithilā and is used also in some Inscriptions and Manuscripts[4] General Cunningham mentions a copper-plate Inscription in which Śaka 1321 and Samvat 1455 are given as corresponding to Lakṣmaṇa Saṁvat 293, from which 1106 A.D comes out as the initial date of the last era, and considers that era to begin with the death instead of the accession of Lakṣmaṇsena, as he takes another more famous era to begin with the extinction of a dynasty instead of its foundation[5] Now, the date arrrived at in this manner is inconsistent with the statements we find in both the works of Ballālasena which represent him to be living

1 Eggeling's Catalogue, p 545.

2 Vol. I, p. 151

3 Z. D M. G., Vol. LI, p 329

4 Jour. Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XLVII, p. 397-99

5 Archæol. Reports, Vol. XV, p. 160 ff.

in 1168 and 1169 A D , and Lakṣmaṇasena to have been raised by him to the throne some time after 1168 A.D.

From the introduction to the Dānasāgara it would appear that Hemantasena, the father of Vijayasena, first raised the family to importance and probably wrested the province of Bengal from the preceding dynasty of the Pāla kings. Assigning about sixty years, which I consider the smallest possible period for the reigns of the three predecessors of Lakṣmaṇasena, we are brought to about 1046, A D as the date of the foundation of the Sena dynasty of Bengal on the supposition that Lakṣmaṇasena began to reign in 1106 A D. But that is not possible, as an Inscription of Mahīpāla, one of the most powerful princes of the Pāla dynasty, is dated Samvat 1083, corresponding to 1027 A D[1] , and as his reign lasted for 52 years it may have extended even to 1050 A D He had a good many successors, the names of four of whom occur in some of the Inscriptions. In the colophon of a work entitled Saduktikarṇāmṛta by Śrīdharadāsa the author gives 1127 Śaka, i e., 1205 A D , as the date of its compilation, though the metre of the verse in which it is given is faulty, and speakes probably of the year of Lakṣmaṇasena also. But as the text is corrupt, the sense cannot be clearly made out.[2] Śrīdharadāsa speaks of himself as the son of Vaṭudāsa a feudatory and close friend of Lakṣmaṇasena

If then Lakṣmaṇasena came to the throne in 1106 A D , about a hundred years would have to be assigned to two generations, i.e , to Śrīdharadāsa and his father, which is not reasonable These two collateral circumstances, therefore, are inconsistent with the supposition that Lakṣmaṇasena's reign began in 1106, while, as we have seen, there is a direct opposition between that date and those contained in the two works of Ballāḷasena The only way

1 Ibid, p. 163.

2 Rajendralal's Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts, Vol. III, p 141

to reconcile these latter dates with the initial date of the era is to suppose that the era is not Lakṣmaṇasena's, but that of the foundation of the Sena dynasty by Hemantasena. Ballāḷasena, who was living in 1091 Śaka or 1169 A.D., must have died, from the statement in the work under notice, a short time after. Supposing he died in 1172 A.D, the reigns of the first three princes would occupy about 64 years, which is the interval between the date of the foundation of the dynasty and that of Ballāḷasena's death. This interval is not too small nor too large, and consequently has an appearance of probability. It was probably usual, in accordance with the prevailing custom, to date events in the years of Lakṣmaṇasena's reign also, and when after the lapse of time he became the only prince of the Sena dynasty that was remembered and his own regnal years ceased to be used, the era of the dynasty came to be identified with him, and thus the Sena era became the Lakṣmaṇasena era. The chronology of the Pāla and Sena dynasties will have to be re-adjusted in view of the date of Mahīpāla (1027 A.D.) and the dates of Ballāḷasena (1168 and 1169 A.D.) contained in the Adbhuta-sāgara and the Dānasāgara.

EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT ON THE SEARCH FOR SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS DURING THE YEARS 1887-88, 1888-89, 1889-90, 1890-91 [1]

I publish with this Report another selection from the materials[2] collected by me, calculated to throw light on some points in the literary and political history and chronology of the country.

This is my sixth and last Report. The Manuscripts collected from May 1891 to the date of the delivery of charge have been made over to my successor.

During these four years the number of Manuscripts purchased for Government is, as will be seen from the catalogue, 1,500, besides a set of Copper-plates with an Inscription of a grant of land, and an astronomical instrument made of brass. Of these 1,267 were collected in Gujarat and Rajputana and 233 in the Maratha Country These have been divided into 19 classes as usual according to the subjects.

A NOTE ON JAHLAṆA'S SUBHĀṢITAMUKTĀVALI

Manuscripts of this work are noticed by Burnell in his Catalogue of the Tanjore Library under the names of Sūktimālikā and Sūktimuktāvalı There is another copy among the Manuscripts purchased by Dr Peterson for the Government of Bombay during 1884—1886, and is marked No. 370 in the list published in his Report for those years (P). Dr. Peterson

1 Originally published in 1897, at the Government Central Press, Bombay.

2 Most of these 'Materials' dealt with the Manuscripts belonging to the Collection of 1884-87, the notices of which were orginally included in this Report after the note on Jalhaṇa's Subhāṣitamuktāvali. As the notices of the MSS of the 1884-87 Collection have been now embodied in the Report of that Collection (ante pp. 292-348), the elaborate and exhaustive Note on Jalhaṇa, which follows is therefore what here makes up the Report for 1887-91 [N.B.U.]

published an article on the work in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XVII His Manuscript had no beginning or end, and therefore in that article he notices those verses in the anthology only which refer to particular poets. Some years ago our common agent brought me the first fourteen and the 30th leaves of another Manuscript (B). These contain the Praśasti in which the history of Jahlaṇa and his family is given. As it gave a comparatively high antiquity among compilers of Anthologies to Jahlaṇa, I asked my agent to procure another copy, and he brought me a Manuscript which was in the possession of the late Durgāprasāda (D). It has 199 leaves from the beginning, but on examination and comparison, I find that the matter on the last seven leaves which is introduced with the word मैथिलानाम does not belong to the present work.

Manuscripts B and D agree with each other, except in unimportant matters, but P, or Dr Peterson's Manuscript, appears to belong to an entirely different recension. B and D contain a great many verses more than P. Thus P, the first leaf of which is the 3rd, the first two being lost, has at the top the second half of the 9th stanza of the first topic mentioned in the Anukramaṇikā. This topic or section contains, according to B, 47 stanzas, and according to D, 48, but one stanza has been wrongly copied into it and has been erased, so that these two Manuscripts agree in the number of the stanzas and in the stanzas themselves. But P has only 12 stanzas in this section, and the 9th is the same as the 31st of B and D, the 10th is the 41st in these, 11th, 42nd, and the last, 35th. Thus 8 stanzas between the 31st and 41st do not occur in P at all, and one, the 35th, is put at the end. Similarly in the next section or Āśīrvādapaddhati, P has 32 stanzas, but D, 110. B keeps pace with D till the 26th up to its 14th leaf and then ends, but it has one stanza not occurring in D. Thus throughout, a great many verses occurring in D are not found in P, so that this is a much

shorter edition of the Sūktimuktāvali, containing perhaps half the matter which we have in the other. D comes down to the section Munyādervarṇana and breaks off with the initial words of a stanza in praise of Agastya, while P goes on up to the section of Dāna, of which it has about 4 stanzas.

It is difficult to determine which of these two resensions is genuine The shorter may be a subsequent abridgment by another person of the longer, or the longer a later enlargement of the shorter, and it is also possible that both were issued by the original compiler himself But for historical purposes one should be guided by what is common to both, to be on the safe side The Manuscript P does not seem to have contained the introduction which we find in B and D, as its two lost leaves could not afford sufficient space for it and the Anukramaṇikā. At the end of the introductory Praśasti in B and D, we have the name of Vaidya-Bhānupaṇḍita as the author But whether he is meant to be the author of the last two or three stanzas or of the whole Praśasti it is difficult to say. It would, I think, not be unreasonable to take him as the author of the whole, and thus the fulsome praise of the author and his ancestors, in which the princes themselves, whom they served, are assigned a lower position, becomes intelligible

The following is the Introduction —

यत्पादाम्भोजसेवारुचिशुचिमनसां प्रातिभं तत्तिरश्चा
चक्रांगानामपि द्राग्विलसति मिलितक्षीरनीरप्रभेदे ।
उद्दामाज्ञानरूपप्रबलतमतमःस्तोमसोमस्वभावा
देवीमानंदकंदां विबुधमणिविशादां शारदां तां नमामि ॥ १ ॥

जनयतु मतिभाजामेष संतोषपोषं
कुवलयदलकान्तिः कालिकायाः कटाक्षः ।
प्रकटयति पुरारेः केतकीगर्भपत्र-
त्विषि वपुषि लिपिं यः पंचबाणप्रशस्तेः ॥ २ ॥

कसम्मृणालांकुरकोमलानि
स्फुरत्सुधाधामकलामलानि ।
पीयूषसारैकनिकेतनानि
जयंति सूक्तानि महाकवीनां ॥ ३ ॥

गीर्वाणासुरमौलिरत्ननिकरप्रेंखन्मयूखांभसः
संसेकादिव पादमूलकलितैः स्निग्धैः प्रभापल्लवैः ।
आश्वासं कृपयेव शाश्वदकरोन्मुग्धैणसार्थस्य यः
सोभूद्वत्समुनिः पवित्रचरणन्यासेन पूतावनिः ॥ ४ ॥

तस्यान्वयेभूत्करिवृन्दनाथो
दादाः सदादाननिदानभूतः ।
यस्येक्षणाद्विज्जणभूपसैन्यं
दैन्यं गतं संयति विक्रमेण ॥ ५ ॥

चत्वारस्तस्य संजाता तनया नयशालिनः ।
भुजा इव हरेः शाश्वद्विक्रमश्रीविभूषिताः ॥ ६ ॥

चतुर्मुखमुखोद्गीर्णनिगमा इव ते बभुः ।
ख्यातो महीधरो जल्हः सांबैगंगाधरावपि ॥ ७ ॥

उपायैरिव तैः काले चतुर्भिः सुप्रयोजितैः ।
मैलुगिक्षोणिभूपालराज्यं जातं सदोजतम् ॥ ८ ॥

विज्जणबलजलराशिं विमथ्य भुजमंदरेण यः कृतवान् ।
वीरश्रियमंकस्थां स न कस्य महीधरः स्तुत्यः ॥ ९ ॥

किं चित्रं यदि भोगींद्रोनंतस्तस्तनयो बहून् ।
आनीय बलिसद्मस्थानागान् स्वस्वामिने ददौ ॥ १० ॥

विजित्य विज्जणं याते सुरलोकं महीधरे ।
निनाय भिल्लमं जल्हो राजतां क्षयवर्जिताम् ॥ ११ ॥

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१ भक्ष for वत्स D. २ भूपः for भूतः B. ३ सांबो गंगाधरस्तथा D.
४ मैल्लगि B. ५ सदाहितं D. ६ पंजरेण for मंदरेण B.

गूर्जरभूभृत्कटके कंटकविषमेतिदुर्गमे येन ।
भगदत्तकीर्तिभाजा दुष्टगजः स्वेच्छया नीतः ॥ १२ ॥

मल्लः पल्लवितोरुभीतिरभितस्त्रस्यन्नृको भैलुगि-
र्मुंजः पुंजितविक्रमस्त्रिभुवनश्लाघ्यो किल ब्राह्मणः ।
अस्मो न्मुक्तपराक्रमो विधुतभूर्मैन्नूरणप्रांगणे
येनाकारि मुरारिविक्रमभृता किं किं न तस्योर्जितं ॥ १३ ॥

हारंहारं नृपाणां समिति गजघटामिल्लमायादितास्ता
चाशामाशागजानामपि हरणविधौ सांप्रतं ह्री विधत्ते ।
स्मारंस्मारं सुराणामधिपतिरिति यद्विक्रमाणां स्म भीतः
शंके संकेतभूमौ नियमयति निजं कुंजरं कुंजरंभ्रे ॥ १४ ॥

यदसिनिहतदन्तिव्रातरक्ताक्तमुक्ता-
फलविहितविभूषा मत्तवेतालयोषाः ।
रिपुनृपतिकबंधान्नृत्यतोद्यापि दृष्ट्वा
करकलितकपालास्तालमुद्घाटयंति ॥ १५ ॥

आसीद्गंगाधरस्तस्य भ्राता गंगाधरोपमः ।
एकान्वबंध यो व्यालान्मुमोचैकान् यदृच्छया ॥ १६ ॥

संगं द्विजिह्वैर्न चकार दुष्टैरुवाह मूर्ध्ना न जडं कदाचित् ।
ददाह कामं न जनस्य दृष्टस्तथापि गंगाधर एव सोभूत् ॥ १७ ॥

तस्याभवत्सूनुरनूनसत्त्वो जनार्दनाख्यः करिवाहिनीशः ।
समुद्ग्रयशो भुवनं बभार सह श्रिया चित्रमशेषमेतत् ॥ १८ ॥

उत्पन्नं सुधियां कुले यदखिलैस्त्यक्तं बुधैर्न क्षणं
यन्नो विस्मृतमेकदापि सुजनैर्यच्च शुकं खलैः ।
दौर्गत्यस्य तथाविधस्य महतस्तस्यापि केनापि नो
यद्दानाम्बुसरित्प्रवाहपतितस्याकारि हस्तार्पणम् ॥ १९ ॥
सिंहोप्यध्यापितस्तेन गजशिक्षां तदद्भुतं ।
यथार्जुनं लसत्पत्रं समूलमुदमूलयत् ॥ २० ॥

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१ सो B. २ चेत्र for चित्र B. ३ पुत्रं for पत्रं B.

विश्वत्राणपरायणः स्फुरदुरुस्वर्णार्पितार्थिव्रज-
स्तस्मादद्भुतविक्रमः समभवच्छ्रीलक्ष्मिदेवः सुधीः ।
मंत्रैर्निर्जितदेवमंत्रिधिषणैर्जाग्रज्जयप्रक्रमै
राज्यं कृष्णमहीपतेरविकलं दत्वा स्थिरं यो व्यधात् ॥ २१ ॥

अगस्त्य इव यस्यासिर्व्यचितक्षितिभृद्भुमौ ।
चित्रं सोप्यकरोद्भृत्यत्कबंधं समरार्णवं ॥ २२ ॥

यद्रचितोद्यानश्रीः परिपाकस्फुटितदाडिमव्याजात् ।
विहसत्यनेकरंभाप्रकटितदशनेव नंदनं विपिनं ॥ २३ ॥

जटोत्कटं लसत्कुल्यं नीलकंठोपशोभितं ।
भाति यद्रचितोद्यानमुत्तमांगमिवैश्वरं ॥ २४ ॥

तत्क्षारत्वं परिहृतमहो दूरमूरीकृता प्राक्
पीयूषस्य प्रकृतिसुभगा माधुरी सा धुरीणा ।
इत्थं यातः सरिदधिपतिर्लुप्तवेषोन्यदेशं
भीत्यागस्त्यादिति जनपदैस्तर्क्यते यत्तडागः ॥ २५ ॥

तस्यास्ते तनयो नयोदधिविधुर्वैधुर्धुधानां सुधीः
सारासारविचारणासु चतुरः श्रीजल्हणाख्यः क्षितौ ।
यद्दानोदकवाहिनीभवनवांभोधेर्यशश्चंद्रमा
जातोन्यः सततोदितो धवलयत्युच्चैर्जगंत्युल्बणः ॥ २६ ॥

मत्पित्रा दत्तमस्मै प्रतिहतबलवद्वैरिवर्गोपसर्ग
राज्यं प्राज्यप्रभावप्रथितगुणभृता कृष्णराजाय भक्त्या ।
तन्निर्वाह्यं मयेति द्विगुणितधिषणाशक्तिभक्तिर्विधत्ते
सर्वं यः स्वामिकार्यं हितमनयहृता भ्रातुकेनानुजेन ॥ २७॥

ध्रुवं यस्यास्ति हस्ताब्जे मदांधा करिवाहिनी ।
दानोदकप्रवाहोत्र दृश्यते कथमन्यथा ॥ २८ ॥

यद्गुणैर्ग्रथितः शुभ्रैरमितैर्ब्रह्मगोलकः ।
विधत्ते कीर्तिकन्यायाः क्रीडाकंदुकविभ्रमम् ॥ २९ ॥

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१ कृष्णपतेरविह्वलकं D. २ सर्गो for वर्गो D. ३ स्वाभिकार्यं D.

ब्रूमहे किमगाधत्वं यत्कृपाणपयोनिधेः ।
मग्ना यत्रारिवाहिन्यो न लक्ष्यन्ते परःशताः ॥ ३० ॥

निर्दलितराजमाषैरार्द्रकखंडैः ससैंधवक्षोदैः ।
यदसिगुणो रसवत्यां संयति भिक्षां करोति कालस्य ॥ ३१ ॥

भ्यंचद्भूवलयं चलत्क्षितिधरं क्षुभ्यत्समस्तार्णवं
त्रस्यद्वैरिवधूविलोचनजलप्रारब्धवर्षोद्गमं ।
प्रोद्यंचत्तुरगावलीखुरपुटव्याधूतधूलीपट-
च्छन्नादित्यपथं कथं न विदितं यज्जैत्रयात्रादिनं ॥ ३२ ॥

यद्वैरिवीरैरसिखंडितांगैः समुत्सुकाभिः सुरसुन्दरीभिः ।
वशक्रियाचूर्णमिव प्रकीर्णमाभाति धूलिपटलं समीके ॥ ३३ ॥

क्षणं कांतारागप्रकटितमनोवैकृतयुतः
क्षणं शालोत्संगे द्विजकुलरवाकृष्टहृदयः ।
क्षणं पत्रेध्यानश्रुतिपुलकितो यद्भयभरात्
वसन् प्रासोरण्ये रिपुरवनिपालस्थितिमिव ॥ ३४ ॥

याच्ञादैन्यलघूकृतास्तृणमिव क्षिप्रं निरालंबना
नीयंते प्रतिसद्म मार्गणगणा दौर्गत्यवातेन ये ।
तेषां येन तथा कृतोतिगरिमा स्वर्णोघपुंजार्पणै-
र्यस्मात्संप्रति तेपि चित्रकटकैर्भूभृत्तुलां बिभ्रति ॥ ३५ ॥

कोप्यन्यः कल्पवृक्षोयं चकास्ति वसुधातले ।
यत्पाणिपल्लवोप्येकः कुरुतेधः सुरद्रुमं ॥ ३६ ॥

कीर्त्या यस्य जगत्त्रये धवलिते सह्याचले मन्दरे
विन्ध्ये हेमगिरौ हरक्षितिधरे नो भाति रूपान्तरं ।
नो चेदर्थिजनाय तेन ददता स्वर्णं जगत्पूर्जितं
विख्यातः कनकाचलः कथमिव स्वैरं मे विज्ञापितः ॥ ३७ ॥

तेनेयं[4] क्रियते वीक्ष्य सत्सुभाषितसंग्रहान् ।
सूक्तिमुक्तावली कंठकंदलीभूषणं सतां ॥ ३८ ॥

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१ भाजौ for संयति D. भक्षा for भिक्षां B. २ पुत्र for पत्र. D. ३ च for न B. ४ तेन यत् D. ५ कदली B.

विबुधैः संनिवेशाढ्यैः संगृहीतान्यनेकशः ।
सुधारससनाथीनि संति सूक्तानि यद्यपि ॥ ३९ ॥

तथापि सर्वतां नीत्वा विबुधैर्गर्वपर्वतं ।
शश्वदालोकनीयेयं मत्सरः किं गुणेष्वपि ॥ ४० ॥

साहित्यविद्याहृदयं ज्ञातुमिच्छसि चेत्सुखम् ।
तत्पश्य जल्हणकृतां सूक्तिमुक्तावलीमिमाम् ॥ ४१ ॥

नांगुलीयैर्न केयूरैर्न ग्रैवेयैर्न कंकणैः ।
तथा भाति यथा विद्वान् कंठसंगतयानया ॥ ४२ ॥

श्रीवैद्यभानुपंडितस्यैते.

There was a person of the name of Dādā who belonged to the Vatsa Gotra and appears to have been in the service of the Yādava king Mailugi, called in other places Mallugi Vijjaṇa, of the Kalacuri race, who had usurped the throne at Kalyāṇa in 1157 A D., was not allowed to enjoy it peacefully Besides internal disturbances he had to face the attacks of the surrounding Chiefs Mallugi appears from the above to have been one of those who were hostile to him, and Dādā, who commanded his troops of elephants, fought a battle with Vijjaṇa.

Dādā had four sons named Mahīdhara, Jahla, Sāmba, and Gangādhara who contributed to raise the importance of Mallugi's kingdom Mahīdhara succeeded his father in the command of the elephants and had to conduct the war with Vijjaṇa His son Ananta appears to have assisted his father and captured many elephants from his master's powerful enemies.

After Mahīdhara's death his brother Jahla succeeded to his office and is said to have rendered Bhillama's kingly power firm. Bhillama, we know, was the son of Mallugi and acquired finally the paramount sovereignty of the Deccan for his family, about the year 1187 A.D Jahla led a maddened elephant into the army of

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१ सुक्तानि.

the Gūrjara prince and obtained fame, as Bhagadatta.—Bhagadatta is a prince mentioned in the Mahābhārata who fought with Arjuna with great bravery —Jahla spread terror into the heart of Malla, frightened the forces of Mallugi, who must have been an enemy of Bhillama, and vanquished Muñja and Anna. Who these chiefs were we do not know, and a great many of them had to be vanquished before Bhillama could acquire supreme power The Muñja mentioned here was not the celebrated prince of Dhārā of that name Jahla captured many elephants and gave them to his master Bhillama

Janārdana was the son of his brother Gangādhara and he appears to have succeeded as commander of the troops of elephants. He taught Simha or Singhaṇa the art of managing elephants and thus enabled him to conquer Arjuna. Singhaṇa, called Simha also, was the son of Jaitrapāla and grandson of Bhillama If he was taught the art of managing elephants by Janārdana, it must have been so when he was a young man and during his father's reign. Singhaṇa himself came to the throne in 1210 A D.

Janārdana's son Lakṣmīdeva succeeded to the office and contributed by his courage and bravery to consolidate the power of king Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa was the grandson of Singhaṇa and ascended the throne after him in the year 1247 A D. Lakṣmīdeva constructed a large tank and had an extensive and beautiful garden. His son was Jahlaṇa, who with his brother assisted king Kṛṣṇa by his counsel and commanded the troops of his elephants. He compiled this collection of elegant sayings.

The following gives the contents of the anthology —

आदौ नमस्कृतिः पश्चादाशंसावचनानि च ।
सुभाषितप्रशंसातः कविकाव्यस्तुतिस्ततः ॥ ४३ ॥
कुकवीनां ततो निन्दा सन्मनस्विखलकास्ततः ।
कदर्यपद्धतिरथो द्विविधान्योक्तिपद्धतिः ॥ ४४ ॥

कृता खेचरभूचारिभेदा ते(स्ते)ष्वादितो रविः ।
खेचरेषु ततश्चंद्रः (द्रो)वातमेघास्ततः खगाः ॥ ४५ ॥
तेषु प्राक्कोकिलो हंसः शिखिध्वांक्षबकालयः ।
खद्योतचातकौ पश्चादित्युक्ताः खेचरास्ततः ॥ ४६ ॥
भूचरास्तेषु सिंहः प्राक् ततः कुंजरपद्धतिः ।
दासेरकबलीवर्दमृगपद्धतयः पृथक् ॥ ४७ ॥
जलधिमणिशंखतटिनीसरसीपद्मद्रुमाश्च शिखिमरवः ।
संकीर्णवस्तुवर्णनमित्यन्योक्तिर्द्विधाथ शृंगारः ॥ ४८ ॥
प्रथमोत्र विप्रलंभस्तदनु च संभोगशृंगारः ।
तत्र वियोगे प्रथमं प्रियगमनं स्त्रीषु मदनजावस्था ॥ ४९ ॥
प्रश्नः सखीनां विविधाः प्रलापा वियोगिनीनामथ दूतिकायाः ।
संप्रेषणं मन्मथजाप्यवस्था सह प्रलापेन वियोगिनश्च ॥ ५० ॥
दूतीवचः प्रियं प्रति संदेशो विरहिणः प्रियतमायां ।
तस्या विरहावस्थाकथनं दूत्याः प्रियाप्रश्नः ॥ ५१ ॥
दूत्युपहासस्तदनु प्रियस्य कांतावलोकने वाचः ।
बाल्यं वयसः संधिर्यौवनमखिलांगवर्णनं क्रमशः ॥ ५२ ॥
माने मानिन्यवस्थातो नायिकातिथ्यपूर्विकाः ।
सख्याश्चानुनयः पश्चादुक्तिप्रत्युक्तयस्ततः ॥ ५३ ॥
प्रसादोथ च संभोगो (ग) ऋतवः कुसुमोच्चयः ।
कंदुकोदकयोः क्रीडा रवेश्चास्तमयस्ततः ॥ ५४ ॥
प्रलापाः कामिनामादावभिसारेभिसारिका ।
चंद्रोदयः पानगोष्ठी प्रियाचाटुरतः परं ॥ ५५ ॥
सुरतेषु तत्प्रशंसा नवयोषित्संगमे सखीवाक्यम् ।
निधुवनमथ नववध्वा रतिकेली रतिविपर्यासः ॥ ५६ ॥
निवृत्तिः सुरतस्यादौ कलहः प्रणयस्य च ।
नायिकानुनयः पश्चात्प्रभातं तत्समीरणः ॥ ५७ ॥
कलहान्तरिताप्रलपनमतः परं नायकस्य शिक्षयनं ।
संभोगाविष्करणं कुलटासंकीर्णमिति च शृंगारः ॥ ५८ ॥

रसा हास्यादयो जातिस्ततो भूपतिवर्णनं ।
क्रियागुप्तादिचित्राणि तथा वक्रोक्तिपद्धतिः ॥ ५९ ॥

रथकरिहरिगिरिवारिधिनदीसरोनगरवर्णनं क्रमशः ।
कूर्मादीनां स्तवनं उद्यानाश्रमनगरमुख्यादेः ॥ ६० ॥

नीतिर्विद्या दैवं सपुरुषकारं च साहसं लक्ष्मीः ।
दानं कुलनारी तद्वृत्तमपत्यं च मित्रगुणौ ॥ ६१ ॥

कला सेवाथ धर्मार्थौ तृप्तिदारिद्र्यपद्धती ।
संतोषः क्षांतिकरुणे वैराग्यं तदनु स्तुती ॥ ६२ ॥

श्रीमता भगदत्तेन जल्हणेन विरच्यते ।
हरीशयोस्त्रयस्त्रिंशत्पद्धतीनामिदं शतम् ॥ ६३ ॥

इति श्रीमहारोहकभगदत्तजल्हणदेवविरचितायां सूक्तिमुक्तावल्याम-
नुक्रमणिकापद्धतिः ॥

THE SECTION ON SPECIFIC POETS

Leaf 30 of B contains the section on specific poets. It begins with the last words of a verse marked 4, which number probably is a mistake for 3, for the next verse has the same number The leaf ends with the third Pada of verse 19. In D there is evidently a mistake in transcription, for after the first eleven verses of the preceding section which contains quotations about poets and poetry in general, we have another which is probably the 12th of the section , but it ends with the letters ति दैविनि which are the last letters of the 38th verse of the section on specific poets, which verse corresponds with the 26th of the same section in P. There is again another similar mistake at the end. After the 61st verse we have one-half of the next, but it is followed by the 11th verse of the section on Sajjanapaddhati, the opening words of which, however, are lost.

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1 सर्वपदार्थस्तुवि (ति) विहितं B.

The first 38 verses, therefore, of the section and one or two at the end do not exist in D The following extracts give all the verses belonging to the section in the three Manuscripts —

III B, f. 30

भास्वद्वंशावतंसकीर्तिरमणीरंगप्रसंगस्तन-
ह्यादिप्रथमध्वनिर्विजयते वल्मीकजन्मा कविः ।
पीत्वा यद्वदनेन्दुमंडलगलत्काव्यामृताब्धेः किम-
प्याकल्पं कविनूतनांबुदमयी कादंबिनी वर्षति ॥ ४ ॥

जयदेवस्य.

III B, f 30

यद्वाननेन्दोरमृतप्रवाहिनी विनिःसृता पंचमवेदचंद्रिका ।
तमस्व(श्च)तापं च निहंति देहिनां श्रुतिश्रुतीनां व्यसितानेकशः (?)॥५॥

सूक्तिसहस्रात्.

स्वस्ति पाणिनये तस्मै यस्य रुद्रप्रसादतः ।
आदौ व्याकरणं काव्यमनु जांबवतीजयः ॥ ६ ॥
यथार्थता कथं नाम न स्याद्वररुचेरिह ।
व्यधत्त कंठाभरणं यः सदारोहणप्रियः ॥ ७ ॥

राजशेखरस्यैतौ.

सूत्रधारकृतारंभैर्नाटकैर्बहुभूमिकैः ।
सपताकैर्यशो लेभे भासो देवकुलैरिव ॥ ८ ॥

भट्टबाणस्य.

भासनाटकचक्रेपि छेकैः क्षिप्ते परीक्षितुं ।
स्वप्नवासवदत्तस्य दाहकोभून्न पावकः ॥ ९ ॥
तौ शूद्रिककथाकारौ रम्यौ रामिलसोमिलौ ।
काव्यं ययोर्द्वयोरासीदर्धनारीश्वरोपमं ॥ ११ ॥

राजशेखरस्यैते.

सम्यग्बाणद्वितीयेन नमदाकारधारिणा ।
धनुषेव गुणाढ्येन निःशेषो रंजितो जनः ॥ १२ ॥

त्रिविक्रमभट्टस्य.

मन्ये बृहत्कथांभोधेर्बिंदुमादाय निर्मिता ।
तेनेतरकथाकंथा न विभाति यदग्रतः ॥ १३ ॥

धनपालस्य.

हृता शिखिनि गौणाख्या स्तोकशेषापि सा कथा
मुरलीढेन्दुलेखेव लोके पूज्यतमाभवत् ॥ १४ ॥
जगत्यां प्रथिता गाथाः शातवाहनभूभुजा ।
व्यधुर्धृतेस्तु विस्तारमहो चित्रपरंपरा ॥ १५ ॥

राजशेखरस्यैतौ.

कवीनामगलद्दर्पो नूनं वासवदत्तया ।
शक्येव पांडुपुत्राणां गतया कर्णगोचरं ॥ १६ ॥

बाणस्य.

श्रोत्रेतराणि करणे भवनान्यसंख्यै-
श्चत्वारि तृप्तिमहतां विषयैर्लभन्ते ।
श्रोत्राय पक्वसुकृतस्य जनस्य पुण्याः
श्रीकालिदासगिरि (र) एव दिशंति तृप्तिं ॥ १७ ॥

अन्तरं कियदाख्यांति संतो रघुकिरातयोः ।
अंतरं यावदाख्यांति

III. D (f 22*b*—f 24*a*)

जानकीहरणं कर्तुं रघुवंशे स्थिते सति ।
कविः कुमारदासश्च रावणश्च यदि क्षमः ॥ ३९ ॥

मा स्म संति हि चत्वारः प्रायो रत्नाकरा इमे ।
इतीव सत्कृ(कृ)तो धात्रा कवि (वी) रत्नाकरोपरः ॥ ४० ॥

ध्वनिनातिगभीरेण काव्यतत्त्वनिवेशिना ।
आनन्दवर्द्धनः कस्य नासीदानंदवर्द्धनः ॥ ४१ ॥

राजशेखरस्यैते.

रत्नावलीपूर्वकमन्यदास्तामसीमभोगस्य वचोमयस्य ।
पयोधरस्येव हिमाद्रिजायाः परं विभूषा भवभूतिरेव ॥ ४२ ॥.

वाक्यं च द्विपरीशतान्यथ महाकाव्यानि सप्त क्रमा-
त्त्यक्षप्रत्यहनिर्मितस्तुतिकथालक्षाणि चैकादश ।
सूत्वा नाटकनाटिकाप्रकरणप्रायान्प्रबंधान् बहून्
विश्राम्यत्यधुनापि नातिशयिता वाणी शिवस्वामिनः ॥ ४३ ॥

कयोरप्येतौ.

कालंजरपतिश्चक्रे भीमटः पंचनाटकीं ।
प्राप प्रबंधराजत्वं तेषु स्वप्नदशाननं ॥ ४४ ॥

मायूराजसमो जज्ञे नान्यकालचरः कविः ।
उदन्वं(न्व)तः समुत्तस्थुः कति वा तुहिनांशवः ॥ ४५ ॥

अकालजलदेंदोः सा हृद्या वचनचंद्रिका ।
नित्यं कविचकोरैर्या पीयते न च हीयते ॥ ४६ ॥

अकालजलदश्लोकैश्चित्रमात्मकृतैरिव ।
जातः कादंबरीरामो नाटके प्रवरः कविः ॥ ४७ ॥

अनुप्रासिनि संदर्भे गोनंदनसमः कुतः ।
यथार्थनामतैवास्य यन्नाम्वदति चारुतां ॥ ४८ ॥

दृषदपि सतां चित्ते लिखित्वाश्चर्यमंजरीं ।
कुलशेखरवर्माभ्यां चकोराश्चर्यमंजरीं ॥ ४९ ॥

द्वि[ः] संधाने निपुणतां स तां चक्रे धनंजयः ।
यया जातं फलं तस्य सतां चक्रे धनं जयः ॥ ५० ॥

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१ नान्यः कुलचुरि कवि.

नदीनां मेकलसुता नृपाणां रणविग्रहः ।
कवीनां च सुरानन्दश्चेदिमंडलमंडनः ॥ ५१ ॥

यायावरकुलश्रेणे सुकायश्रेष्ठ (मुंकायष्टेश्च) मंडनं ।
सुवर्णबंधुरुचिरस्तरलस्तरलो यथा ॥ ५२ ॥

स्थिता माध्वीकपाकत्वान्निसर्गमधुरापि हि ।
किमपि स्वदते वाणी केषां चिद्यदि शांकरी ॥ ५३ ॥

शब्दार्थयोः समो गुंफः पांचाली रीतिरुच्यते ।
शीलाभट्टारिकावाचि बाणोक्तिषु च सा यदि ॥ ५४ ॥

के वैकटनितंबेन गिरां गुंफेन रंजिताः ।
निंदंति निजकांतानां न मौग्ध्यमधुरं वचः ॥ ५५ ॥

सरस्वतीव कर्णाटी विजयांका जयत्यसौ ।
या वैदर्भगिरां वासः कालिदासादनंतरं ॥ ५६ ॥

सूक्तीनां स्मरकेलीनां कलानां च विलासभूः ।
प्रभुर्देवी कविर्लाटीगतापि हृदि तिष्ठति ॥ ५७ ॥

पार्थस्य मनसि स्थानं लेभे खलु सुभद्रया ।
कवीनां च वचोवृत्तिचातुर्येण सुभद्रया ॥ ५८ ॥

राजशेखरस्यैते.

नीलोत्पलदलश्यामां विज्जाकां तामजानता ।
वृथैव दंडिनाप्युक्तं सर्वशुक्ला सरस्वती ॥ ५९ ॥

कविरमरः कविरचलः कविरभिनन्दश्च कालिदासश्च ।
अन्ये कवयः कपयश्चापलमात्रं परं दधति ॥ ६० ॥

यद्योगः परविग्रहे निज इव स्वच्छप्रवेशावधि-
र्यद्ध्यानं व्यपनिद्रचिन्मयरसज्योतिःप्रबोधावधिः (धि) ।
यद्वाग्बंधघनोदयो रसवतीकल्लोललीलावधि-
स्तस्यास्मिन्यदि देवबोधयमिनः केषां गुणाः सावधिः ॥ ६१ ॥

III P. (f 13a— f. 18a)

अथविशेषकविप्रशंसा

यस्माद्विदं प्रथमतः परमामृतौघनिर्वोपि (च) णा सरसस्तूक्तितरंग-
भंगिः ।
गंगेव धूर्जटिजटांचलतः प्रवृत्ता वृत्तेन वाकमहमादिकविं प्रपद्ये॥ १ ॥

वामननागस्य.

स्वस्ति पाणिनते(ये) तस्मै यस्य रुद्रप्रमादिमः(प्रसादतः ?)
आदौ व्याकरणं काव्यमनु जांबवतीजयः ॥ २ ॥

यथार्थता कथं नाम्नि मा भूद्वररुचेरिह ।
व्यधत्त कंठाभरणं यः सदारोहणप्रियः ॥ ३ ॥

भासनाटकचक्रेपि छेकैः क्षिप्ते परीक्षितुं ।
स्वप्नवासवदत्तस्य दाहकोभून्न पावकः ॥ ४ ॥

तौ शूद्रिककथाकारौ वंद्यो रामिलसोमिलौ ।
ययोर्द्वयोः काव्यमासीदर्द्धनारीश्वरोपमं ॥ ५ ॥

हुताशिषिणी (खिनि) गौणाख्या स्तोकशेषापि सा कथा ।
सुरादीलें(लीढें)वुलेखे(खे)व लोके पूज्यतमा भवेत् ॥ ६ ॥

जगत्यां प्रथिता गाथा[ः] सा(शा)तवाहनभूभुजा ।
व्यधु(र्धृ)तेस्तु विस्तारः(रं)महो चित्रपरंपरा ॥ ७ ॥

अंतरं कियदाख्यांति संतो रघुकिरातयोः ।
अंतरं तावदाख्यांति संतो रघुकिरातयोः ॥ ८ ॥

एकोपि जीयते हन्त कालिदासो न केनचित् ।
शृंगारे ललितोद्गारे कालिदासो न केनचित् ॥ ९ ॥

(कालिदासत्रयी किमु) राजशेखरस्यैते.

सूत्रधारकृतारंभैर्नाटकैर्बहुभूमिकैः ।
सपताकैर्यशो लेभे भासो देवकुलैरिव ॥ १० ॥

कवीनामगलद्दर्पो नूनं वासवदत्तया ।
शक्त्येव पांडुपुत्राणां गतया कर्णगोचरं ॥ ११ ॥

भट्टबाणस्यैतौ.

वक्रोक्त्या भर्तृमेंठस्य वहंत्या सृणिरूपतां ।
आविद्धा इव धुन्वंति मूर्धानं कविकुंजराः ॥ १२ ॥

कस्यापि.

कृत्स्नप्रबोधकृद्वाणी भा रवेरिव भारवेः ।
माघेनेव च माघेन कंपः कस्य न जायते ॥ १३ ॥
शश्वद्बाणद्वितीयेन नमदाकारधारिणा ।
धनुषेव गुणाढ्येन निःशेषो रंजितो जनः ॥ १४ ॥

त्रिविक्रमभट्टस्य.

माघेन विघ्नितोत्साहा न सहंते पदक्रमं ।
स्मरंति भारवेरेव कवयः कपयो यथा ॥ १५ ॥

धनपालस्य.

कीर्तिः प्रवरसेनस्य प्रयाता कुमुदोज्व(ज्ज्व)ला ।
सागरस्य परं पारं कपिसेनेव सेतुना ॥ १६ ॥

भट्टबाणस्य.

सहर्षचरिता शश्वद्भूतकादंबरीस्यदा (?) ।
बाणस्य वाण्यनार्येव स्वच्छंदा भ्रमति क्षितौ ॥ १७ ॥

राजशेखरस्य.

केवलोपि स्फुरन्बाणः करोति विमदान् कवीन् ।
किं पुनः क्लृप्तसंधानः पुलिंदकृतसंनिधिः ॥ १८ ॥

धनपालस्य.

बाणेन हृदि लग्नेन यन्मंदोपि पदक्रमः ।
प्रायः कविकु(कु)रंगाणां चापलं तत्र कारणं ॥ १९ ॥

दर्पं कविभुजंगानां गता श्रवणगोचरं ।
विषविद्येव मायूरी मयूरी वाङ्निकृंतति ॥ २० ॥

सरस्वतीपवित्राणां जातिस्तत्र न देहिनां ।
व्यासस्पर्द्धा(र्द्धी) कुलालोभूयद्द्रोणो भारते कविः ॥ २१ ॥

अहो प्रभावो वाग्देव्या यच्चंडालदिवाकरः ।
श्रीहर्षस्याभवत्सभ्यः समो बाणमयूरयोः ॥ २२ ॥

कस्मा(र्तुं?) मिलोत्पलादन्यो न पार्थविजयं क्षमः ।
तदर्थः शक्यते द्रष्टुं लोचनद्वयिभिः कथं ॥ २३ ॥

अयो गणपतिं वंदे महामोदविधायिनं ।
विद्याधरगणैर्यस्य पूज्यते कंठगर्जितं ॥ २४ ॥

प्रद्युम्नाभ्यापरस्येह नाटके पटवो गिरः ।
प्रद्युम्नाभ्यापरस्येह पौष्पा अपि शराः खराः ॥ २५ ॥

राजशेखरस्यैते.

जाते जगति वाल्मिकौ शब्दः कविरिति स्थितः ।
व्यासे जाते कवी चेति कवयश्चेति दंडिनि ॥ २६ ॥

कालिदासस्य.

जानकीहरणं कर्तुं रघुवंशे स्थिते सति ।
कविः कुमारदासश्च रावणश्च यदि क्षमः ॥ २७ ॥

मा स्म संति हि चत्वारः प्रायो रत्नाकरा इमे ।
इतीव स कृतो धात्रा कवि(वी) रत्नाकरोपरः ॥ २८ ॥

ध्वनिनातिगभीरेण काव्यकृ(त)त्वनिवेशिना ।
आनंदवर्द्धनः कस्य नासीदानंदवर्द्धनः ॥ २९ ॥

राजशेखरस्यैते.

रत्नावलीपूर्वकमन्यदास्तामसीमभोगस्य वचोमयस्य ।
पयोधरस्येव हिमाद्रिजायाः परं विभूषा भवभूतिरेव ॥ ३० ॥

कस्यापि.

अकालजलदेंदोः सा हृद्या वदनचंद्रिका ।
नित्यं कविचकोरैर्या पीयते न च हीयते ॥ ३१ ॥

द्विःसंधाने निपुणतां स तां चक्रे धनंजयः ।
यया जातं फलं तस्य सतां चक्रे धनं जयः ॥ ३२ ॥

शब्दार्थयोः समो गुंफः पांचाली रीतिरिष्यते ।
शीलाभट्टारिकावाचि बाणोक्तिषु च सा यदि ॥ ३३ ॥

के वैकटनितंबेन गिरां गुंफेन रंजिताः ।
निंदति निजकांतानां न मौग्ध्यमधुरं वचः ॥ ३४ ॥

पार्थस्य मनसि स्थानं लेभे खलु सुभद्रया ।
कवीनां च वचोवृत्तिचातुर्येण सुभद्रया ॥ ३५ ॥

राजशेखरस्यैते.

नीलोत्पलदलश्यामां विज्जुकां तामजानता ।
वृथैव दंडिनाप्युक्तं सर्वशुक्ला सरस्वती ॥ ३६ ॥

भवभूतिमनादृत्य निर्वाणमतिना मया ।
मुरारेः पदचिंतायामिदमाधीयते मनः ॥ ३७ ॥

कयोरप्येतौ.

अमरुककवित्वडमरुकनादेन विनिह्नुता न संचरति ।
शृंगारभणितिरन्या धन्यानां श्रवणविवरेषु ॥ ३८ ॥

अर्जुनदेवस्य.

वासः शुभ्रमृतुर्वसंतसमयः पुष्पं शरन्मल्लिका
धानुष्कः कुसुमायुधः परिमलः कास्तूरिकोऽस्त्रं धनुः ॥
वाचः(च) स्तर्करसोज्ज्वलाः प्रियतमाः श्या(श्या)माः वपुर्नूतनं
मार्गो वैष्णव एव पंचमलया गीतिः कविर्बिल्हणः ॥ ३९ ॥

कस्यापि.

प्रकृत्यैवातिवक्रेण गुणदैर्घ्यं वितन्वता ।
मायाशरासनेनैव बाणो दूरं निरस्यते ॥ ४० ॥

केचिद्गर्वगळग्रहेण विषमद्वेषज्वरेणापरे
केचिन्मौर्ख्यमलेन-ˇ ˇ वमीमीलंति शांतोत्तराः ।
तन्नो मंविरमित्तयो भवत नः सूक्तीषु सभ्याः पुन-
स्तत्पाठे वरमस्ति वो मुमुक्षुमुमायं किमप्युत्तरं ॥ ४१ ॥

लोठ्यसर्वज्ञस्यैतौ.

भव्या न व्याकरणसरणिर्यस्य माधुर्यधुर्ये
नो सौंदर्यं न च नवरसस्रोतसो न प्रवाहः ॥
याहक्प्रीत्या कथयति गिरां देवता देव ताहक्
काव्यं श्राव्यं कथयति भिषग्भानुनामा स एषः ॥ ४२ ॥
इत्थं कविकुटुंबस्य वचांसि विचिनोति यः ।
अनिन्द्यवचनस्यापि तस्य वश्या सरस्वती ॥ ४३ ॥
यस्याश्चौरश्चिकुरनिकरः कर्णपूरो मयूरो
भासो हासः कविकुलगुरुः कालिदासो विलासः ।
हर्षो हर्षो हृदयवसतिः पंचबाणस्तु बाणः
केषां न स्यात्कथितु कविताकामिनी कौतुकाय ॥ ४४ ॥

इतिविशेषकविप्रशंसापद्धतिः ॥

POETS AND WORKS MENTIONED IN THESE EXTRACTS

The poets and works mentioned in these extracts are as follows —

1. Vālmīki in a verse by Jayadeva and another from the Sūktisahasra (B.), in a verse by Vāmananāga (P)

2. Pāṇini, author of the Grammar and Jāmbavatījaya, by Rājaśekhara (B. P.).

3. Vararuci, author of Kaṇṭhābharaṇa, by Rājaśekhara (B. P.)

4 Bhāsa in a verse by Bāṇa (B. P.).
Bhāsa in a verse by Rājaśekhara (B. P).

5. Rāmila and Somila in a verse by Rājaśekhara (B. P.), mentioned as the authors of a Śūdrikakathā.

6. (*a*) Guṇāḍhya, the remnant of the story composed by whom after he had burned a large part is highly esteemed in the world (B P), by Rājaśekhara.

(*b*) Guṇāḍhya, also in a verse by Trivikramabhaṭṭa (B. P.).

(*c*) Bṛhatkathā in a verse by Dhanapāla (B.).

7. Sātavāhana, compiler of Gāthās, in a verse by Rājaśekhara (B. P)

8. Vāsavadattā (of Subandhu), in a verse by Bāṇa (B. P.).

9 Kālidāsa in a verse by Rājaśekhara (P) and in another probably by the same author (B) Raghu, by Rājaśekhara (B. P), Raghuvaṃśa also (D P).

10. Bhartṛmeṇṭha in an anonymous verse (P.).

11 Bhāravi
12 Māgha
} mentioned in a verse by Trivikramabhaṭṭa (P.). Kirāta mentioned by Rājaśekhara (B. P.)

13 Bāṇa in the same verse of Trivikramabhaṭṭa in which Guṇāḍhya is mentioned, also as the author of Harṣacarita and Kādambarī by Rājaśekhara (P).

14 Pravarasena, author of Setu, by Bāṇa (P).

15 Pulinda contemporary of Bāṇa by Dhanapāla (P). He was probably the same as Divākara, the Cāṇḍāla mentioned by Rājaśekhara (P.)

16 Mayūra by Rājaśekhara (P.).

17. Dhroṇa or Hroṇa by Rājaśekhara (P.).

18. Trilocana, author of Pārthavijaya, by Rājaśekhara (P.).

19. Gaṇapati by Rājaśekhara (P.).

20. Pradyumna, author of Nāṭakas, by Rājaśekhara (P.).

21 Vālmīki
22. Vyāsa
23. Daṇḍin
} by Kālidāsa (P).

24. Kumāradāsa, author of Jānakīharaṇa, by Rājaśekhara (D. P.).

25. Ratnākara by Rājaśekhara (D. P.).

26. Ānandavardhana, author of "Dhvani as the essence of Poetry" by Rājaśekhara (D. P.).

27. Bhavabhūti by an anonymous author. Ratnāvalī also mentioned (D. P.).

28. Śivasvāmin, author of many hymns to Śiva and of Nāṭakas, Nāṭikās and Prakaraṇas (D.). Anonymous.

29. Bhīmaṭa, lord of Kālañjara, author of five dramas, the best of which was Svapnadaśānana, by Rājaśekhara (D.).

30. Māyūrāja (of the Kalacuri royal race ?) by Rājaśekhara (D).

31 Akālajalada by Rājaśekhara (D. P.).

32. Kādambarī-Rāma, author of dramas, by Rājaśekhara (D).

33. Gonandana skilled in alliteration, by Rājaśekhara (D.).

34. Kulaśekhara, author of Āścharyamañjarī, by Rājaśekhara (D.).

35. Dhanaṁjaya, author of Dvisaṁdhāna, by Rājaśekhara (D. P).

36. Surānanda, "among poets the ornament of the Cedi country, as among princes was Raṇavigraha and among rivers the Narmadā," by Rājaśekhara (D) Raṇavigraha was a Cedi prince, and brother-in-law of Kṛṣṇa II of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty of the Deccan, whose dates range from 875 A D. to 911 A.D., and maternal grandfather of Indra III or Nityavarṣa whose dates are 914 A.D. and 916 A.D Probably the poet Surānanda was a contemporary of the prince.

37. Tarala, the ornament of the Yāyāvaras, a work by whom was probably called Suvarṇabandha, by Rājaśekhara (D.).

38. Śaṁkara, by Rājaśekhara (D)

39. Śīlābhaṭṭārikā, wrote in the Pāñcālī style like Bāṇa, by Rājaśekhara (D P.).

40. Vikaṭanitambā, by Rājaśekhara (D. P.).

41. Vijayānkā, a Karṇāṭī lady, wrote in the Vaidarbhī style like Kālidāsa, by Rājaśekhara (D.).

42. Prabhudevī, wrote in the Lāṭī style, by Rājaśekhara (D.).

43. Subhadrā, by Rājaśekhara (D. P.).

44. Vijjakā, a dark-complexioned lady Anonymous (D. P.).

45. Amara

46. Acala

47. Abhinanda (D.).

48. Devabodhi, a Yogin of great powers (D)

49 Murāri. Anonymous (P.)

50 Amaruka, by Arjunadeva (P)

51 Bilhaṇa. Anonymous (P)

52. Māyāśarāsana by Loṣṭyasarvajña (P).

53. Bhiṣagbhānu (P), the same as Vaidyabhānu, which is the name occurring at the end of verses quoted from his work in this anthology and the Padyaveṇī.

54 Caura (P.)

55. Harṣa (P.).

INDEX OF POETS WHOSE VERSES ARE GIVEN IN JAHLAṆA'S SŪKTIMUKTĀVALI

The following is an index of the poets whose names are given at the end of the verses quoted in D together with the first lines or initial words of these verses. The numbers refer to the leaves of D. The references to P are indicated by that letter being prefixed

In folio 29*b* there is an omission of the nature of the two already noticed consequent on the scribe's not having one leaf of his original before him Similar omissions of short or long passages there are in folios 45*b*, 144*b*, 150*b*, 162*b*, 164*a* and 190*a*. In these cases and also in the sections at the end which

are wanting in D, I have taken the poets and verses occurring in the shorter recension of the anthology as represented by P.

Wherever after the name of the poet the word एतौ or एते occurs, I have taken the two or more preceding verses to belong to him. But in many cases there are two or more verses at the end of which a poet's name occurs without एतौ or एते. Prima facie, this omission indicates that the last verse only belongs to the poet named, and the omission of the usual subscription of the author's name, or of कस्यापि when the name is unknown, under the preceding verses is due to the corruption of MSS And from a comparison of D and P and from my knowledge of some of the works quoted from, I find this, as a general rule, actually to be the case But it is possible that the एतौ or एते itself is omitted through a mistake, and this, too, I have found to be true in a case or two The safest course under the circumstances is to take the last verse only as belonging to the author named, and this I have followed

Acala

32 *a* अमुं कालक्षेपं त्यज जलद, *b* परभृतशिशो मौनं तावद्विधेहि, 107 *a* यदा त्वं चंद्रोमूर्हिमकरकला ।

Adbhutapuṇya

101 *a* आयाते दयिते मरुस्थलभुवामु॰, P. 117 *b* आयाते दयिते मनोरथशतैर्नीत्वा कथंचिद्दिनं ।

Anangabhīma

190 *a* एतस्मिन्मृगयां गतेपि धनुषश्चापे ।

Andhanātha

39 *b* स्मरनखरशिखरदारित ।

Abhinandana

141 *a* एककैव निजवृंदमध्यगा, लोचनैर्न कुमुदं स्म पीयते ।

Abhinavagupta

55 *a* भोभोः किं किमकांड एव पतितः, 56 *a* कांतारं परितो ज्वलत्यतिनले, 76 *a* शीतांशोरमृतच्छटा यदि कराः ।

Amarūka

61 *a* लग्नानां शुकपल्लवे भुजलता, *b* दृष्टः कातरनेत्रया चिरतरं, कांति कथंचिद्गदितप्रयाणे । 63 *a* प्रस्थानं वलयैः कृतं प्रियसखैः, 65 *a* तन्वंग्या गुरुसंनिधौ नयनयोर्यद्वारि, 62 *a* लोलैर्लोचनवारिभिः सशपथः, 66 *b* अलसवलितैः प्रेमार्द्रार्द्रैः, 70 *a* पत्रं न श्रवणे न बाष्पगुरुणोर्नो नेत्रयोः कज्जलं । 73 *a* तैस्तैश्चाटुभिराशया किल तदा, 73 *b* पादांगुष्ठेन भूमिं किसलयरुचिना, याताः किं न मिलंति सुंदरि पुनः, 80 *a* अच्छिन्नं नयनाम्बु बंधुषु कृतं तापः सखीष्वाहितो । 101 *b* दीर्घा वंदनमालिका विरचिता, 102 *a* स्फुटतु हृदयं कामः कामं करोतु तनुं तनुं । *b* चलतु तरला दृष्टिर्भ्रष्टा खला सखि मेखला । दूरादुत्सुकमागते तरलितं संभाषिणि स्फारितं भ्रूभेदो गणितश्चिरं नयनयोरभ्यस्तमामीलनं । तद्वक्त्राभिमुखं मुखं विनमितं, एकआसन-संस्थितिः परिहृता । 104 *a* लिखन्नास्ते भूमिं बहिरवनतः प्राणदयितो । attributed to Amarūka elsewhere, संत्येवात्र गृहे गृहे युवतयस्ताः पृच्छ गत्वाधुना । अंगुल्यग्रनखेन बाष्पसलिलं विक्षिप्य, these two attributed to Amarūka in P ; पादासक्ते सुचिरमिह ते, 105 *b* तथाभूदस्माकं प्रथममविभक्ता, 107 *b* कठिनहृदये मुंच भ्रांतिं, 108 *b* यद्गम्यं गुरुगौरवस्य सुहृदो, सुतनु जहिहि कोपं पश्य पादानतं मां । परिम्लाने माने मुखशशिनि तस्याः करधृते । 109 *a* दृष्टे लोचनवन्मनाङ्मुकुलितं, 119 *a* मंदं मुद्रितपांशवः, 121 *b* रात्रौ वारिभराल्सांबुदरवो, 126 *a* नीचोच्चैर्निक्षिपंतः, 132 *a* लीला-तामरसाहतोन्यवनितानिःशंकदष्टाधरः । *b* ललितमुरसा तरंती, 137 *b* प्रणयाविशदां चक्रे दृष्टिं ददाति न शंकिता, 146 *a* संदष्टाधरपल्लवा सचकितं हस्ताग्रमाधुन्वती । 147 *b* गाढाश्लेषविशीर्णचंदनरजः, 148 *b* करकिसलयं धृत्वा धृत्वा, सुरतविरतौ व्रीडावेशाश्रमश्लथ-हस्तया । 149 *b* एकस्मिन्शयने विपक्षरमणीनामग्रहे मुग्धया । 150 *a*

एकस्मिन्शयने पराङ्मुखतया, P. 118 संदष्टाधरपल्लवा सचकितं, P. 123 *a* इदं कृष्णं कृष्णं प्रियतम ननु श्वेतमथ किं । *b* कोपात्कोमल-लोल बाहुलतिका, P. 124 *b* अहं तेनाहूता किमपि कथयामीति विजने । P. 125 *b* सुप्तोयं सखि सुप्यतामिति गताः ।

Amṛtadatta

30 *b* कोयं भ्रांतिप्रकारस्तव पवन पदं, 16 *b* भक्तिप्रह्वविलोकन-प्रणयिनी ।

Arasiṭhakura

7 *b* अतिविपुलं कुचयुगुलं, 96 *b* मध्येन तस्या विजितः कृशांग्याः, P. 122 *b* नक्तं निरंकुशतया, 164 *b* दधिमथनविलोलल्लोलदृग्वेणि-दंभात् । 171 *a* कान्तासत्वैवगत्या कथमपि गलिता ।

Argaṭa or Argaṭha

P. 11 *b* विपुलहृदयाभियोग्ये, P. 160 *a* रिक्ताः कर्मणि पटवः ।

Arjunadeva

P. 17 *a* अमरुककवित्वडमरुक ।

Avantivarman

135 *a* अविज्ञातविशेषस्य सर्वतेजोपहारिणः ।; poet's name in P, not in D.

Aśvikumāra (two)

P. 159 अशीतेनांभसा स्नानं

Ākāśapoli

75 *a* पंचत्वं तनुरेतु । 84*a* प्रियादर्शनमेवास्तु । अस्या नेत्रपथं गम्ये । यान्निष्पीड्य विरिंचेन । तापकाठिन्यचलता । केः सुरैः केन शैलेन । न त्वरा श्रेयसे पुंसां । हतमोहादिमामल्पं । क्षीरसागरकल्लोललोल-लोचनयानया । 89 *b* पांचाली मिथुनेषु भातिरसिका । 137*b* आघातात्ति विमुंचवेपथुभरं ।

Ādityabhaṭṭa

169 *b* यत्रात्रासु प्रभुरतुरगश्रेणि ।

[Bhadanta—Ārogya]

103 *a* भ्रूभंगे रचितेपि दृष्टिरधिकं सोत्कंठमुद्वीक्षते ।

Icchaṭa

153 *b* अभ्यस्य पवनविजयं, 154 *b* पितरि मृतेपि हि वेश्या रोदिति हा तात तातेति ।

[Bhaṭṭa-] Indurāja

'21 *b* कुंभद्वयं यद्मरद्विरदस्य सोम्बात्, P. 39 *b* किंशुचितेन रजसां विक (?), 55 *b* उद्स्योभैः पुच्छं शिरसि निहितं, 109 *b* सा यावंति पद्यान्यलीकवचनैराळीजनैः पाठिता । P. 117 वृद्धभित्तिविहित-व्याजैः कांची, 183 *a* उद्देशोयं कनकसिकताकोमलैकांतकांता । *b* उपपरिसरं गोदावर्याः परित्यजताध्वगाः ।

Indrakavi

5 *b* चूडोत्तंसितचारुचंद्रकलिका, 8 *b* दैत्यानामधिपे नखांकुरकुटी, सेयं स्थली नवतृणांकुरजालमेतत्, 44 *a* यच्चंद्रार्धविभूषणः पशुपतिः, स्वस्त्यस्तु विद्रुमवनाय, 47 *a* स्तोकांभः परिवर्तितांगशफरग्रासार्थिनः सर्वतो । 160 *a* रामः किं कुरुते न किंचिदपि च ।

Uḍḍīyakavi

P. 115 *b* गाढालिंगनपूर्वमेकमनया चूते जितं चुंबनं ।

Utprekṣāvallabha

11 *a* कल्याणमावहतु वः शिवयोः शरीरं । P. 12 *a* संत्येव सूक्तिरसिका बहवो मनुष्याः । 64 *b* अस्त्रं विमुच्य सकलं प्रथमप्रयोगे । 66 *b* बाले प्रियेण विरहात्तव कर्शितायाः [:] । 68 *a* कालं पुरा गरळमंबुनिधेरुदस्यात् । 86 *a* कृच्छ्रेण कापि गुरुभैव जनानुरोधात् । काचिन्निवारितबहिर्गमना जनन्या । काचिद्विहस्य किळ, 9 *b* पंकोत्थच-

त्वपरिवादभयान्मृगाक्ष्या [:] । 98 *b* मुकैरपि प्रियतमा, 101 *b* येनैव सूचितनवाम्युदयप्रसंगा । 129 *a* कर्णोत्पलाश्रयनमाप, पूर्वं द्विरेफ-परिभूयभयात् । P. 124 *b* यानि प्रयंति विरहे विद्लंति यानि । न्यस्तानि शंखवलयानि करे कयाचित् ।

[Bhaṭṭa-] Upamanyu

135 *a* सांध्यरागरुचिरारुणमारात् ।

Umāpatıdhara

9 *b* हिमगिरितनयामयार्द्धमूर्तिः, P. 18 *b* स्वाधीनो रसनांचलः, 41 *b* करभदयिते, 42 *a* करभ रभसा क्रोष्टुं वांछस्य०, यस्याः संभृत-सालवालवलयं, 50 *a* अर्काः केचन केचिदक्षतरवः, 54 द्विक्वकं तृणमसना, 55 *b* त्वं चेत्संचरसे वृषेण लघुता का नाम दिग्दन्तिनां । 73 प्रियायाः प्रत्यूषे, 75 *b* मृणालीहारोयं न भुजगपतिः, 160 *b* नियंतव्याः केन स्ववशारसनावल्लिसुभगा । 184 *b* तेनास्त्वानि जलावगाहनरसव्यासक्तपौरांगना ।

Kaṭ(ṭu)kādıtya

113 *b* अमी हेलोन्मेषव्यसनिषु पलाशेषु ।

Kamalākara

179 *a* अवातैर्घ्राणिता, करिकवलनशिष्टैः ।

Kamalāyudha

125 *b* लघुनि तृणकुटीरे क्षेत्रकोणे यवानां ।

Karpūrakavı

41 *a* युष्मं दासेर दासीयं बदरी यदि रोचते ।

Kalaśa

74 *a* निद्रार्द्धमीलितदृशो मदमन्थराणि । 132 *a* आसमासमधि-कांतमुखि ।

Kaliṅga

126 *a* हूणीसीमंतमुद्रां सपदि तरलयन्, 159 *b* शत्रोः श्रोत्रपथेन गः कति कति प्रांचः, 183 *b* वैतंडप्रचण्डाप्रचंडपवन ।

Kavikeli

15 *a* उद्धूय धूलीर्धवली रसातलात् ।

Kaviratna

21 *a* स्फटिकमरकतश्रीहारिणोः प्रीतियोगात् । (the name of the poet from P.) 45 *b* शंखाः संति सहस्रशो जलनिधेः ।

Kaviśvara

161 *b* शुंडादंडप्रहारप्रपदविघटिताः, रक्तं नक्तंचरौघः पिबति च वमति ।

Kāmandaka

84 *a* नामापि स्त्रीति संवादि विकरोत्येव मानसं ।

Kālidāsa

P. 15 *b* जाते जगति वाल्मीकौ । 71 *a* प्रत्यादिष्टविशेषमंडनविधिः, रम्यं द्वेष्टि यथा पुरा प्रकृतिभि, 72 *a* अभिमुखं मयि संहृतमीक्षितं, स्निग्धं वीक्षितमन्यतोपि नयने, 74 *b* क्वाकार्यं शशलक्ष्मणः क्व च कुलं, 82 *a* संक्षिप्यंते क्षणमिव कथं दीर्घयामास्त्रियामाः । एतस्मान्मां कुशलिनमभिज्ञानदानाद्विदित्वा । 86 *a* चित्रे निवेश्य परिकल्पितसत्त्वयोगा । 91 *b* स्नानार्द्रमुकेष्वनुधूपवासं । 97 *a* मध्येन सा वेदिविलग्नमध्या । 110 *a* अग्रे स्त्रीनखपाटलं कुरबकं, 125 *a* छिन्नि (न्न) मुचुकुंदमुकुलस्थितुर, 128 *b* चलापांगां दृष्टिं स्पृशसि बहुशो, आश्लिष्टबालतरुपल्लवलोभनीयं । 129 *a* यतो यतः षट्चरणो विवर्तते । लोलां दृष्टिमितस्ततो विभजते, 131 *a* पयोधराकारधरो हि कंदुकः । 133 *a* एता गुरुश्रोणिपयोधरत्वात् । 135 *a* शुद्धमाविलमवस्थितं, 137 *b* शिरसा प्रणिपत्य याचितानि । रजनीतिमिरावगुंठिते पुरमार्गे 150 *b* नद्या इव प्रवाहो विषमशिला, 151 *b* तन्वी श्यामा शिखर-

दृशना, अपि भुजगसमीपादुत्पतंतं मयूरं । 175 *b* यद्वालोके सूक्ष्मं प्रभृति, भुकेषु रश्मिषु निरायतपूर्वकायाः । अयमरविंदरेभ्यः, 176 *b* तीव्राघातप्रतिमुखतरुस्कंधमग्नैकदंतः । 189 *b* व्याघ्राननमीरमिमुखो-त्पतिताम्बुहाम्यः । लक्ष्मीकृतस्य हरिणस्य हरिप्रभावः । अपि भुजग-समीपादुत्पतंतं मयूरं । परिचयं चलक्ष्यनिपातने । मेदश्छेदकृशोदरं, 191 *a* नीवारः शुकगर्भकोटरमुखभ्रष्टास्तरूणामधः । *a* वल्मीकाग्र-निमग्नमूर्तिरुरग, प्राणानामानिलेन वृत्तिरुचिता ।

Kuntalapati (v l. Sihalapati)

79 *a* चित्राय त्वयि चिंतिते ततभुवा चक्रे नतज्यं धनुः ।

Kumbhaka

90 *b* तरंतीवांगानि स्खलदमललावण्यजलधौ ।

Kumāradāsa

95 *a* कांतिप्रकर्ष['] दृशनच्छदेन संध्याघने बद्धपदं हरंत्याः । *b* नार्यं शशी तत्प्रतिरूपमन्यत् । 96 *b* वपुः प्रकर्षादुपचीयमान । 98 *b* पश्य-न्हतो मन्मथबाणपातैः । 105 *a* बाले नाथ विमुंच मानिनि रुषं, (poet's name given as Śrīkumāra in P.) 132 *a* अंतर्जला-वारितमूर्तिघाता । P. 114 *a* नियतमिह पतंति दंतधार । 184 *b* प्रचंडवातोपरमेन निश्चलं । 191 तेजसा तपसो दीप्तः । 192 *a* शिरः प्रदेशालंबिन्या ।

Kumuda

16 *a* हृदयं कौस्तुभोद्भासि ।

Kṛṣṇapilla

113 *b* कावेरीवारिवेल्लल्लहरि, P. 122 *b* अंगैरनंगभ्रमभुग्नदृग्भिः ।

Kṛṣṇamiśra

15 *a* मुक्ताभा नृकपाल, 59 *a* हृद्मपद्म कपाटं ।

Kokkoka

P. 156 *a* विकसद्मलदीपे पुष्पदामावकीर्णे ।

Kṣemendra

7 *b* जयति स नाभिसरोरुहमधुकरपटलैः, 14 *a* सुवर्णगिरिकर्णिके तरलतारकाकेसरे । 16 *b* आदिमत्स्यः स जयतात् । 24 *b* दानोज्वला श्रीः श्रुतमप्रमादं । 28 *a* वीणेव श्रोत्रहीनस्य । *b* यत्करोत्यवशो क्लेशं । उक्तं परस्याभिमतां । व्यर्थं श्रुतमकलस्य । यदर्ज्यते परिक्लेशैः । 61 *a* अनंगोमाधवलासंगाज्जिता, 69 *b* अवधिदिवसः प्राप्तप्रायं, poet here called Kṣemeśvara in P.—77 *a* अंगेनंगज्वरप्लुतवहत्यक्षुषि ध्यानमुद्रा । 92 *b* पुंडरीकमिवाभाति नासावंशागमौक्तिकं । author's name in P.—115 *a* निजां कायच्छायां श्रयति महिषः, 116 *b* आध्मातोद्धतदाववह्निसुहृदः, P. 114 *a* दृश्यते पानकेलीषु । 145 *a* वामस्कंधनिषण्णशार्ङ्गकुटिल, 147 *a* अकृत्रिमविलासांकं । 154 *a* काकाह्वौल्यं यमात्क्रौर्यं । *b* कलशाब्धिनिर्गत, इतिवेधी सिद्धो मे । प्रथमं स्ववित्तमखिलं । उत्तिष्ठति नमति वणिक्, 155 *a* भगदत्तप्रभावाढ्या । P. 161 *b* दधत्स्युदिततेजसां, दलोद्दलननिश्चलै: ।

Gaṇapatikavi.

14 *a* यायाद्गजेन्द्रवदनः ।

Gādhikabhallūka

118 *a* पंचेषोर्जयघोषणा गुणनिधेः ।

Gelpaṇḍita

166 *a* संख्यातुं यदि दानमस्य नृपतेः, लूतस्तत्र पिनद्ध ।

Goidhoi-kavirāja

132 *b* निजनयनप्रतिबिंबैरंबुनि ।

Gotrānanda

7 *a* क्रीडासरोषगिरिजाचरणारविंद । 75 *a* हे यामिनीश अडिमा कतमस्तवैष । *b* स संतापः क्रूरः कुसुमसुभगा सांगलतिका । 77 *a* श्वासेषु प्रथिमा मुखं करतलं, 94 *a* बिभ्राणो मृगसख्यमेव किमपि, 100 *b* तदकमस्य कलंक एष तुलना, 105 *a* येन श्रोत्ररसायनं, 134 *b*

आपृष्टोसि व्यथयति मनो दुर्बला वासरश्रीः। मित्रे क्वापि गते सरोरुह-वने बद्धानने ताम्यति। उन्नाडप्रणये रुषां परिवृढे, 137 *a* चेतः कातरतां जहीहि, 141 *a* जाते यौवनपीनघाम्नि शशिनि।

(Bhadanta-?) Gopadatta

192 *b* शार्दूली क्रोडगर्भे मुकुलितनयना लेढि शावं हरिण्याः।

Gobhaṭa

24 *a* अनुहरतः खलभुजगावग्निमपाश्वास्यभागयोः सूच्याः। (the first Pāda from P.) 26 *b* उपकारमसंप्राप्य क्षुभ्येत्साधुः, सवर्णाशनिराकाशां (शः)। वंदितोप्येष दोषाय। अपूर्वः कोपि कोपाग्निः। (author called Gobhaṭṭa here).

Govardhanācārya

P. 127 *b* अन्यमुखे दुर्वादो यः प्रियवचने स एव परिहासः।

[Bhaṭṭa-] Govindarāja

36 *a* निजकुलोचितचेष्टितमात्मनो।

Caturmukhamahādeva

55 *b* विष्णो त्वया द्विजपतिं।

Candraka

21 *a* येन ध्वस्तमनोभवेन, 107 *b* प्रसादे वर्तस्व प्रकटय मुदं, 134 *b* एकेनाक्ष्णा प्रविततरुषा।

Candrakavi

31 *a* जलधर जलभरनिकरैः।

Caḍheśvara

100 *b* यतो यतोंगाद्‌पयाति कंचुकः।

Ciyāka

71 *b* अहो अहं नमो मह्यं। 74 *b* प्रथमविरहखेदव्यापिनी यत्र बाला।

Chittappa

P. 3 *b* भूत्यै वोऽस्तु कपालदाम जगतां, D. (10 *b*) gives the latter half only. विश्वं ग्लस्यति etc. 11*b* कल्पांते शमितत्रिविक्रम-महाकंकाल, 37 *b* निरानंदं कौंदे मधुनि विधुरो, 165 *a* अभ्युद्धृता वसुमती दलितं रिपूरः। 168 *a* यस्याधो गगनं रसातलमुपर्यंभोधयो-र्म्यंतरे।

Jaghanasthalībaṭuka

98 *a* वपुरनुपदं नाभेरूर्ध्वं विधाय मृगीदृशो।

Jayagupta

123 *b* द्वयमिदमत्यंततमं।

Jayatuṅgodaya or Jayatuṅga

9 *a* सूक्ष्माय शुचये तस्मै। 68 *b* किं ते न संति गिरयः। 88 *a* समं विलासोंकुरितः स्तनाभ्यां।

Jayadeva

11 *b* गिरितनयैकपयोधरनिहिततनुः, P. 12 *b* अपि मुदमुपयातो वाग्विलासैः।

Jayamādhava

128 *a* उचित्य प्रथममवस्थितं मृगाक्षी पुष्पौघं।

Jayavardhana

P. 160 *b* नालस्यप्रसरो जडेष्वपि कृता।

Jaladeva

84 *b* विनैवांभोवाहं वहलरुचि।

Jalamānuṣīrudra

181 *a* एतस्माज्जलधेर्जलस्य कणिका।

Jāika

164 *b* अंगुष्ठाग्रिमवक्रितांगुलिरधः।

Jitamanyu

168 *b* दिग्वारणे सुरवधूपरिगीयमान ।

Jīvanāga

41 *b* कुमुदशबलैः फुल्लांभोजैः सरोभिरलंकृतां ।

Jhalajjhalavāsudeva

61 *b* प्रहरविरतौ मध्ये वान्हः ।

Ḍimboka

74 *b* पुरस्तन्व्या गोत्रस्खलनचकितो, 83 *b* नायातो यदि तादृशं स शपथं कृत्वा ।

Taruṇabāṇa

64 *a* मदकलकलकंठकंठनाद ।

Trilocana

24 *b* कुर्व्वंति चाटुरितैः सुजनस्य संतः ।

Trivikramabhaṭṭa

P. 14 *b* शब्दब्राणद्वितीयेन, 15 *b* सिंदूरस्पृहया स्पृशंति करिणीकुंभस्थमाधोरणाः । 71*a* हृद्योद्यानमरुत्तरंगितसरस्तीरे, कर्पूरांबुनिषेकभाजि, 77*a* त्वद्देशागतमारुतेन मृदुना संजातरोमांचया । 86 *b* अमंदामंदनिष्यंद । सर्गव्यापारशीलस्य । दग्धो विधिर्विधत्ते । लावण्यपण्यपरमाणुदलं, 87 *b* भजन्नासीन्निद्रापरिचयमुपेंद्रः, 88 *a* परिहरति वयो यथा यथास्याः, 89 *b* कुरंगीवांगानि स्तिमितयति गीतध्वनिषु यत् । 93*a* आबध्नन्परिवेषमंडलमलं, 97 *a* मध्ये त्रिवलीत्रिपथं पीवरकुचचत्वरे च चवलदृशां । 99 *b* आकारः स मनोहरः, 101 *b* किंचित्कंपितपाणिकंकणरवैः पृष्टं ननु स्वागतं । 132 *b* अविरतमिदमंभः स्वेच्छयोच्छालयंत्याः । 133 *b* पूर्वाहं विदितोवृथा, 134 *a* विश्लेषाकुलचक्रवाकमिथुनैः, 136 *b* किमु कुवलयनेत्राः संति नो नाकनार्यः । 137 *a* विकलयति कलाकुशलं । न गम्यो मंत्राणां न च भवति भैषज्यविषयो । पौष्पाः पंच शराः

शरासनमपि, 140 *b* कैलासायितमद्रिभिर्विटपिभिः, 182 *b* एषा सा विन्ध्यमध्यस्थलविपुलशिलो, 186 *a* जननीतिमुदितमनसा । 189 *a* किं स्यादंजनपर्वतः स्फटिकयोः, किमश्वः पार्श्वेषु, 190 *a* कथिव-द्रुलकोकिलाकलितनूतनचूतांकुरं । पटलमलिकुलानां, स्कंधशाखांतरा-लेषु । P. 155 *b* प्रियविरहविषादस्यौषधं ।

Daṇḍin

131 *a* वनिताकरतामरसाभिहतः पतितः पतितः पुनरुत्पतति । 173 *a* न मया गोरसाभिज्ञं ।

Darpaṇarāghava

P. 122 *a* निजांशुकावृतां प्राचीं चुंबत्यर्केनुरागिणि ।

Dāmodaragupta

154 *b* अविदग्धः श्रमकठिनो । शृणु सखि कौतुकमेकं ।

Dīpaka

9 *a* युवासि (क यासि) खलु चौरि मत्प्रमुषितं स्फुटं दृश्यते । 31 *b* दृष्टा मया कमलसरसी राजहंसावतंसा । 153 *b* कोशं कुशे-शयति काशय । 154 *a* सकाणं कोलनेत्रं कुलयुवतिमुखं ।

Durlabharāja

P. 158 *b* अतिकृष्णेष्वतिगौरेष्वति, यद्दंष्ट्रेपि मूर्खो रोमचितो । बुद्धियुतो यद्दीर्घो, वक्रानुगतं रूपं ।

Devagupta

64 *a* विषुत्पतापोपशमार्थमंगे ।

Devabodhi

19 *a* चंद्रार्कौ यावद्दंहीमवद्मरसरित्, 85 *a* तमस्तोमः पूर्वं तदनु सकलः शीतलरुचिः ।

Devarāja

P. 125 *b* अये को जानीते निजपुरुषसंगोपि न तथा ।

Dhanamjaya

174 *a* सर्वस्वापहरो न दस्युकुलजः ।

Dhanapāla

11 *a* ऋक्षाणां भूरिधाम्नां श्रितमधिपतिना, 12 *a* अस्थीन्यस्थीन्य-जिनमाजन, P. 14 *b* मावेन विश्रितोत्साहाः । P. 15 *a* केवलोपि स्फुरन्बाणः ।

Dharma

182 *b* हेलोन्मूलितनर्तितप्रतिहतव्यावर्तितप्रेरित ।

Dharmakīrti

87 *a* लावण्यद्रविणव्ययो न गणितः क्लेशो महान्स्वीकृतः । 105 *b* भवतु विदितं व्यर्थालापैरलं प्रिय गम्यतां ।

Dharmadāsa

172 *b* शीकरासारसंवाही । पूतिपंकमयेस्यर्थे । अंभोरुहमये स्नात्वा । शिलीमुखैस्त्वया वीर ।

Dharmadeva

170 *b* हारानाहर देवचंद्र धवलान् ।

Dharmāśoka

P. 13 *a* अनुवृत्तुष्टः शब्दैरथ च घटनातः स्फुटतराः । 168 *b* निःसृत्याह (परः?) सागरात्, 171 *a* देव स्वस्तुति ?

Dhārimala

P. 142 *a* आस्ते सीमंतरत्ने मरकतिनि हृते हेमताटंकपत्रे । (anonymous in Śārṅgadhara, not in D).

Dhūrtimādhava

129 *b* अत्रास्मिन् सुतनु लतागृहे ।

Nandana

77 *b* चंद्रं चंदनकर्दमेन लिखितं ।

Naradevavarman

155 *b* आदाय मांसमखिलं स्तनवर्जितं मे ।

Narasimha

54 *b* इतः काकानीकं प्रतिभयमितः, 55 *a* गतमतिजवाद्भ्रांतं सर्वं, किमसि विमनाः किंचोन्मादी क्षणादपि लक्ष्यते ।

Nāgappayya

46 *b* विपक्षं पद्मिन्या स्मृतमनिमिषैः ।

Nācirāja

. 95 *b* अस्याः स्मितं प्रणयिपूर्णमुखेंदुबिंब । 111 *a* निर्वाणांगार-संघैरिव, P 121*b* उत्पालं (?) हेळयैव द्रुतमभिपततः (poet named Nivirāja).

Nāthakumāra

110 *b* बाणानंकुरयंति पुष्पधनुषो वीरस्य, 130 *a* चलत्कुचतटां-शुकश्रवण, प्रत्यासन्नसखीकरांबुजयुग, P. 126 *b* मलपद्कलेषु कामिनीनां । 155 *a* दुर्दर्शैः कृपणैः फले (?) यदि भवेत्, 186 *a* यत्सौधभृंगारसरोजराग ।

Nidrādaridra

74 *a* जाने कोपपराङ्मुखी प्रियतमा स्वप्नेद्य दृष्टा मया ।

Niśānārāyaṇa*

107 *b* कृतककृतकैर्मायाशाठ्यैस्त्वया, किं कंठे शिथिलीकृतो भुजलतापाशः 157 *a* अक्षत्रारिकृताभिमन्युनिधन, *b* कृतमनुकृतं दृष्टं वा यैरिदं गुरुपातकं । यत्सत्यव्रतभंगभीरुमनसा ।

Naimeya or Naimayya

24 *b* यदमी दशंति दशना रसना तत्स्वादु फलमवाप्नोति । 53 *a* शाखा संततिसंनिरुद्धनभसो ।

* Perhaps the same as the author of the Veṇīsaṃhāra, the 2nd, 4th and 5th of the following verses occur in that play.

Pāṇini

119 *b* क्षपाः क्षामीकृत्य, 139 *b* उपोढरागेण विलोलतारक ।

Punaruktapaṇḍita

27 *a* पश्चादन्यत्पुरश्चान्यत्पुनरुक्तमथाब्दिव (the name of the author from P).

Puṣpadanta

P. 156 *a* अंध्री प्रेमनिबंधनैकनिपुणा लाटी विदग्धप्रिया ।

Pṛthvīdhara

60 *a* उच्चैर्दैवादिह पशुपतौ भूषणीभूय तिष्ठन् । 63 *b* सा तोरणांतिकमुपेत्य दिशो विलोक्य । 183 *a* पातुं गौतमि वारि तावकमिदं पीयूषनिर्दूषणं । मातर्गौतमि कीर्तिकल्पलतिके ।

Prakāśavarṣa

31 *b* अयि जलद यदि न दास्यसि । यच्छ्रभृतां लघुतृणैरपि वक्रमूलं । एतदत्र पथिकैकजीवितं । 55 *b* आम्राः किं फलभारनम्रशिरसो, P. 159 *b* स्तब्धप्रकृतिर्लोके ।

Prajñānanda

151 *a* यत्रावकाशलेशोऽस्ति । 177 *a* अनूनवेगाद्वयमद्वितीय ।

Pradīpavasuṃdhara

80 *a* विलासिवासीने प्रतिवसति ।

Prabodhacandrodaya

19 *a* येन त्रिःसप्तकृत्वः ।

Prahlāda

31 *a* एकस्य तस्य मन्ये । जलदः समुद्रसेवामाचरति, 49 *b* गाता कोकिल एव ज्ञाता च, वहसि बालभुजां कुलानि मौलौ । उत्तंसकौतुकरसेन विलासिनीनां । यो दृष्टः स्फुटदस्थिसंपुटमिषात्, 50 *a* मूर्तिर्नेत्ररसायनं यदि कुतः, 53 *b* महेशस्त्वां धत्ते शिरसि ।

Prahlādana

30 *a* रविरविकलं श्लाघापात्रं, 31 *b* स क्षारो जलधिः, 49 *b* पारेचरःशताः संति महांतो, 56 *b* रोहणाचलशैलेषु कस्तुकां, P. 25 *b* आलोकयंतः संस्थेव। P. 18 *b* जडात्मापि भवत्युच्चैराश्रयमहतां पदं। P. 163 *b* प्रियः प्रजानां दातैव।

Bāṇabhaṭṭa

5 *a* नमस्तुंगशिरश्चुंबि। 7 *a* हरकंठग्रहानंद। 14 *a* वाचः क्रौंचरिपोः शिशुत्वविकलाः श्रेयांसि पुष्णंतु वः। (last line, the first and probably some other verses being on leaf 13, which is lost.) स्वेच्छारम्यं लुठित्वा पितुरुरसि, P. 14 *a* सूत्रधारकृतारंभः, कवीनामगलद्दर्पो, P. 14 *b* कीर्तिः प्रवरसेनस्य, 64 *a* दुःखानि संविशंत्याः। 2 *a* नूनमाज्ञाकरस्तस्याः सुभ्रुवो मकरध्वजः। यथा यथास्याः स्तनयोः समुन्नतिः। सन्मार्गे तावदास्ते प्रभवति पुरुषस्तावदेवेंद्रियाणां। (P has the first two only of these and they are anonymous). 116 *b* कारंजीः कूल (ज) यंतो निजजठररव, सर्वाशारुधि दग्धवीरुधि, 117 *a* ग्रीष्मोष्मप्लोषशुष्यत्पयसि, ग्राम्यसीत्कारचक्रभ्रमभरितघटीयंत्रचक्रप्रमुकं। 118 *b* गंभीरोद्गर्जितेन त्रिभुवनविवरं व्याप्य, 121 *b* नृत्यद्गर्हिणि दर्दुरारवपुषि, 126 *b* अन्योन्याहतदंतनादमुखरं प्रवृद्धं मुखं, 127 *b* पुण्याग्नौ पूर्णवांछः, 147 *b* पततु तवोरसि सततं। 177 *a* पश्चात्पाद्रिं प्रसार्य त्रिकनतिविततं, 180 *a* माधन्यानां निवासं विदधति गिरयः।

Bilhaṇa

6 *a* देहार्धं कुरु पार्वति स्थिरपदं, 15 *a* देहप्रविष्टाद्रिसुतामुखेंदु। P. 12 *a* कर्णामृतं, सूक्तिरसं विमुच्य, 21 *a* गृहीततत्त्वः शशिशेखरेण। *b* वचांसि वाचस्पतिमत्सरेण। P. 18 *a* धिक्त्वां रे कलिकाल याहि विलयं। 22 *a* लंकापतेः संकुचितं यशो यत्, *b* असौ रसौचित्यगुणोज्ज्वलोपि, 39 *b* मातंगैः किमु वल्गितैः, सेराः संतु सभासदः (attributed to Bhīmapaṇḍita in P.) 40 *a* येनानर्गलकालकेलिदलित (attributed to Bherībhānkāra in

P.) ग्रामाणामुपशल्यसीमनि, (no name after this in P.) 49 *a* सोढप्रौढहिमक्षमातिशनकैः, 65 *b* शीघ्रं भूमिगृहे गृहाण वसतिं, 66 *a* यस्संभाषणकालसैव कुरुषे, 67 *b* शल्यानि मर्माण्यपि कीलितानि, 68 *a* मुग्धस्य ते वद विधुंतुद, चंद्रो न चेद्दहति ते सखि, ज्योत्स्नां पिबेयुः कियतीं चकोराः । 69 *b* विरक्तमन्यप्रमदानुरक्तं । अपूजितैवास्तु गिरींद्रकन्या । 70 *a* तस्य त्वया कर्कशवादिनोपि । स वृति घत्ते यदि रोपणत्वं । वृथा गाथाश्लोकैः, 76 *a* घर्मांशुर्भगवानसूत यमुना, प्रालेयाद्रिस्त्वरितमुरसि, 78 *a* उन्मीलंति नखैर्लुनीहि, यावत्तावद्पेक्षते पिकयुवा, *b* दृत्ते वृष्टिमधीतविभ्रमलवा, नीरागामृतलांछने मुखमपि, स्पृशंत्याः क्षामत्वं मदनकर, गृहीतं तांबूलं परिजन, तीव्रः कोपि विजृंभते 79 *a* गलत्येका मूर्च्छा, 84 *b* अये केयं लीलाधवलंगृह, पुरः स्थित्वा किंचिद्वलित, 85 *b* मन्ये पार्वणचंद्रमध्यशकलेना०, 86 *b* वक्त्रं निर्मलमुन्नता कुचतटी, 89 *a* गंडे मंडनमात्मनैव कुरुते, लास्याभ्यासमिषेण चित्रमनया, *b* दोलायां जघनस्थलेन चलता, 92 *a* भ्रूलेखायुगुलं भाति । *b* पुराणबाणत्यागाय । 93 *b* भाति दंतच्छदेनास्याः । 95 *a* अयं त्रयाणां ग्रामाणां । सरले अपि दोर्लेखे । *b* अंगुलीभिः कुरंगाक्ष्याः । मुखेंदुचंद्रिकापूरप्लाव्य मानौ पुनःपुनः । तत्कुचौ चरतः किंचिन्नूनं मनसिजव्रतं ॥ 96 *b* दरिद्रमुदरं दृष्ट्वा । 97 *a* भाति रोमाली तस्याः । *b* मन्ये समाप्तलावण्ये । 98 *a* तन्नितंबस्य निंदति । *b* मन्ये तदूरू संभाव्य । हेममञ्जीरमालाभ्यां । 99 *a* अमूल्यस्य मम स्वर्णतुलाकोटि, जाग्रतः कमलाल्लक्ष्मीं । तस्याः पादनखश्रेणिः । 111 *a* स्थाने स्थाने मलयमरुतः, मानग्रंथिकदर्थनाय कथिताः, *b* श्रोत्रस्यामृतनिर्भरैकवसतिं, 112 *b* कृतप्रकोपाः पवनाशनानां । मलयगिरिसमीराः सिंहल, पानीयं नालिकेरीफलकुहर, 113 *a* तन्वानः शीतलत्वं, 117 *b* विधुत्पंकजखंडपंकपटली, 122 *a* अथोपगूढे शरदा शशांके, 123 *a* नीलनीरदनिचोल, 124 *b* शरत्कालातपक्रान्त । 125 *a* जडात्मापि स्वकालस्थः । समक्षमपि सूर्यस्य । मन्नैरिणः कठोरांशोः । *b* अभवज्जुतोष्माणः । 127 *a* अंगारहासिषु विलासगृहोदरेषु । *b* पृ (स्पृ) ष्ट्वा स्तोकं

चितस्तास्त (त) टतुहिनकणैः, 128 *b* अताडयत्पल्लवपाणिनैकां । असंख्यपुष्पोपि मनोभवस्य । 130 *a* सौंदर्यमिंदीवरलोचनानां । *b* प्रसार्य पादौ विहितस्थितीनां । उत्क्षम्य दूरं मुहुरानमंत्यः । 133 *b* शुचिरिति परितः प्रसिद्धभाजि । 136 *b* मधुर्मासो रम्यो विपिनमजनं त्वं च तरुणी । 138 *a* कृत्वा नूपुरमूकतां चरणयोः, (The poet here called Kāśmīri-Bilhiṇa.) *b* अभिसरणरसः कृशांगयष्टेः 141 *b* यथा, ताराचक्रं चरति परितः, (attributed apparently to Murāri, but to Bilhana in P.) 144 *b* लीलामीलनतो विलोचनयुगे गच्छंति, काकुत्स्थेन शिरांसि यानि शतशः, पश्यंतु कौतुकमिदं सकलाः कवींद्राः । P. 121 ये कुंठीकृतवल्लभप्रणतयः, 150 *a* यः सैन्यैः स्मरपार्थिवस्य, P. 124 *a* नाडीदलं काचनकर्ण-[पा]शे । 156 *a* हा वत्स क गतोसि देहि वचनं, 157 *a* अत्राकंठं विलुठ सलिले निर्जला भूः पुरस्तात् । 160 *a* संधानक्षण एव राघवशरैः, 168 *b* सिद्धांगनास्तव यशांसि रतांतरेषु । उदग्राह-मुदन्वतो जलमतिक्रामत्यनालंबिनि । 186 *b* उष्मायमाणनवयौवन-मुग्धभावाः । मन्ये विशालायतवेषवीथी । प्रत्यष्टमि प्रतिचतुर्दशि तीर्थयात्रा । यस्मिन्पुरे निवसतामयमेव लाभो । 187 *a* मुखरमुरजं पौरस्त्रीभिः, 190 *a* स्वेच्छाविहाररसिकस्य वनस्थलीषु ।

[Bhaṭṭa] Bijāka

110 *a* असौ मरुच्चुंबितचारुकेसरः । 125 *a* हिमधवलदंतकेशी ।

Bhartṛmeṇṭha

P. 127 *a* मधु च विकसितोत्पलावतंसं ।

Bhartṛhari

25 *b* ब्रह्मांडमंडलीमात्रं किं लोभाय मनस्विनः । कुसुमस्तबकस्येव द्वयी वृत्तिः, 26 *a* कचित्कंथामाली कचिदपि च दिव्यांबरधरः । 28 *a* ते तावत्कृतिनः परार्थनिरताः स्वार्थस्य बाधेन ये मध्यास्तेपि परोपकारनिरताः स्वार्थाविरोधेन ये । तेमी मानुषराक्षसाः परहितं यैः स्वार्थतो हन्यते ये तु &c, जाड्यं ह्रीमति गण्यते व्रतरुचौ दंभः,

121 *a* उपरि घनं घनपटलं तिर्यग्गिरयो, 174 *b* यावत्स्वस्थमिदं शरीरमरुजं।

Bharvu

126 *b* गौरीविभ्रमधूपधूमपटलश्यामायमानोदराः।

[Bhaṭṭa-]Bhallaṭa

P. 25 *a* गते तस्मिन्भानौ त्रिभुवन, 30 *b* ये आत्या लघवः सदैव गणनां प्राप्ता न ये कुत्रचित् (attributed to Bhallaṭa in P.) 35 *b* पथि निपततां शून्ये दृष्टा, 36 *b* तद्वैदग्ध्यं समुदितपयस्तोयतत्त्वं विवेक्तुं। 37 *a* मा गा विषादमलिपोतक, *b* सोपूर्वो रसनाविपर्ययविधिः, 47 *b* अंतश्छिद्राणि भूयांसि कंटका बहवो बहिः। 53 *a* चंदने विषधरान्सहामहे।

Bhavabhūti

62 *b* त्वं जीवितं त्वमसि मे हृदयं द्वितीयं। 64 *a* परिमृदितमृणालीम्लानमंगं प्रवृत्तिः। 70 *b* गमनमलसं शून्या दृष्टिः, यदिदावानंदं प्रणयिनि जने, 71 *a* चले चक्षुर्मुकुलिनि, 72 *b* प्रेमार्द्राः प्रणयस्पृशः परिचयात्, संभूयैव सुखानि चेतसि परं, 73 *a* यद्वेचारभ्यांतः पद्मुपहितं पक्ष्मलदृशा। 75 *a* भ्रमय जलदानंभोगर्भान्, 75 *b* दलयतु हृदं गाढोद्वेगं द्विधा तु न भिद्यते। 76 *a* परिच्छेदातीतः सकलवचनानामविषयः। 105 पुरश्चक्षूरागस्तदनु मनसोनन्यपरता। 108 *a* विनिश्चेतुं शक्यो न सुखमिति वा दुःखमिति वा। 133 *a* अलिनिविडितवक्षव्यकनिष्ठोन्नतामिः। 147 *a* किमपि किमपि मंदं मंदमासक्तियोगात्। P. 134 *b* उत्कृत्योत्कृत्य कृत्तिं, 162 *b* ॰भयतः संधिनिर्मुक्तमादौ, (3rd line of the verse beginning with निद्रापरिचयद्गनः) अंत्रैः कल्पितमंगलप्रतिसराः, 163 *b* दोर्दंडांचितचंद्रशेखरधनुः, 179 *a* गुंजत्कुंजकुटीरकौशिकघटा, 184 *a* इह समदशकुंताक्रांतवानीर, 188 *b* कठोरपारावतकंठमेचकं। दृष्टिस्तृणीकृतजगत्त्रयसत्त्वसारा। 189 *a* त्रातुं लोकानिव परिणतः, 192 *b* उत्पत्तिर्जमदग्नितः स भगवान् देवः, ज्योतिर्ज्वालाप्रलयजटिल।

Bhāgavata Jayavardhana

143 *b* लावण्यपूरपरिपूरितविद्रुमुखेस्मिन्।

Bhāravi

26 *a* अभिमानवतो मनस्विनः प्रियमुच्चैः, अभिमानधनस्य गत्वरैः। *b* अपवादाद्भीतस्य। 131 *a* एकोपि त्रय इव भाति कंदुकोसौ, P 159 *b* अभिद्रोहेण भूतानामर्जयन्।

Bhāsa

141 *a* कपाले मार्जारः पय इति कराल्लेढि शशिनः। 91 *b* अस्या ललाटे रचिता सखीभिः।

Bhāskara

122 *a* कदा नु कन्यागमनप्रवादं।

Bhāskaravarman

191 *b* बद्धासन्नासनानि स्थिरतरतनवः।

Bhīma

58 *b* गंभीरस्य महाशयस्य, 115 *b* कानि स्थानानि दग्धान्यति-शयगहनाः।

Bhīmabhaṭṭa, or Bhīmaṭa (P)

78 *a* अस्मिन्नंद्रमसि प्रसन्नमहसि।

Bhīmasiṁhapaṇḍita

150 *b* संसारः प्रतिभाति येन सरसः।

Bhūtimādhava

6 *a* करस्पर्शारंभात्पुलकितपृथूरोजकलशो।

Bherībhāṅkāra

6 *b* उच्चैरुत्तालखेलन्मुजवन 11 *b* स्पृष्ट्वाकृष्टदंष्ट्राविकटमुख, कल्पांतक्रोधनस्य त्रिपुरविजयिनः, 33 *a* येनानंदमये वसंतसमये, 169 *b* सतानामयुगांतसगतिरिह स्यादर्णवानां न किं। 181 *b*

अज्ञांघ्रिनिर्धौतरजश्चयापि । कियद्दूरे तीरद्रुमकुसुम, मातः शैलसुतास-पत्नि, 182 *a* देवि त्वत्सैकतेषु त्रिषवणविशद, अमुष्मिन्संसारे परि-कलितसारेतरतया । काकैर्निष्कुषितं श्वभिः कवलितं । त्वत्तीरे तरुकोटरांतरगतो*, 187 *b* आयुर्वायुप्रथितनलिनीपत्रमित्रं किमन्यत् ।

Bhoja or Bhojadeva

5 *b* आदाय चापमचलं कृत्वा हीनं, 29 *a* उत्पाद्य यत्स्वयमपि प्रबलानुराग । 30 *a* खेदं ये जनयंति ये विदधति क्षिप्रं जगन्नीरसं । 33 *b* यः संतापमपाकरोति जगतां, 36 *a* हंहो बकोट यदि, आदाय द्रुतमाकृतेरुपशमाद्वि°, 37 *a* जातिं यथानुसरसि त्वमिह द्विरेफ, 38 *a* तेजो दर्शयसि त्वमीदृशमपि, 41 *b* रूक्षं वपुर्न च विलोचनहारि रूपं । 44 *a* पाथोनाथ जगत्यहंकृतिभृतो, 46 *a* यद्वल्गस्यमितो वृथातटभुवो, 50 *b* भ्रातश्चंदन किं ब्रवीमि, 51 *a* किं ते नम्रतया किमुन्नततया, *b* आपुष्पप्रसरान्मनोहरतया, 56 *b* रत्नानां न किमालयो जलनिधिः, ये संतोषसुखप्रबुद्धमनसः, 57 *a* एकस्यायमुदेति मूर्द्धनि गिरेः, श्लाघ्यं महत्वमेकस्य । यत्पीयूषसहोदरैः क्षपयति, *b* सद्वृत्तस्य च वंशजस्य च, शुभ्रत्वं यदिदं य एष गरिमा, 58 *a* वन्हि विशांमसि निमज्ज, ते संति हंत बहवो भुवि ये परेषां । स्नेहं यस्त्वमिहावसज्य निबिडं, यत्सद्गुणोपि सरलोपि, सद्वंशस्य प्रविततगुण, *b* अस्पृश्यसंगति-मिह प्रविहाय, गंभीरस्य महाशयस्य सहजस्वच्छस्य, भीमस्यास्य प्रतनुवदन, सांद्रज्योतिः पटलदलित, 94 *a* यदपि विबुधैः सिंधोरंतः कथंचिदुपार्जितं (attributed to Bhāsa in P.) 110 *b* माकंदेषु न यद्यपि प्रतिदिनं, 115 *a* अंगारैः खचितेव भूः, 119 *a* स्फुरद्भीमा-भोगः, 126 *b* शीतार्तिप्रसरश्लथाकुलपदन्यासैः, P. 126 *a* शुभे कार्ये वृद्धौ, 188 *a* किं भूमो जलधेरनंतमहिमस्थानस्य, ब्रूमः किं नभसो निसर्गमहतः ।

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* There is no इति after the seven verses in fols. 181-182, but the 1st and the 4th occur in P. and there we have इती after the name, wherefore probably all these belong to the same author.

Makaranda

175 *b* नगच्छाया हि रम्येयं ।

Maṅkhaṇa

10 *b* पायात्कृतानंगपतंगदाहः । 60 *a* किंनाम दर्दुर दुरध्यवसाय ।

Mangalārjuna

25 *a* कथमपि हि भवंति क्षेत्रसद्बीजयोगात् ।

Madana

7 *b* देवी रतिर्विजयते मृगनाभिचित्रपत्रावली, P. 11 *b* पादविकलता कापि । 19 *a* यामिन्यां परिचस्तिमाजि, 37 *a* यद्यपि वदनसरोरुह-सौरभलोभेन, 123 *a* हतश्चंद्रः सांद्रः स्मरमयवयः संधिमधुरः । मयूखैरेकाग्रैः कलभदशनच्छेदविशदैः । P. 98 *a* समं पांथैः कांतैर्घनसमयसंकेतघटितैः (the latter part of this verse only in D.) 124 *a* गतो यो वर्षासु क्रकचनिशितां केतकवनीं । 134 *b* दिनभर्तुरस्तमयतः, 135 *b* नीताः काप्यभिसारिका इव दिशो, 140 *a* अमुष्मिन्पंचेषोस्त्रिभुवनजिगीषोः, शुचीनां हंसानां हरति मलिनानां, समुन्मीलत्पूर्वाचलशिखरिदूर्वावणमृगी । 145 *b* नयनपथि निरोधक्रोधनिर्धूतमार, 153 *b* वंदे पद्मिनि धर्मलाभ, P. 121 *b* अपयांतीनामधुना संकेतनिकेतनान्मृगाक्षीणां । 156 *b* भयान्मंदं यस्य क्षमवति कपोले, 159 *b* येहंपूर्विकया प्रहारमभजन्खड्गस्य मां छिन्धि मां । ये लंकाधिपतिप्रतापदहनैः, 179 *a* विन्ध्यक्षोणीधरपरिसरोत्संग, 180 *a* मौलौ जलददानेन । 184 *a* इह शिखरकराल, उत्संगे सैकतानां, स्कंधासक्तैरिह हि विपिने, 184 *b* अयमुपगततृष्णाकृष्णसारापिपातैः ।

Madālasākuvalayanāṭikā

72 *a* किं पक्वं सुकृतं किमहं इति मे नाद्यापि संचित्पुनः ।

Mayūrabhaṭṭa

72 *a* साभिप्रायं प्रणयसरसं प्रौढमारूढरागं ।

From the Mahānāṭaka

8 *b* कूर्मः पादांसयष्टिर्भुजगपतिरसौ, 12 *b* देवा दिक्पतयः प्रयात परतः, 14 *b* विघ्नेशो वः स पायात्, 145 *a* अंके कृत्वोत्तमांगं प्लवगबलपतेः, 156 *a* सौमित्रे ननु सेव्यतां तरुतलं, हे गोदावरि. रम्यवारि सुभगे, 158 *a* क्ष्वेडाः (क्षुद्राः ?) संत्रासमेनं विजहत, *b* कपोले आनक्याः करिकलभदंतद्युतिमुषि । निर्विघ्नप्रतिबिंबितेन वपुरः । किंचित्कोपकलाकलापकलना, P. 134 *a* पताः शार्दूलहेला-दलित, P 136 *b* अंके कृत्वोत्तमांगं ।

Mahāmanuṣya

125 *a* अप्युत्पन्नस्वभावानां नारीणामिव सांप्रतं । 127 *a* कारणों-त्पन्नकोपेपि सांप्रतं प्रमदाजनः ।

Māgha

124 *b* विगतसस्यजिघत्सुमघट्टयत् । 127 *a* शिशिरमासमपास्य, 129 *b* अवचितकुसुमा विहाय वल्लीः । मुहुरुपहसितामिवालिनादैः । 133 *b* अनुरागवंतमपि लोचनयोः । 135 *a* प्रतिकूलतामुपगते हि विधौ । 142 *b* हावहारि हसितं वचनानां । वृत्तमिष्टतमया मधु पत्युर्गाढमाप, अन्ययान्यवनितागतचित्त । 146 *a* दीपितस्मरमुरस्यु-पपीडं । यद्वदेव रुरुचे रुचितेभ्यः । 147 *b* आहतं कुचतटेन रमण्या । P 124 *a* अचिरजनि जगाम धाम तस्याः । 162 *a* कश्चित्मूर्छामेत्य गाढप्रहारः । नूनं युद्धं शूरमाश्लिष्य काश्चित् । 176 *b* क्षिप्तं पुरो निजगृहे मुहुरिक्षुकांडं । स्तंभं महांतमुचितं सहसा मुमोट । 177 *a* आवर्तिनः शुभफलप्रदशुक्तियुक्ताः । 186 *a* स्फुरत्तुषारांशुमयूखजालैः । विभ्रंसया कृत्रिम ।

Mādhavamāgadha

52 *a* विद्धि तैः सेवितैः किं तैः ।

Mādhavaśīla

19 *a* गीतीर्वैणवमंद्रनादमधुराः ।

Māyurāja

156 *a* गंडूषाशोषिताब्धिप्रकटजलधरोत्काजातस्मितानां । 158 *b* अप्राप्तप्रथमावकर्तनरुषा ।

Mārulā

67 *b* गोपायंती विरहजनितं दुःखमग्रे गुरूणां ।

Mālatīmādhava

P. 11 *b* व्याकरणादधिगतमपि कविवदने शब्दवृंदमन्यादृक् ।
P. 12 *b* निरवद्यानि पद्यानि यद्यनार्यस्य का क्षतिः । 40 *b* भग्नां आर्ति वहतो मदकरिणश्रेण, 56 *a* दामोदरमुदराहितभुवनं यो वहति, 96 *a* निखिलैर्निरस्तमंगैः । *b* अंशुकेन जघनं तिरोदधे कंचुकेन च कुचौ, 181 *a* उत्कलिकाबाहुल्य ।

Māhila

145 *b* पुष्यान्यादाय वेगाद्वहुलतरकरैः ।

Muktākaṇa

121 *b* यथा रंध्रं व्योम्नश्चलजलदधूमः स्थगयति । 175 *b* केका (यां) स्वचरितैर्निसर्गशुचिभिः ।

Muñja or Srī-Muñja

P 25 यत्पादाः शिरसा द (न?) केन विधृता पृथ्वीभृतां मध्य-[तो] । 106 *a* दासे कृतागसि भवेदुचितः प्रभूणां ।

Murāri

5 *b* वाणीभूतपुराणपूरुष, नमस्तुभ्यं देवासुर, 6 *b* नीललोहितल-लाटलांछने । 7 *a* श्रीकंठस्य कपर्दबंधन, *b* गौरीविभज्यमानार्द्ध, 8 *a* विरमति महाकल्पे नाभीपथैकनिकेतनः । 10 *a* सहस्राक्षैरंगैः, 11 *a* स्वच्छंदैकस्तनश्रीः, 12 *b* उद्दामभ्रमिवेगविस्तृत, यद्वाट्यभ्रमिघूर्णमान-वसुधा, 25 *b* अभेदेनोपास्ते कुमुदमुदरे, 57 *b* कष्टा वेधव्यथा कष्टो, 65 *a* वक्रे या मृगनाभिपत्ररचनां, 88 *a* अनाकूतैरेष प्रियसहचरीणां, 93 *b* आरब्धे दयितामुखप्रतिसमे । 96 *a* तदात्वप्रोन्मीलन्म्रदि-मरमणीयात्कठिनतां । 116 *a* उद्दामद्युमणिद्युतिव्यतिकर, P 121 *a*

तमोभिः पीयंते गतवयसि, P 134 *a* निर्म्मज्जच्चक्षुरंतर्भ्रमदतिकपिश, 135 *a* चूडारत्नैः स्फुरद्भिः, *b* उन्मुकाभिर्दिवसमधुना, 140 *a* इंदुर्यदुदयाद्रिमूर्ध्नि, उन्मीलंति मृणालकोमलरुचो, *b* यत्पीयूषमयूख-मालिनि । 141 *b* यथा ताराचक्रं चरति, किं नु ध्वांतपयोधिरेव, कमितुरभिसृत्वरीणां, एतस्य कलामेकाममृतमयूखस्य, इंदोरेककलाया रुद्रेणोद्धृत्य, पीयूषाम्रयणं जगन्नयदृशां, 143 *b* न तावद्विंबोष्ठः स्फुरति न च रागोयमधरे । अनेन रंभोरु तवाननेन । गोत्रे साक्षादजनि भगवान् 146 *a* स्वेदजलपिच्छिलाभिस्तनुभिर्यूनां च शिथिलमाश्लेषं । 156 *b* भूयिष्ठानि मुखानि चुंबति मुखैः 158 *a* येन त्वां विनिहत्य मातरमपि, त्रैलोक्यत्राणशौंडः सरसिजवसतेः, न्यंचत्क्यंचद्धरित्रीधृत-चरजभर, 159 *a* संतुष्टे तिसृणां पुरामपि रिपौ, स्वेषूत्कृत्य हृतेषु, 160 *b* अस्त्राणि प्लवगाधिपेन विहिताः, यत्तत्कृतं दशमुखशिरः, प्रागुच्चैः शिरसं क्षुरप्रनखरैः, आजन्मब्रह्मचारी पृथुलभुजशिला, 165 *b* उन्मीलन्मणिरश्मिजाल, 177 *b* मेरोर्मेदुरयंति संमदमधः, 178 *a* भूमेः स्वर्णतया फलोत्तरतरुस्मेरस्य, सोयं कैलासशैलः, *b* गिरिः कैलासोयं, पुरा प्रालेयशैलोयं (Murāri's name in P) 179 *b* रमयति मलयाचलोयमस्मान् । 180 *b* आकंठदष्टशिरसाथ विभाव्य पार्श्वे । 181 *a* लक्ष्मीरस्य हि पादः । यथादूरापाति त्रिदिवयुवतीनेत्र सुलभां । *b* देवस्यांबुजसंभवस्य भवनात्, बलिद्विषत्पादनखांशुरा-जिभिः । 182 *a* यूपांकुरप्रकरदंतुरतीरलेखा । *d* देव्या भूमेर्मृगमदमयं मंडनं, 184 *a* जडस्वच्छस्वादुप्रकृतिरुपह्नुते०, 187 *a* प्लवमानैरपारोयं । *b* प्रयागः सर्वतीर्थेभ्यः, 189 *a* भयभ्रष्टप्रेयोविरह, 190 *a* दृश्यंते मधुमत्तकोकिलवधू, *b* प्रियंगुश्यामांगो य इह विहरत्यंबुजवने । 191 *a* बालेयतंडुलविलोपकदर्थिताभिः । तैर्मेधाजननव्रतप्रणयिभिः 192 *a* पूरयित्वेव सर्वांगं । अविद्याबीजविध्वंसात् ।

Morikā

63 *b* किंचाति न गणयति, 76 *b* मा गच्छ प्रमदाप्रिय ।

Yaśovarman

75 *a* आक्रंदास्तनितैर्विलोचनजलान्यश्रांत, 81 *b* चस्वेत्रसमान-

कांतिसलिले मग्नं, 106 *b* कामस्यापि शराहतिर्मे गणिता, (The author has the epithet राजपुत्र here).

Yogeśvara

120 *b* एते केतकसूचिसौरभजुषः ।

Ratnaghoṣa

174 *a* बहुक्लेशेऽल्पफलदे कार्ये भाव्यं न साधुभिः । *b* पूर्वमेव परीक्ष्यं स्यात् ।

Ratnacandra

77 *a* श्वासैस्त्रुट्यति वेगिभिर्नयनयोः ।

Ratnākara

24 *b* ते साधवो भुवनमंडन(ल?)मौलिभूताः, 134 *a* अस्ताचलंबिर-बिंबितयोदयाद्रि ।

Ralhaṇa

40 *b* कर्णे चामरचारुकंचुकलिका, (name of the author from P) 49 *a* स्वर्णैः स्कंधपरिग्रहो मरकतैः, 139 *b* शेतेचापि न पद्मिनि कुमुदिनी ।

Ravigupta

24 *a* सुजनो न याति विकृतिं । अण्वपि गुणाय महतां । 27 *a* अप्यात्मनो विनाशं न गणयति, *b* स्वगुणानिव परदोषान्, 29 *a* प्राप्तानपि न लभंते भोगान्भोक्तुं, 145 *a* मातर्धर्मपरे दयां कुरु मयि ।

Rājaśekhara

5 *a* सुतद्रुहिणगोविंद । 7 *b* कुलगुरुरबलानां, 9 *a* तं वंदे पद्मसद्मानं । 16 *a* भागिरथीहारलता, 18 *b* हरिपादः स वः पायात् । कवीनां मानसं नौमि । 22*b* and P 11 *a* कर्तव्या चार्थसारेपि । P.13 *b* स्वस्ति पाणिनये तस्मै । यथार्थता कथं नाम्नि । भासनाटकचक्रेपि । तौ शूद्रिककथाकारौ । P. 14 *a* द्रुता छिरिति गौणाख्या । जगत्यां प्रथिता गाथा । एकोपि जीयते, P. 15 *a* सहर्षचरिता शश्वत् । बाणेन हृदि

कमेण । दर्पं कविभुजंगानां । सरस्वतीपवित्राणां । अहो प्रभावो वाग्देव्याः । कर्ता त्रिलोचनादन्यो । अथो गणपतिं वंदे । प्रद्युम्नावापद-स्येह । 22 *b* जानकीहरणं कर्तु । मा स्म संति हि चत्वारः । ध्वनि-नातिगभीरेण । 23 *a* & *b* कालंजरपतिश्चक्रे । मायुराजसमो जज्ञे । अकालजलदेंदोः सा । अकालजलदश्लोकैः । अनुप्रासिनि संदर्भे । दूरादपि सतां चित्ते । *b* द्विसंधाने निपुणतां । नदीनां मेकलसुता । यायावरकलश्रेणेः । स्थिता माध्वीकपाकत्वात् । शब्दार्थयोः समो गुंफः । के वैकटनितंबेन । सरस्वतीव कर्णाटी । सूक्तीनां स्मरकेलीनां । पार्थस्य मनसि स्थानं P. 18 *b* नूनं दुग्धाब्धिमंथोत्थाविमौ सुजन-दुर्जनौ । 61 *a* दशा दग्धं मनसिजं । 65 *a* एतस्या विरहज्वरः, 66 *a* आहारे विरतिः समग्रविषयग्रामे निवृत्तिः, 73 *b* बाणान्संहर मुग्ध कार्मुकलतां, 75 *b* ज्यौत्स्नीं श्यामलिमानमानयत भोः, 76 *b* विलीयेंदुः साक्षादमृतमयवापी यदि भवेत् । 77 *b* विलिंपत्येतस्मिन्म-लयजरसद्रोणसहसा । 84 *b* उपप्राकाराग्रं प्रहिणु नयने, 87 *b* निर्माल्यं नयनश्रियः कुवलयं, 90 *a* दृशोः सीमावादः श्रवणयुगुलेन प्रतिकलं । पर्याप्तस्तनभारपीडितमुरः, मुखं विकसितस्मितं, पद्भ्यां मुक्तास्तरल-गतयः, सारिद्यूतकलाकुतूहलमनाः । There is राजशेखरस्यैते at the end of these; but the 1st and 3rd only occur in P. and there they are anonymous, wherefore his authorship of them is more than doubtful.—100 *a* तद्वक्त्रं यदि मुद्रिता शशिकथा, 102 *a* केयूरीकृतकंकणावलिरसौ, 110 *a* गर्भग्रथितेषु वीरुधां सुमनसो, 113 *a* ये दोलाकेलिकाराः किमपि मृगदृशां, सुरतभरखिन्नपन्नग । 116 *a* धत्ते पंकजिनीदलेच्छुरुपरि, 124 *a* कुर्वाणाः कैरवाणां मधुकणहरणं, 126 *b* चन्द्रेः शक्तिर्जलमिव गता, 130 *b* प्रेंखत्कुंतल-भारशीर्णकुसुमोद्भ्रांत, संचलोलांचलानि, 131 *b* चेलांचलेन चलहार-लताप्रकांडैः । 132 *a* विश्रांतीनां ज्ञातुं जघनपरिणाहो मृगदृशां । 133 *b* सैरंध्रीकरकृष्टपत्रकसरत्तारध्वनिः, 144 *a* तरंगय दृशोंगने भवतु भिन्नमिंदीवरं । 150 *a* द्विश्रैण्योंघ्रि पुराणमौक्तिकमणिच्छायै[ः] स्थितं तारकैः । 151 *a* स्वादूनां प्रथमाय रूपविभवं, P 121 *b* प्रजल्प-

परवारिधिं रजतपिंडपांडुः शशी। P. 134 *b* रकाभ्यकोष्ठ्याकागुरु-कवलवलज्जांगल, 160 *a* एकस्मिन्नपि पातितेपि शिरसि, 162 प्रेयान्मे दंतिदंतप्रचलदसुरयं, (No remark here in P. as to authorship.) 163 *a* विश्वस्तहस्तयुगुलं, 178 *a* स्वस्तिमानस्ति कैलासः। यो धरित्रीभरश्रांतः। भूगोलप्रतिबिंबस्य। मन्ये हिमांशुः प्रांतेपि। *b* श्रीकंठश्वशुरः स एष भगवान्, 179 *b* अंभोधौ विहरंतमंतरहितैः, 180 *a* चटुचटुलकरेणुस्पर्शलीलानिमीलन्। 180 *b* धत्ते यत्किल-किंचितैकगुरुतां; 182 *b* सेयं सुभ्रु पुरः कलिंदतनया, 183 *b* कावेरी कबरीव भामिनि भुवो, रत्नप्रसूरिति समस्ततरंगिणीषु। रोधोरेखा-चंदनारण्यहृद्या। 186 *b* एतच्छांतविचित्रचत्वरपथं, 192 *a* एते व्योमनि शोषयंति।

Rāṇaka

54 *a* उत्तुंगैस्तरुभिः किमेभिरफलैः।

Rāma

97 *b* अमुष्मिल्लावण्यामृतसरसि।

Rāmila and Somila

113 *b* सव्याधेः कृशता क्षतस्य रुधिरं।

Rissu, Rissuka or Risuka

26 *b* नौका दुर्जनजिह्वा च, 28 *b* शरणं किं प्रपन्नानि। 44 *a* आदाय वारि परितः सरितां मुखेभ्यः। 167 *a* शत्रूणामयशो यशाश्च भवतः।

Rudati-brahman

67 *a* विश्रांतो दिवसस्तटीमयमटत्यस्ताचलस्यांशुमान्।

Rudra

10 *a* पाणौ कंकणमुत्फणः फणिपतिः, 65 *a* मुग्धा स्वप्नसमागते प्रियतमे, 68 *b* निश्वासैः सखि सांप्रतं खलु गता, 73 *a* वत्सारैरिव पंकजस्य घटितं, 90 *b* गतं कर्णाभ्यर्णे प्रसरति तथाप्यक्षियुगलं। 91 *a* ऊरुद्वंद्वमनिंदितं प्रथयता, तरत्तारं चक्षुः क्षिपयति मुनीनामपि हृद्यः।

103 *b* यस्याद्प्रणतः प्रियः परुषया । 104 *a* विमुंचामुं मानं सफलय दृशः, 105 *b* यद्भावः प्रचुरोपचारचतुरा यत्, 106 *a* कृतं मिथ्यावादैर्विरम, 107 *a* सार्धं मनोरथशतैस्तव धूर्त कांता । 108 *a* यत्रार्काथितमिंदुना सरसिजैरंगारपुंजायितं । 109 *a* सत्यं वल्लभ एष दुर्लभतमो, सत्यं भामिनि दुर्जनोस्मि, वाचो वाग्मिनि किं तवात्र परुषाः, 121 *a* वाता वांतु जलस्पृशो, P. 116 *b* विरम नाथ विमुंच ममांचलं 148 *b* स्वामिन्संवरयालकं सतिलकं भालं, P. 126 *a* एकाकिनी यद्बला तरुणी, *b* अंबा शेतेत्र वृद्धा, 169 *b* तव दिग्विजयारंभे । 175 *b* किं गौरिमां प्रति रुषा ननु गौरहं किं ।

Rukmata ?

45 *a* विस्तारो यदि नेदृशो यदि न तद्गांभीर्यमंभोनिधेः ।

Lakṣmaṇa

93 *a* द्विजलंगतिमासाद्य ।

Lakṣmīdhara

57 *b* लक्ष्मीकौस्तुभचंद्रमःप्रभृतिभिः, 97 *b* गंभीरनाभिह्रदसंनिवेशैः । 125 *b* कंपंते कपयो भृशं, 180 *b* आकंठदष्टशिरसा । P. 159 *b* मा स्म संधिं विजानंतु ।

Laghuvallabha-Vāsudeva

143 *a* यथा बहिः कंटकितं वपुस्तव नितंबिनि ।

Loṣṭa(ṭya)sarvajña

P. 17 *a* प्रकृत्यैवातिवक्रेण । केचिद्दुर्वंगलप्रहेण, 143 *a* उन्निद्रा कलकंठकंठकुहरात्, P. 155 *a* आविघोरगमंडलीकवलनाकांक्षा ।

Vankalāvarta

127 *a* केशानाकुलयन्दृशो मुकुलयन्, *b* चुंबंतो गंडभित्तीरलकवति मुखे ।

Vatsarāja

P. 12 *a* सत्काव्यपीयूषसमुद्रमध्ये ।

Vararuci

45 *a* अयं वारमेको निलय इति । (Name of the poet in P.) 60 *b* वामनफलमत्युच्चास्तरुतो, 83 *b* बहुनात्र किमुक्तेन; 164 *a* व्यंचचंचलचंचुचुंबन ।

Varāhamihira

17 *b* लीने श्रोत्रैकदेशे नमसि नयनयोस्तेजसि, 161 स्वर्गस्य मार्गाः बहवः प्रदिष्टाः । जीवि (व?) तोपि निहि (ह?) तस्य वा रणे । एकतश्च सुरसुंदरीजनः । हा तात तातेति स वेदनार्तः । लोकः शुभस्तिष्ठतु तावदन्यः । संमूर्छितं संप्रति संप्रहारैः । उरः कृत्वा वेद्यां मणिफलकगाढस्थितकुचं । 188 *a* पृथ्व्यां स्थूलतरा दंष्ट्रा ततः, P. 156 *b* समाः षष्टिर्द्विघ्ना मनुजकरीणां, 158 *a* कर्पासौषधकृष्णधान्यलवण, P. 158 *b* आंत (आर्त?) स्य यानमशनं च बुभुक्षितस्य । P. 159 *a* शुकेन चूर्णेन करोति रागं ।

Vardhamāna

28 *a* समर्पितास्तेन न कस्य दोषाः ।

Vardhuka

103 *b* यावन्नो सालि गोचरं नयनयोः ।

Vallabhadeva

P. 11 *b* सुकविभ्रमानमिषे, 21 *b* क्लांतमपोढतखेदं तसं निर्वाति, कथमिह मनुष्यजन्मा, संसदि तदेव भूषणमुपकारक, नृपसमसरसी परितः पूर्णापि जडैः, 22 *a* तेभ्यो नमः कविभ्यो येषां, *b* श्रुतसंपदः कवीनामुक्तिभिरेव, चकार एव कवयः सूक्तानि महर्घतां नयंत्यन्ये । अनवहितः किमशक्तो, 24 *a* सैव परं न विनश्यति । निवसन्नपि समभितरैः । *b* अनतुपक्कतिषु सतां रतिः । निभृतं यदुपाक्रियते । 27 *a* अन्यस्माल्लब्धोष्मा क्षुद्रः प्रायेण दुःसहो भवति । दुर्वचनमनभिजाताः । *b* उज्ज्वलगुणमभ्युदितं क्षुद्रो द्रष्टुं । 29 *a* धनमर्थिनामभोग्यं । न परं धनानि दाराः । नंदनरंध्रद्रविणैः । अभ्युपयुक्ताः सद्भिः । 29 *b* किमवेर्नो पुत्रः किमु न हरचूडामणिरसौ । 30 *a* कः पश्यति

सरमहसः संमुखमपि, 32 *a* सद्यः श्रितं प्रजाति सलिलं यत्र मुक्तामयत्वं । 35 *b* श्रुतराजहंसवचसो शुका तूष्णीकतैव कंकस्य । 39 *b* कथमन्यविगतरंध्रैरभ्युषिता, 40 *a* कोपे पयसि क्षीयसि । *b* यदि मत्तोसि मतंगज, 46 *b* अयमवसरः सरसो सलिलैरुपकर्तुं, 49 *b* परिमलसुरभितनभसो बहवः, 51 *b* अगुरुरिति वदति लोको । 52 *a* फलभरवितततसमुन्नत । 53 *b* मूर्जः परोपकृतये निजकवचविकर्तनं सहते । 54 *a* जातस्य सिंधुतटमनु । P. 39 *a* अमृतांशोः किरणेभ्यो जन्मनिवृत्ति महोदधेरुदरे । 56 *b* रतिरसचर्द्धननंदन । अहिरहिरिति संभ्रमपद । यद्यपि विलसति वासुकिः। There is no पते at the end here , but the sameness of the metre affords a presumption in favour of the sameness of authorship.

Vasunāga

75 *b* रक्ताशोक कृशोदरी क नु गता ।

Vasumdhara

19 *b* रामो नाम बभूव हुं तदबला सीतेति, 35 *a* यतस्मिन्मलयाचले।

Vastupāla

31 *a* संप्रति न कस्य तरवो न सिद्धयो, 42 *a* अम्भा न यदि निःशंकपंक°, 186 *b* यत्रोन्मुखं चातकवृंदमभ्र° ।

Vāgbhata

104 *b* अनालोच्य प्रेम्णः परिणतिमनादृत्य सुहृदः ।

Vātsyāyana

P. 156 *a* शास्त्राणां विषयस्तावद्यावन्मंदरसा नराः ।

Vādiśvarakāñcana

17 *a* हरेर्लीला वराहस्य । 175 *b* आलिंगंते वसुधां निजखुरदलिता ।

Vāmana

106 *a* कोपो यत्र भ्रूकुटिरचना ।

[Bhaṭṭa] Vāmana

74 *a* आस्थान्यां जनसंकटे मयि मनाक्, निकारकणिका कृता।

Vāmananāga

P. 13 *a* यस्मादियं प्रथमतः परमामृतौघ, 147 *b* क्रीडाचामर-डंबरो रतिपतेः, P. 155 *b* सारंगीलग्नतांम्या जगदपि विजितं।

Vālmīki

98 *a* तस्याः पद्मपलाशाक्ष्याः, 118 *a* कशाभिरिव हैमीभिः। मेघकृताजिनधरा।

Vāsiṣṭha-Rāmāyaṇa

P. 161 *a* वरं शरावहस्तस्य।

Vāsudeva

83 *a* अक्रमक्रमघृणस्य तस्य नाम्ना।

Vikaṭanitambā

112 *a* किं द्वारि दैवहतिके सहकारकेण। P. 116 *a* बाला तन्वी कृशतनुरिति त्यज्यतामत्र शंका।

Vikramāditya

85 *a* लावण्यसिंधुरपरैव हि केयमत्र। 135 *b* लिंपतीव तमोंगानि वर्षतीवांजनं नभः।

Vijayaśarman

96 *a* धूतघनरुचिरद्युतिना।

Vijjākā

47 *a* माघाद्दिग्गजदानदिग्धकरट, 51 *a* केनात्र चंपकतरो बत रोपितोसि। 111 *a* किंशुककलिकांतर्गतमिंदुकलास्पर्धि, 120 *a* सोत्साहा नववारिभारगुरवो मुंचंतु नादं घनाः। 124 *b* विलासम-सृणोल्लसत्कलमणोपदोः।

Vidyāpati

P. 13 *a* या केवलं सन (र?)लता न [तद्?] पंडितस्त्वं, 59 *b* जन्मस्थानं न खलु विमलं।

Vidyeśāna

P. 25 *b* न्याय्यं यत्तमसः समूहदलनं भास्वंस्त्वया तन्यते। 173 *b* का लक्ष्मीः पद्मुन्नतं किमु पदं।

Vibhākaravarman

142 *b* कांतानवाधररसामृततृष्णयेव।

Vimalasarasvatī

P. 39 *a* लाक्षाभिः कुरु कंकणं।

Viśalya

83 *b* अधरेणोन्नतिभाजा।

Viśākhadeva

16 *a* प्रत्यग्रोन्मेषजिह्मा, 96 *b* तत्त्रिविष्टपमाख्यातं तन्वंग्या यद्वलित्रयं। 122 *a* अपामुद्धृत्तानां निजमुपदिशंत्या, 174 *b* धन्या केयं स्थिता ते, 191 *a*, विपर्यस्तं सौधं कुलमिव, क्षतांगीनां तीक्ष्णैः, P. 160 *a* मुहुर्लक्ष्योद्भेदा मुहुरधिगत P 163 *a* तीष्णादुद्विजते मृद्वी परिभव°।

Viśveśvara

7 *a* उच्चैर्ब्रह्मांडपिंडद्वितयसहचरं, 14 *a* दानस्रोतःसहस्रैर्दशनरुचिचयैः *b* कुंभोपांतं त्यजद्भिर्मदजलनिवहैः, ते दुरोहंडशुंडाकुहरकवलिता, 185 *b* ते चंडीशपुरारिचंडमहसां, 161 *b* शुंडादंडप्रहार, रक्तं नक्तंचरौघः।

Vīryamitra

72 *b* तरत्तारं तावत्प्रथममथ चित्रार्पितमिव।

[Bhaṭṭa] Vṛddhi

63 *b* तापापनोदक्षाणि मृणालानि मतभ्रुवः।

Vaidyanāthapraśasti

168 *b* सिंदूरं सीमंतात् । 169 *b* यचेतत्क्षयवन्हिधूमपटलं ।

Vaidyanāthapaṇḍita

46 *b* सौवर्णः कमलाकरः शशिकलाः, 51 *a* कुंदे कुंठय कौतुकं त्यज, P. 114 *b* सुधामयोपि क्षयरोगशांत्यै ।

Vaidyabhānupaṇḍita

32 *a* चूते समीपवर्तिनि । 39 *a* संति कूपाः स्फुरद्रूपाः सरितः परितस्तथा । त्यक्त्वा तापनिवारिवारिनिकरान्, 48 *a* शाखाशत-खितवियतः । 63 *b* खंडिता मा भवंत्वेताः कदापीत्यनुकंपया । 78 *a* तस्याः स्मरंत्या सुभग त्वदीयं । 93 *b* तस्या वदनचंद्रस्य, 95 *a* मातंगकुंभसंस्पर्शी । 110 *a* विस्फूर्जज्ज्वालनेत्रानलबहलशिखा, 114 *a* वर्षंत्यग्निकणानिव, 118 *a* व्यासं मिलेंद्रनीलद्युतिमिरिव घनैः, 121 *b* शुभ्राभ्रव्योमसोमः स्फुरदमलकलः, 123 *b* चंचत्कादंबपक्षप्रचलित-कुमुद, 124 *b* पांसुप्रालेयपूरः प्रसरति गगने, 146 *b* दृशा सपदि मीलितं दशनरोचिषा निर्गतं । (Attributed to Śivasvāmin in P.) 151 *a* तारुण्यातिशयः स कोपि, 168 *a* कृत्वा कीर्ति-तडागमद्भुततरं, 185 *a* नो लावण्यविभूषितो, *b* कनककलशश्रेणीयंत्र।

Vairaḍa

अर्द्धांगनापुंवपुषः पुरारेः ।

Vyāsa

28 *a* असंभोगेन सामान्यं । *b* मृत्युः शरीरगोप्तारं । साधुना दीनमनसा । 100 *a* स्वभ्यस्तरूपाणि नवैव नित्यं ।

[Bhagavad-]Vyāsa

42 *a* गुणानामेव दौर्जन्याद्धुरि धुर्यो नियुज्यते । (Author's name in P.) 162 *a* परस्परं सायकविक्षतांगास्ते क्षत्रियाः कुंडलिनो युवानः । भूरेणुदिग्धा नवपारिजात । सशोणितैः क्रव्यभुजां स्फुरद्भिः । विमानपर्यंकतले निषण्णाः । 174 *b* महतां पीडनोभूयो । निजामर्षकिं आगतो ।

[Veda-]Vyāsa

15 *a* जंबालस्फूर्जद्भूर्जत्वककरिमकर, 136 *a* नाकाशं न दिशो न भूधरकुलं।

Śaṃkaravarman

145 *b* पार्श्वोत्फालविक्षेपाबद्धुलितचरणो।

Śakavṛddhi

63 *b* दह्यमानेपि हृदये मृगाक्ष्या मन्मथाग्निना। 94 *b* कंठस्य विद्धे कांतिं। 95 *a* दयिता बाहुपाशस्य। शय्यवन्हिरलंकारैः। *b* क्षुदीर्घा रागशालिन्यो। 100 *a* मुखेन चंद्रकांतेन। गतिर्वेणी च नागेन।

Śaṅkuka [son of Bhaṭṭa Mayūra]

69 *a* दुर्वाराः स्मरसायकाः प्रियतमे दूरे मनोत्युत्सुकं।

Śarva

106 *b* वधूनां सर्वासां चरणहरबैर्दूषितमिदं।

Śarvadāsa

115 *a* विशुष्यत्चालांतः, तापावसन्नशायितं। 118 *a* अथ मनसिजदिग्जयाभिशंसी। शीतकादिव संत्रस्तं। अर्द्धेन जलदश्यामं। 125 *b* न प्रस्तावस्तपनमहसां, अन्ये हि दुःखसूतवः प्रथयंत्वहोभिः। 176 *a* भूपक्षिमंणिकुटिलोन्नमितेन।

Śāṇḍila

161 *b* भर्तृपिंडानृणकरो।

Śārvavarman (called in MS Śārvvagaṇa)

P. 39 *a* केनासीनः सुखम[क] रुणेनाकरादुद्धृतस्त्वं।

Śivasvāmin

9 *b* स धूर्जटिजटाजूटो। 69 *a* गतोस्तं घर्मांशुर्मज सहचरीनीडमधुना। P. 118 *a* दशा सपदि मीलितं, 146 *b* नैषा वेणं मुकुलतनुः।
(Attributed to Mūrta or Mūrkha in other Anthologies.)

Śīlābhaṭṭārikā

70 *b* वृति त्वं तरुणी युवा स चपलः, 83*b* श्वासः किं त्वरितागता P. 126 *a* यः कौमारहरः स एव हि रहः (वरः)।

Śucīgobhaṭa

27 *b* ऋक्षुरेण पक्ष्यानिति। एते स्निग्धतमा इति मा मा क्षुद्रेषु याता विश्वासं। 28 *b* गाढतरबद्धमुष्टेः कोशनिषण्णस्य।

Śṛṅgārakiṃnaranāṭaka

80 *b* जीमूतप्रथमांबुशीकरवहः, वेणीबंध[वि?]शेषितैर्विलुलितैः, 81 *a* ह्रेष्ठ्य (उद्वेष्ठ्य?) स्वयमेव लेखमुदितप्रस्वेदकंपांगुलिः। वाष्पस्तस्य नं जायते किमु न किं लेखे करः कंपते। मार्गे मे निरपायतां परिणतिं।

[Bhaṭṭa-]Śyāmala

165 *b* आलानं जयकुंजरस्य क्षिपतां सेतुर्विपद्वारिधेः।

Śrīṭhakkuraiya

137 *b* तडिद्वा पंको वा तिमिरमथवा।

Śrīpālakavirāja

110 *b* मंदोयं मलयानिलः किसलयं चूतद्रुमाणां नवं। 111 *b* स्तोत्रं चैत्रगुणोदयस्य, 114 *b* पश्यंते स्थलचारिणः क्षितिरजस्यंगार, 115 *b* अपि तरुवनान्यूष्मायंते।

Śrībhogavarman

123 *b* पूर्वं वारिधरप्रसंगसमयेनापूरितैः कुक्षिभिः।

Śrīśaṃkaragaṇaka

85 *a* अमृतममृतं चंद्रश्चंद्रः। कमलमनंभसि कमले कुवलयमेतानि।

Śrīharṣa

20 *a* †व्याजव्याजमुपेत्य चिंतयसि कां, 64 *a* परिच्युतस्तत्कुचभारमध्याद्, *b* स्थितमुरसि विशालं पद्मिनीपत्रमेतत्। परिम्लानं

पीनस्तनजघन, 69 *b* दुर्वारां कुसुमशरव्यथां वहंत्या, 71 *b* बाणाः पंच मनोभवस्य नियताः, 74 *b* संतापो हृदये (य) स्मरानलकृतः, 84 *b* लीलावधूतपद्मा, 85 *b* कूट्टेणोरुयुगं विलंघ्य सुचिरं, 92 *b** नासादसीया तिलपुष्पतूणं। 93 *b* विधायापूर्वपूर्णेंदुं, 103 *a* भ्रूभंगे सहसोद्गतेपि, 106 *b* आताम्रतामपनयामि विलक्ष एव। 107 *a* शीतांशुर्मुखमुत्पले तव दृशौ, 111 *a* उद्यद्विद्रुमकांतिभिः किसलयैस्ताम्रां, 129 *b* सुभ्रु त्वन्मुखपंकजेन शशिनः, प्रत्यग्रमज्जनविशेषविविक्तकांतिः। 130 *a* कुसुमसुकुमारमूर्तिः, 133 *b* यातोस्मि पद्मनयने समयो ममैष। 134 *a** पचेलिमं दाडिममर्कबिंबं। *दिनावसाने तरणेरकस्मात्, 137 *b* समारूढप्रीतिः प्रणयबहुमानाद्नुदिनं। 139 *b* उदयतटांतरितमियं प्राची सूचयति, 142 *b* म्रस्तस्रग्दामशोभां त्यजति विरचितां, 143 *a*† स्मितपुष्पोद्गमोयं ते। आरुह्य शैलशिखरं त्वद्वदनापहृतकांतिसर्वस्वः। किं पद्मस्य रुचिं न हंति नयनानंदं विधत्ते न किं। 179 *b*† माद्यद्दिग्गजगंडभित्तिकषणैः, P. 161 *a* द्वीपादन्यस्मादपि, 169 *a** तादृक्दीर्घविरंचिवासरविधौ। *अस्यासिर्भुजगः स्वकोश। (Author's name is here given as Śrīharṣapaṇḍita in P.) 184 *b** वृद्धो वार्द्धिरयं तरंगवलिभं, 191 *b*† वासोर्थे दययेव नातिपृथवः।

Śrīharṣa, author of Khaṇḍana

166 *b* सुतलं चरणद्वंद्वं। अभ्याहार[ः]स्मरहरशिरः, आस्ते दामोदरीयामियमुदर, अंगः (तः) संतोषबाष्पैः स्थगयति, भूशक्रस्य यशांसि विक्रमभरेण।

* The verses marked with an asterisk under this heading and all under the next two headings with the exception of 166 *b* and 10 *a* which I have not been able to trace and of 180 *b* which occurs in the Nāgānanda are from the Naiṣadhīya. The verses unmarked under the first heading are from the Ratnāvalī and those marked † are from the Nāgānanda. So that though by the expression खण्डनकारिन् or पण्डित the author meant to distinguish the later Śrīharṣa from the earlier author of the dramas, the scribes have as usual made mistakes, omitting the expression in some cases, and adding it where not wanted in one case at least

Śrīharṣapaṇḍita

10 *a* चूडामस्मकणांकिताविव जटा, 165 *a* प्रामेतद्रपुरामुखेगुं (खेतु)सूजतो, P. 159 *a* त्वया विधातर्यदकारि चामृतं। 170 *b* .श(रा)ब्रामन्य(श्य)शतेन किं कलपते। अस्यारिप्रकरः शरश्च, यः पृष्टं युधि, ऋतुत्वमौनश्रुतिपारगामिता। P. 114 *b* यत्पद्ममादित्सु तवाननीयां। 176 *b* सिंदूरद्युतिमुग्धमूर्द्धनि धृत, 177 *a* श्रिपत्रि-रेखास्य विलंघिता दिशो। चलाचलप्राप्य (प्रोथ) तया महीपतेः। हरेर्यदक्र(क्रा)मि पदै[क]केन खं प्रयातुमस्माकमियं कियत्पदं। अजन्न-भूमीतटकुट्टनोद्भतैः। धूलीभिर्दिवमंधयन्। (The author called Harṣapandita here) 180 *b* † उद्गच्छज्जलकुंजरेद्ररभसा, 185 *b* विललास जलाशयोदरे। अश्रांतश्रुतिपाठपूतरसना। सममेणप (म) दैर्यदापणे।

Śrutadhara

48 *a* कामं भवंतु मधुलंपटषट्पदीव।

Śrutadhararāma

27 *a* पीडनं बहुधान्यस्य विधातुं लब्धजन्मनः। ये वर्द्धयंति पापर्द्धिकौतुकं पृथिवीपतेः। (Name of the author from P.)

Sarvadāsa

173 *a* महानपि सुधीरोपि। *b* सत्यशीलदयोपेतो।

Sarvajñavāsudeva

135 *b* इदं नमसि भीषणभ्रमदुलूककोलाहलैः। 136 *b* सद्यः सांद्रमषीविलुप्तककुभः, 149 *a* व्याधूतहारमणयः, 154 *a* यस्मिन्नास्ति कचग्रहव्यतिकरो, ससंभ्रमकचग्रहव्यतिकराकुला, *b* तल्पे नितंबतल-मात्रनिरस्तवस्त्रां।

Siddhacakravartijayasiṁhadeva

122 *b* दूरं तोयधरांधकारकरिणां यूथेषु मज्ञ्चितो। (Name of the author from P.)

Sītkāraratna

P. 117 *b* समाश्लिष्टं शिष्टैः परममिह यश्चिर्वृतिपरं। (Not in D.) (4th line स सीत्कारध्यानादमृतविजयी सुंदरदृशां।)

Subandhu

6 *b* स जयति हिमकरलेखा चकास्ति, 9 *a* खिन्नोसि मुंच शैलं। (Attributed by mistake to Harihara, but to Subandhu in B. and P) P. 11 *a* अविदितगुणापि सुकवेः। 27 *b* विध्वस्त-परगुणानां भवति खलानां, विषधरतोप्यतिविषमः। हस्त इव भूतिमलिनो। 171 *a* चापं तेन निपीडितं रणरसः सद्योगलद्विद्विषां।

Sūktisahasra

6 *b* जयति हरजटाभरो यदंतः। प्रणमत नयने हरस्य, 8 *b* लक्ष्मी-पाणिद्वयपरिचितं, 9 *b* ज्योतिस्तमोहरमलोचनगोचरं तत्। P. 11 *b* जुगुप्सितमिदं धात्रा। 18 *a* केदं गर्जितमेष किंनु दलति स्तंभो, 61 *a* गंतुं विवस्वदुदये हृदयेश्वरस्य। शक्नोमि नासितुमहं, 62 *a* एतत्सर्वं शृणुत वचनं, *b* अस्याख्यानमहो वियोगदुरितात्, किं भद्रं पथि गच्छतस्तव वयं ब्रूमः, 63 *a* निक्षिप्य कापि शयने विवशं शरीरं। श्रुत्वा बहिः क्वचन कंचन कापि शद्बं। 65 *b* विश्रांतो दिवसः प्रपंचितरुतैः, 66 *a* अभ्यर्थ्य सप्रणति मंदिर-मभ्युपेता। 82 *b* ब्रूमः किं परमत्यगात्तव पतिः। शृणु परमिदमंत्ये, 100 *b* कमलशरविरंभा, 101 *a* श्रुत्वा गर्जितमंथरे जलमुचः सद्यो, 110 *a* यत्प्रारंभविजृंभितो रतिपतिः शृंगारसंजीवनीं। 114 *b* ततः प्रादुरभूद्ग्रीष्मः। तपनं विभ्रदाकाशो। कापि कापि दिगंते। प्रतिगत-मर्थिजनानां। रवेः समस्तक्षितिमध्यगं रसं। भ्रमंत्यः परितश्छायाः। तप्ता मही विरहिणामिव चित्तवृत्तिः। (The last only in P and anonymous.) 118 *b* वज्रेण त्रिजगत्पतेर्बलरिपोः, 122 *a* जीमूतेषु महत्सु लोकमपरं, *b* चेतः कर्षति सप्तच्छदकुसुमरसा, यशसो वर्द्धमानस्य। शीर्णैः परिवृतः पर्णैः। व्योम्नि विश्रांतजीमूते। 125 *a* असत्यलोकाद्वाभूमेः। *b* अहो कथमसीमेदं। गिरंति ननु कल्पांते। 128 *a* आस्कंदितो भुजलताचलिता। संतु द्रुमाः किसलयो-

स्वरपुष्पभारा: । यथा जिगीषति पृथुस्तबका लता त्वां । *b* आरादसौ तरुवरः, 130 *b* संश्लेषे कुचयोर्मुखोपगमने, 131 *a* किं चाल्या चलिता लता मणिमयी, *b* प्रथममनुसरंतीष्वंमसि प्राणनाथं । अथ कृतकविहंगैः पार्थिवोत्कुलयंत्रैः । प्रणयिनि सति सिंचत्यंबुभिः काचिदन्यां । 132 *a* ललितममिहतैका तेन राजीवपत्रैः । 136 *a* यत्रेदंबुधिमानमंतिकमयस्ताद्विधुतां बिभ्रते । भवति हरिरगूढः । 139 *a* अग्रे धनुःशरकरः स्वयमस्ति कामः । (Work called here Sūktiratnākara.) 140 तंतुभ्रमेण रसनामणिगुंफनाय । 153 *a* स्नानं सिंधुजले विधाय जनतासखे, 154 *a* आपूर्यमाणपुलकः सुभगत्वकामः। 164 *a* हन्ति स्थ(स्थू?)णाक्षरणहननैः, मरालोके भूमौ पतति, *b* पुरो तुच्छ· पश्चाद्व्रजति, 176 *a* महीचर इवांभोदः । राक्षस्तथा भुजकृपाणशरासनेषु । *b* मेरोः पोतमुदन्वतः प्रतिनिधिं, 178 *a* उपर्यंशुमतः सिद्धाभ्ररंते, भर्तृचिंतापरा यत्र । यद्दरीषु सुरस्त्रीणां । *b* सद्यः स्यंदनचक्रभंगचकित, 180 *b* उत्तंसीकृतचंद्रमाः ।

Sūravarman

11 *b* आश्लेषाधरबिंबचुंबनसुखालाप ।

Somakavi

6 *a* वंदे तदेकं शिवयोः शरीरं । 101 *b* आगच्छन्सुचितो येन । 186 *a* नक्तं शशांकोपलकुट्टिमेषु ।

Somanāthapraśasti

12 *b* संध्यातांडवडंबरप्रणयिनो ।

Somaprabhācārya

P. 163 *a* लक्ष्मीः पश्यति नीचमर्णवपयः ।

[Bhaṭṭa-] Someśvara

6 *a* कण इव पुरो वन्हेः, 98 *a* अमृतमधुरैः कांचीनादैः, 183 *a* एते पल्लिपुरंध्रिनिर्भरजलक्रीडा ।

[Bhaṭṭa-] Svāmin

148 *a* हतोद्धराणि हतांजनानि ।

Hanūmat

8 *a* जीयासुः शकुलाकृतेर्भगवतः, न पंकैरालेपं कलयति धरित्री, 17 *a* पृष्ठभ्राम्यदमंदमंदरगिरि, *b* पातु त्रीणि जगंति संततमकूपारात्, चंद्रार्घार्पितनिःपिधानदशनो, 18 *b* आकृष्टः शिखया नखैर्वि- लिखितः, कस्त्वं ब्रह्मपूर्वः, किं छत्रं किं नु रत्नं तिलकमुत तथा, 66 *b* भगिनि मदनः श्रीमानेष त्वया यदि लिख्यते । 165 *b* अत्युच्चाः परितः स्फुरंति गिरयः, 166 *a* आबाल्याधिगमान्मयैव गमितः, 167 *a* भ्रांत्वा दिग्वलयं क्षितिश्वर दिवं, 168 *a* मातुः खेदमयं ततान पृथुकः, 188 *a* अस्ति श्रीस्तनपत्रभंगमकरीनिर्मुद्रांचितोरःस्थलो ।

Haragaṇa

152 *a* ऋज्वी दृष्टिरनुल्बणं विहसितं ।

Haribhaṭṭa

35 *b* काक त्वं फलनम्रमाम्रविपिनं ।

Harihara

P. 12 *b* पदव्यक्तिव्यक्तीकृत, 29 *b* आशाः पूरयति श्रियं वितरति त्रैलोक्यतापं, 33 *a* उद्याने सहकारकोरकरसप्रत्याशया कोकिलः । उत्कूजंतु घटे घटे बत बकाः, 77 *a* गंतुं प्रांगणतो ददाति न मुहुस्तस्याः कुरंगीदृशः । 80 *b* तन्वी संकेतवेश्मन्यतनुतरुतले, चित्रोत्कीर्णादपि विषधराद्भीतिभाजो निशायां । 138 *b* मंदं निधेहि चरणौ परिधेहि वासो । 144 *a* यल्लोकोत्तिशयोक्तिमेव वदतु स्तोत्रं पुनर्मन्यतां । 148 *a* नेपथ्यादपि राजते किमपि सा ब्यालुसभूषा तनुः । 150 *b* तमोभिः पीयंते गतवयसि, कोपं संवृणु कोपनेऽश्रुसलिलैर्धौतांजने किं दृशौ ।

Halāyudha

P. 160 *b* अष्टांगुलपरीणाह ।

EXTRACTS FROM THE PREFACES TO THE FIRST BOOK OF SANSKRIT

FROM THE PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION (1864)

The study of Sanskrit has but recently risen in the estimation of the educated natives of this Presidency and of our educational authorities The old Sanskrit College of Poona owed its existence and continuance rather to a spirit of conciliation and toleration in our rulers than to their conviction of the utility of Sanskrit as a branch of general education The modern critical and progressive spirit was not brought to bear upon it. The old Śastris were allowed to carry all things in their own way. After about thirty years since its establishment, the authorities began to exercise active interference, until at length the College was abolished and a new system inaugurated, which, to be complete and effective, requires, in my humble opinion, a partial restoration of the old institution.

This newly-awakened and more enlightened zeal in favour of Sanskrit cannot last, or produce extensive results, unless books are prepared to facilitate the general study of the language. I have heard students complain that they find Sanskrit more difficult than Latin, and many have actually left the study of their own classical tongue for that of its foreign rival. I do not know if this complaint has a foundation in the structure of the two languages ; but this, at least, I am sure of, that Sanskrit would be considerably more easy than it is, if there were men educated in our English Colleges to teach it, and if books specially adapted for beginners were available. It was with the view of supplying, in some measure, this latter desideratum that this little book was prepared about a year and a half ago. Its plan was originally sketched out by Dr Haug, though in a few places I found it necessary to deviate from it. * * * * *

FROM THE PREFACE TO THE FIFTH EDITION (1871)

It has come to my knowledge that, in some of the schools, in which this book is taught, the teachers consider it to be their only duty to get their pupils to translate mechanically from and into Sanskrit the sentences given in each lesson. They pay little or no attention to the grammatical portion. In others, such books as the common Rūpāvali are put into the hands of of the pupils, and they are made to learn by heart the declensional forms given in these This shows a misconception of the object of this book, which is evidently to teach grammar, and to teach it not for its own sake, but in its connection with the language, not in a manner simply to overburden the pupil's memory, but in a manner to awaken and encourage thought. The sentences are intended to serve as exercises in the rules and forms, and should be used as such The teacher should see that the pupil thoroughly understands the rules, and knows the forms, and, in going over the sentences, get him frequently to explain the grammar of the words occurring therein, and such other points. Repeated exercise is what the teacher should particularly attend to. * * * * * * * *

EXTRACTS FROM THE PREFACES TO THE SECOND BOOK OF SANSKRIT

FROM THE PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION (1868)

This Second Book of Sanskrit has been prepared under instructions from Sir A Grant, Director of Public Instruction. Its plan is nearly the same as that of the First Book.

This and the First Book together contain as much Grammar as is needed for all practical purposes, perhaps more. I have adopted the terminology of the English Grammarians of Sanskrit, but have strictly followed Pāṇini, as explained by Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita in his Siddhāntakaumudī. Most of the rules are mere translations of the Sūtras. Besides the terms, Guṇa, Vṛddhi, and a few others, which have been adopted from native Grammarians by nearly all European writers on the subject, I have found it necessary to appropriate two more, viz., Seṭ and Aniṭ

The prejudice against mere native terms, in deference to which Professor Benfey seems in his smaller Grammar to have discarded even the words Guṇa and Vṛddhi, without substituting any others, is, in my humble opinion, very unreasonable, when it is difficult to frame new words to designate the things which they signify. It is very inconvenient to have to describe the same thing again and again whenever one has occasion to speak of it. It will at the same time be somewhat difficult for the learner to make out, when a thing is so described in a variety of cases, that it is the same. Words adapted to express a particular meaning are as necessary here as in other affairs of human life. What an amount of inconvenience would it, for instance, entail, if, whenever we had to speak of the human race, we were, instead of being allowed to use the

word "man," made to describe man's physical and rational nature ! But I must not elevate an ordinary truism to the rank of a newly-discovered truth * * * * * *

There is one point in Sanskrit Grammar, in my explanation of which I have departed from ordinary usage, though I think I do agree with Pāṇini and his commentators. It is the sense to be attached to the so-called Aorist. The most laborious student of a dead language is not alive to all the nice shades of meaning, which are plain even to the uninstructed when a language is living. Even to a Mahā-Paṇḍita in these days the sound of भवते is not at all so disagreeable as that of होएल is to the genuine Maratha peasant *We know of the distinction between the* Ātmanepada and Parasmaipada only in theory, but that between the ए and ई of the Marathi Habitual Past, of the एल and ईल of the Future, we feel We must, therefore, to determine this question about the Aorist, appeal to such Sanskrit works as, we have reason to suppose, must have been written when Sanskrit was a spoken language

The Kāvyas, the Nāṭakas, and most of the Purāṇas will not do for our purpose Such books as the Samhitās of the Vedas, the Brāhmaṇas, or even those portions of the two great Epics which do not bear indications of having been subsequently tampered with, must be referred to. To institute such a wide research I have neither had the necessary time nor the necessary means. But the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa seems almost to decide the point. In this work, whenever stories are told, the so called Imperfect or the Perfect is always used, and the Aorist never occurs[1] On the contrary, when the

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1 In the passage noticed below, we have स ह संनाहं प्रापत् where प्रापत् is the *Aorist of* आप् with प्र and is used in the narration of a past event But in the whole of the Brāhmana there is, so far as I can recollect, not a single instance beside this, where the narrator uses the Aorist in speaking of past action. The evidence being then so overwhelming, some other explanation must be attempted

persons in the story are represented as speaking with one another, they use the Aorist, and the only sense that can be attached to it in these cases is that of the English Present Perfect, in other words, it indicates simply the completion of an action or an action that has just or recently been done. The reason why the Aorist occurs in these cases only is that there is no scope for recent past time in mere narration, and things that have just or recently occurred can come to be spoken of only when persons are talking with each other

The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa contains passages remarkably illustrating what I say The story goes —" Hariścandra said to Varuṇa, 'Let a son be born to me and I will then offer him as a sacrifice to you.' 'Well,' said Varuṇa. Then a son was born to him. Then said Varuṇa, 'You have got a son, sacrifice him to me now' Then said Hariścandra, ' When a victim becomes ten days old, then he is fit to be sacrificed Let the boy become ten days old, I will then sacrifice him to you' 'Well,' said Varuṇa The boy became ten days old Then said Varuṇa, 'He has become ten days old, sacrifice him now to me,'" and thus it proceeds Now in this and the remaining portion of the Khaṇḍa, the verbs "said" (occurring several times), "was born," "became" and others that are used by the narrator speaking in his own person are always in the Perfect, while "have got," "has become," etc., used by Varuṇa with reference to the boy, are in the Aorist. The latter clearly refer to a time just gone by

In the same manner, in the story of Nābhānediṣṭha, related in the fourteenth Khaṇḍa of the Fifth Pañcikā, the verbs अभाक्त, अभाक्षुः, अक्रुः and आविदत used by Nābhānediṣṭha, and

in the present case, and this example ought by no means to be taken to invalidate the position in the text. Perhaps when the reading of Vedic books was fixed, प्रापत् and प्रास्तोत्, which occurs immediately after, were through mistake made to exchange places.

evidently, from the context, denoting events that have just happened, are in the Aorist, as also अवादीः used by Rudra. While when the author, in narrating the story, speaks of certain things as having taken place, he invariably uses the Imperfect, the event from his point of view having occurred at a remote past time. Similar instances, in which the Aorist on the one hand, and the Imperfect or the Perfect on the other, are used exactly in the same way, occur in 1-23, 2-19, 3-33, 4-17,[1] 6-33, 6-34, 7-27, 7-28, 8-7, 8-23, while narratives, in which the Perfect or the Imperfect only is used, and where there is either no conversation, or when there is, it is only with reference to present or future time, are innumerable 7-26, and 5-34 may also be consulted[2]

1 The cows held a sacrificial session with the object of getting horns after a year they got horns, and then they say to themselves —यस्मै कामायादीक्षामह्या-पाम तमुत्तिष्ठामः i.e., "The object for which we undertook the sacrificial ceremony we have got. We now rise or break up" Here आपाम is the Aorist of आप् 'to obtain,' and evidently means 'have got or obtained,' while अदीक्षामहि is the Imperfect of दीक्ष् and certainly does not indicate any event that has just happened.

2 To show how rich the language of this Brâhmana is in verbal forms, and especially of the Aorist, I will here give a list of the forms of the Aorist referred to in the text. It will be shown further on that the Brâhmana follows the rules of Pânini faithfully in the use of the Aorist, and the following list will show that the forms also of this tense strictly obey the rules laid down by that grammarian, except in a few cases.

अजनि	आदित	मा परिगात	आसिषत	अग्रहीत्
अभूत	अवादीः	अवृपत्	अमंस्त	अचारीत्
अक्षत	अक्रत	अभूः	अस्तृत	अहौषीत्
अपत्सत	अदीक्षिष्ट	अवधीः	अदात्	अगासीत्
अवोचत्	मा पात्	अवोचः	अवधीत्	अवोचत्
अभाक्	अकर्	अवोचम्	अजीजनत्	अशांसीत्
अभाक्षुः	मा दुषत्	अवोचन्	अजैषीः	अयासीत्
मा वृथाः	आपाम	आज्ञास्थाः	अद्रुक्षः	मा गात
अदुः	अदर्शम्	आज्ञासम्	अवार्क्षीः	

We thus see that the so-called Aorist denotes recent past time or the mere completion of an action, and thus resembles the English Present Perfect. And this is confirmed by what Pāṇini says on the subject The Sūtras which give the senses of the three past tenses are —लुङ् 3 2 110 , अनद्यतने लङ् 3 2 111 , परोक्षे लिट् 3.2 115. They are thus to be interpreted—"लुङ् or the Aorist indicates past time , लङ् or the Imperfect shows a past action done previous to this day , and लिट् or the Perfect, a past event which took place before this day, and which was not witnessed by the speaker " Now the first Sūtra gives a general rule, the second is an exception to it, and the third an exception to this again , the past time, therefore, left according to Pāṇini's system of rules and exceptions, for लुङ् to indicate, is अद्यतन, that is to say, this day's लुङ् can also, by these Sūtras, indicate past time generally, i e , express simply the completion of an action without reference to any particular past time For, the category past time can admit of three divisions only according to the principle indicated in the Sūtras, viz , past time generally and not specifically, the time of this day, and the past time previous to this day The last is taken up by लङ् and लिट् and the first two belong, therefore, to लुङ् By another Sūtra नानद्यतनवत्क्रिया-प्रबन्धसामीप्ययोः, Pāṇini, 3 3 135, लुङ् expresses recent and continuous past action, in addition So that according to Pāṇini, लुङ् indicates (1) past time generally, (2) the past time of this day and not previous to this day, and (3) recent past time

Now all these characteristics we find in the English Present Perfect and not in the Indefinite Past. For, firstly, if we want to express simply the completion of an action, i e , past time, generally without reference to any

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Of these 44 forms—only five—अभूत, अकरत्, अकर्, आक्रासम्, and अगृभ्रन्—do not conform to the rules laid down by Pāṇini for the Bhāṣā or the Sanskrit current in his time (Note added in 1885)

particular past time, we do not use the Indefinite Past in English, but the Present Perfect. 'I read Sir Walter Scott's Ivanhoe' necessarily implies some particular time when the action of reading was done, in other words, the sense of the sentence is not complete without the specification of some time: We must add some such expression as 'two years ago' or the particular time must be understood from the context. But when we say 'I have read Sir Walter Scott's Ivanhoe,' there is no such necessity Secondly, the English Present Perfect, like the Sanskrit लुङ्, can denote, if it denotes any specific time at all, the past time of this day only For, 'I have read the book to-day' is good English, but 'I have read the book yesterday' or 'a year ago' is not And thirdly, the Present Perfect, as is generally admitted, denotes recent time in English.

FROM THE PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION (1870)

The observations made in the Preface to the last edition as to the sense of the Aorist, have been confirmed by several passages I have met with, in the Samhitās of the Vedas and in Brāhmaṇas other than the Aitareya. But since this is hardly the place for an elaborate essay on the subject, I forbear to make any addition to what I have already said on the subject I have only re-cast the remarks contained in the Preface on the meaning of the Sūtras of Pāṇini bearing on the question.

FROM THE PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION (1873)

Grammar was not an empiric study with Pāṇini and the other ancient grammarians of India. Those great sages observed carefully the facts of their language, and endeavoured always to connect them together by a law or rule, and to bring these laws again under still more general laws. Sanskrit Grammar

has thus become a science at their hands, and its study possesses an educational value of the same kind as that of Euclid and not much inferior to it in degree. For, to make a particular form, the mind of the student has to go through a certain process of synthesis. He has to mark the mutual connections of the rules he has learnt, and, in each given case, to find out which of them, from the conditions involved, hold good in that case, and to apply them in regular succession, until he arrives at the form required A mere unscientific teaching of the forms as such, and mixing them up unconnectedly into a list, our grammarians never resorted to, so long as they could trace a resemblance even between two of them, if not more

Convinced of the utility of this system, I tried in this book to adhere to Pāṇini so far as was convenient or practicable, and to give his general rules instead of splitting them up into the particular cases they comprehend In this manner I was also able to compress a great deal of matter into comparatively small space But the book necessarily became difficult, since instead of placing a ready-made form before the student it gave him only the rules, and required him to constitute it for himself Experience, however, both as a learner and a teacher has taught me that Sanskrit Grammar learnt according to the latter method is more easily and longer remembered than if learnt empirically.

I

ON BHAVABHŪTI

BEING EXTRACTS FROM THE PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION OF THE MĀLATĪ-MĀDHAVA OF BHAVABHŪTI, WITH THE COMMENTARY OF JAGADDHARA. BOMBAY SANSKRIT SERIES (1905)

[The Edition was by Sir R. G Bhandakar "Dedicated to the memory of E I. Howard, Esq, Second Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, but for whose enlightened encouragement at a time when Sanskrit did not form part of the regular course of instruction imparted in our colleges, the editor would, in all probability, never have studied the sacred language of his country."] N B U

I

After describing the Manuscript material and the mutual relations of the MSS, Sir R G Bhandarkar proceeds —

All the nine MSS are independent of each other, and no two are copies of the same original or closely connected with each other Hence, when two or more agree, the reading acquires a certain authoritativeness * * * * * * *

In a large number of cases, however, the agreeing MSS do not form such groups, but one of them agrees with one at one time and with any other at another at random Looking to the fact that the groups give readings which are intelligible enough and often equally good, though a shade of difference can be discovered, which renders one preferable to the other, the conviction forced itself upon me that these changes were made by the poet himself at different times, and some MSS have preserved the earlier form and others the later. Of course, some of the differences in individual MSS, or even in

those agreeing with each other at random, may have been due to the mistakes of ignorant scribes or to the ingenuity of learned readers.

The Manuscript material for such a play as Mālatī-Mādhava is so ample and so satisfactory, that the idea of restoring the text by making conjectures, as if it were hopelessly corrupt, which a certain critic has started, must be entirely condemned Even in the case of corrupt texts conjectural restoration ought to be resorted to only in cases in which the conjecture is happy and carries conviction with it. European scholars, I am sorry to say, indulge too frequently in it, especially in Vedic literature, when often they are not in circumstances to make a happy conjecture It is not to be denied that some of the conjectures are striking and hit at the truth, but there are others which are simply gratuitous and provoking

II

Bhavabhūti was descended from a family of Brahmans surnamed Udumbaras residing in Padmapura, in the country of the Vidarbhas, the modern Berars They were followers of the Taittirīya Śākhā of the Yajurveda, and belonged to the Kāśyapa gotra They were pious Brahmans, regularly worshipping Agni and sometimes performing the higher sacrifices such as Vājapeya. Even at present, there are families of Marathi and Tailanga Taittirīyin Brahmans in and about the country where the Udumbaras lived [1] The name of Bhavabhūti's father was Nīlakaṇṭha, of his mother, Jātūkarṇī, and of his grandfather, Bhaṭṭa Gopāla He was the fifth in descent from one Mahākavi, who was a great sacrificer

Bhavabhūti was a man of learning He knew the Vedas, the Upaniṣads, and the Sāmkhya and Yoga systems of philosophy. He has given indications of his acquaintance with the Yoga in

1 See explanatory notes on the play, Act I. line 31

Mālatī-Mādhava and the Vīracarita,[1] and in the Uttararāmacarita, has, in two or three places, alluded to the chief doctrines of the Aupaniṣada or Vedānta system, which appears to be somewhat different from that elaborated by Śaṁkarācārya[2] The name of his Guru or teacher was Jñānanidhi[3], which looks like one assumed by persons when they enter into the fourth or Saṁnyāsa order and devote themselves to the study and contemplation of the Brahman, and that Jñānanidhi was the best of Paramahamsas or ascetics of the highest order, we are told in the first half of the stanza in the Vīracarita He probably initiated our poet into the secrets of the Vedānta.

In the Introduction to his Edition of the Gauḍavaho,[4] Mr. S. P Pandit states that in the colophon of the third Act in a MS. of Mālatī-Mādhava, received from a friend, he found it mentioned that the play was "composed by a pupil of Bhaṭṭa Kumārila," and in that of the sixth, that it was "composed by Śrīmat Umvekācārya, who acquired his literary power (Vāgvaibhava) through the favour of Śrī-Kumārilasvāmin" The conclusion drawn by him is, of course, that Bhavabhūti was a pupil of the great Kumārilabhaṭṭa. The statement in the colophon is certainly curious, and chronologically does not conflict with any known fact But Kumārila was a great Mīmāmsaka, and Bhavabhūti does not, in the introduction to his plays, speak of Mīmāṁsā as a subject which he had studied, though he makes mention of the other branches of knowledge mentioned above In his works he brings in, as above

1 Mālatī-Mādhava Act. V, Vīracarita, beginning of Act III

2 Act II. शब्दब्रह्मणस्तादृशं विवर्तमितिहासं &c., Act VI, विद्याकल्पेन &c. See note on line 397 Act I Creation according to Śaṁkarācārya is a Vivarta, while according to Bhavabhūti it is a Pariṇāma.

3 See introduction to the Vīracarita and the reading of N. O. Kl. in the introduction (Bhavabhūti's Prastāvanā) to the Mālatī-Mādhava.

4 Page CCVI (Intro.). [N. B. U.]

remarked, his knowledge of the Vedānta and the Yoga, but there is no allusion to any thing that may be regarded as peculiar to the Mīmāṃsā. Again, in the nine Manuscripts collated by me and in G. representing as they do the text prevalent in different parts of the country from Kaśmīr to Mysore, some of them very old and in others consulted by other editors, there is no trace of the statement contained in Mr. Pandit's Manuscript. Bhavabhūti does give the name of his Guru Jñānanidhi, and, if he really owed his Vāgvaibhava to Kumārila, it is wonderful that he should not have mentioned the fact himself. Still I am not disposed to reject the statement entirely, but its verification must be left to future research.

Bhavabhūti is the author of three dramatic plays, the Vīracarita, Mālatī-Mādhava and the Uttararāmacarita. Śārṅgadhara, in his Paddhati, attributes two stanzas[1] to him which are found in none of these three. But the first of these is given by Jalhaṇa in his Sūktimuktāvalī, as if belonging to an author named Mālatī-Mādhava, from whose work six more stanzas are quoted by him[2]. The reference is made at the end in the usual way by the expression Mālatī-Mādhavasya. The second of the two stanzas and another have been attributed to Bhavabhūti in another anthology[3]. Another of the seven stanzas quoted by Jalhaṇa is given by Śārangadhara, but not ascribed to anybody[4].

1 निरवद्यानि पद्यानि यदि नाट्यस्य का क्षतिः ।
भिक्षुकक्षाविनिक्षिप्तः किमिक्षुर्नीरसो भवेत् ॥ Pad. 6. 2, Stanza 146 in Peterson's Ed.

अक्लिष्टपदैरनुयातां &c. Stanza 791, ib.

2 See my Report on the search for Mss. for 1887—91, p. xl. (=ante, p. 395.) [N. B. U.]

3 विहृति in the Nirṇayasāgar Edition of the play.

4 दामोदरमुदराहितभुवनं यो वहति &c. Report for 1887—91, p. xl, (=Ante, p. 395. N. B. U.) and Peterson's Ed. of Śārng. St. 1162.

Jalhaṇa is the earliest compiler of an anthology known to us, since he lived in the time of Kṛṣṇa of the Yādava dynasty of Devagiri, who reigned from 1247 A. D. to 1260 A. D., and consequently the information derived from him is more reliable. It appears, therefore, that there was a poet who was called Mālatī-Mādhava, probably from his having had something to do with Bhavabhūti's work of that name, just as some others were called Nidrādaridra, Utprekṣāvallabha, Sītkāraratna, etc., from their using certain modes of expression. In later times his existence was forgotten, and when his name was found connected with certain stanzas, they were taken to be from the famous play of Mālatī-Mādhava attributed to Bhavabhūti. So that the occurrence in the later anthologies of the name of Bhavabhūti after certain Ślokas not found in his known works, is not a just ground for inferring that he must have written another.

The Vīracarita seems to have been Bhavabhūti's first attempt, for it does not exhibit that power and felicity of expression and insight into the human heart that the other two display, and is often heavy and uncouth. Mālatī-Mādhava must have been his second work, and the Uttararāmacarita, the last. In the benedictory stanza at the end of this, the play is represented as the production of his mature intellect.[1] And this is confirmed by internal evidence and the traditionary judgment of the Paṇḍits, among whom a verse declaratory of Bhavabhūti's "having in the Uttararāmacarita excelled" Kālidāsa, has been current[2]

These two poets are frequently compared with each other and regarded as the leading dramatists in the language. The ordinary belief among the Paṇḍits is that they lived at the same time, and a characteristic anecdote is told with regard to them. Bhavabhūti took his Uttararāmacarita, after he had composed it, to Kālidāsa

1 शब्दब्रह्मविदः कवेः परिणतप्रज्ञस्य वाणीमिमाम् ।
2 उत्तरे रामचरिते भवभूतिर्विशिष्यते ।

and asked him to give his judgment on it. Kālidāsa was at that time engaged in the game of Śāras, and told Bhavabhūti to read out the play for him Bhavabhūti did so All the while, Kālidāsa was deeply engaged in the game, and when Bhavabhūti had finished and asked him what he thought about the work, he said that "it was a very good production, better than his own works, and that the only fault he could discover was a superfluous dot or Anusvāra in the last line of one of the Ślokas" The line meant was अविदितगतयामा रात्रिरेव व्यरंसीत् । Act I, and the superfluous dot, that on एवं, Kālidāsa thinking that it should be एव, as we find it in our text Undoubtedly, एव is much better than एवम्, the anecdote, however, can have no historical foundation.

But though Kālidāsa could not have lived long enough to be thus consulted by Bhavabhūti, there can be little doubt that he was our poet's favourite author, and was admired by him. The loves of Śakuntalā and Duṣyanta and of the Apsaras and Purūravas, mentioned by Kāmandakī in the second Act of the present play, may, very reasonably, be understood to be allusions to the Abhijñāna-Śākuntala and Vikramorvaśī And *in the ninth Act, Mādhava's idea of using a cloud as a messenger* to his beloved, and even his manner and mode of addressing it, seem to have been suggested by the Meghadūta.

Bhavabhūti is a poet of great merit He shows a just appreciation of the awful beauty and grandeur of Nature enthroned in the solitudes of dense forests, cataracts, and lofty mountains. He has an equally strong perception of stern grandeur in human character, and is very successful in bringing out deep pathos and tenderness He is skilful in detecting beauty even in ordinary things or actions and in distinguishing the nicer shades of feeling He is a master of style and expression, and his cleverness in adapting his words to the sentiment is unsurpassed.

The genius of Bhavabhūti was, however, more of a lyric than of a dramatic nature. Notwithstanding the originality of conception involved in the plot of Mālatī-Mādhava, the poet does not show such a skill in the arrangement of his incidents and in the denouement as is displayed by the author of the Mṛcchakaṭī, or even of the Mudrārākṣasa. The incidents subsequent to the scene in the cemetery look like clumsy appendages and not like parts of a whole. Kapālakuṇḍalā is represented to have taken away Mālatī, simply to give an opportunity to the poet to display his power of depicting the feelings of a man in Viraha, and the incident appears by no means to harmonize with, or to arise naturally out of, the previous story. Neither is the poet very skilful in the portraiture of varied character In this also he is surpassed by Śūdraka. Bhavabhūti had not the power of putting himself mentally into various situations, of forgetting one and becoming quite a new man in another. But as the poet of Nature and of human passion and feeling generally, he occupies a very high rank among Sanskrit authors.

Kālidāsa, as Prof. Wilson remarks, has more fancy He is a greater artist than Bhavabhūti The former suggests or indicates the sentiment which the latter expresses in forcible language. The characters of the latter, overcome by the force of passion, often weep bitterly, while those of the former simply shed a few tears, if they do so at all. In the language of Sanskrit critics, Kālidāsa's Rasa is conveyed or Abhivyakta by the Lakṣya or Vyangya sense of words, while Bhavabhūti's is conveyed by the Vācya sense.

The excellences and shortcomings of Bhavabhūti's genius are fully seen in the Uttararāmacarita. The incidents in that play are but few. There is very little movement But the description of the forest scenery of Janasthāna in the second Act, and the portraiture of the griefs of Sītā and Rāma in the third, are unrivalled. Uttararāmacarita is more adopted for the hall than for the stage, it is more a Śrāvya than a Dṛśya Kāvya, while the

beauties of Śakuntalā are more perceptible when acted than when read. The merits of the poet are also observable in Mālatī-Mādhava, but not in such a developed form as in the other play, while to his usual faults, must be added the use of long prose speeches containing bewildering compounds Such a thing can never succeed on the stage Perhaps in this as in several other respects, Bhavabhūti was carried away by the conventionalism which had begun to prevail, and the rules laid down by the critics, and the free play of his genius was obstructed Long compounds constitute the poetic excellence called Ojas, and this Ojas is according to Daṇḍin the very soul of prose.[1]

The scene of the drama is laid at Padmāvatī situated at the confluence of two rivers named the Pārā and the Sindhu. Of the identification and position of the town and the rivers, I have spoken in another place [2]

According to the Rājataraṅgiṇī, Bhavabhūti was patronized by Yaśovarman king of Kanauj This Yaśovarman was subdued by Lalitāditya,[3] king of Kaśmīr, who acquired by his conquests a paramount supremacy over a large part of India. The mention of this circumstance enables us to fix the date of Bhavabhūti. But the exact date of Lalitāditya or Muktāpīḍa, as he was also called, is still a matter of dispute Kalhaṇa, the author of the Rājataraṅgiṇī, gives the duration of the reigns of the kings noticed by him, and mentions the year 25 of the Laukika or Saptarṣi Era as the date of the completion of his work He began the work in 24 Laukika, corresponding to 1070 Śaka. According to the method of turning a Laukika into a Śaka year, given in my Report on Manuscripts for 1883-84 (p 84),[4] the

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1 ओजः समासभूयस्त्वमेतद्गद्यस्य जीवितम् ।

2 See explanatory notes on the play, Act I., lines, 88 89 (BSS. Edition).

3 कविर्वाक्पतिराजश्रीभवभूत्यादिसेवितः ।
जितो ययौ यशोवर्मा तद्गुणस्तुतिवन्दिताम् ॥ Rāj Stein's Edn. IV. 144.

4 Ante, p. 210 f. [N. B. U]

Laukika 25 corresponds to 1071 Śaka passed and 24 to 1070 passed. The sum of the durations of the reigns from Lalitāditya to Jayasiṁha, who had been on the throne for 22 years when Kalhaṇa finished his work, has been given by Mr S P. Pandit as 455 years, 7 months, and 11 days. This being subtracted from 1071, we have Śaka 615-4-19 as the date of Lalitāditya's accession, corresponding to 693 A D Cunningham in his original calculation, gives the same, but Mr. Pandit somehow arrives at 625 A D, and this is the date given by M Troyer also But the total of the durations given above includes a reign of seven years (Sapta vatsarān) assigned to Sāmgrāmapīḍa, one of the successors of Lalitāditya, in two of the Manuscripts of the work, while a third gives him a reign of seven days only (Sapta vāsarān) This will bring the date of the accession of Muktāpīḍa, with whom we are concerned, to 700 A.D. Considering the arguments urged on both sides, it is difficult to decide which of the two readings is correct, but I am inclined from the context to regard Sapta vatsarān as the correct reading. Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa thus reigned from 693 A.D. to 729 A.D or 700 A D to 736 A D

But a comparison with Chinese chronology throws a doubt on the correctness of the date The Chinese annals represent Candrāpīḍa, brother of Muktāpīḍa, who reigned before Tārāpīḍa, another brother and the immediate predecessor of Muktāpīḍa, to have sent an embassy to the Chinese court in the year 713 A D, and to have received the title of "king" at his request from the Chinese emperor in 720 A.D, while, according to Kalhaṇa's chronology, Candrāpīḍa died in 689 A.D As Chinese chronology has always proved accurate, there must be a mistake of about 31 years in Kalhaṇa's chronology of the period, supposing Candrāpīḍa to have died soon after receiving the title. Lalitāditya himself is represented to have sent an embassy to China some time after 736 A.D.[1] which he could not have

1 Dr Stein's transl. of the Rājatar., Intr., p 67

done if he died in 729 A.D or in even 736 A.D. according to Kalhaṇa's chronology If, therefore, we apply the correction of 31 years, Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa's date will have to be understood to be 724-760 A.D. or 731-767 A D Yaśovarman, therefore, must have been subdued by Lalitāditya after 724 A D or 731 A.D.

And a still closer approximation has been arrived at by Prof Jacobi In stanzas 827-831 of Mr Pandit's edition of the Gauḍavadha are given the portentous events which took place in the world as mentioned in stanza 832 on the occasion "when the corner of Yaśovarman's eye became twisted in consequence of a momentary shaking of his (kingly) position" Prof. Jacobi justly takes this to be a reference to Lalitāditya's invasion.[1] And certainly Yaśovarman's loss of his position was momentary, for the Kaśmīr prince does not appear to have annexed his kingdom, but simply to have gone away after he had received his submission and concluded an alliance Among the portentous occurrences, one was the assumption by the disk of the sun, when "it was pierced through by Ketu, of the form of an anklet as it were of the Lakṣmī (glory) of the three worlds, dislocated from her foot when she thrust it forth violently in anger" (Stanza 829.) Evidently what is alluded to here is an annular eclipse of the sun, and this, according to astronomical calculations, occurred, as stated by Prof Jacobi[2], and was visible at Kanauj, on the 14th of August 733 A D. It was in that year, therefore, that Yaśovarman was attacked by Lalitāditya. A king of Central India of the name of I-cha-fon-mo is mentioned by Chinese authors as having sent an embassy to China in 731 A.D.[3] This I-cha-fon-mo has, I think, been properly identified with Yaśovarman, and here we have the date of Bhavabuhūti's patron from another source.

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1 Gött. gel. Anz., 1888, nr. 2, p 67

2 Ib., p. 68.

3 Dr. Stein's transl. Rājatar, Intr., p. 89, and note on IV. 134.

The ambassador of Muktāpīḍa, who was sent to the Chinese court some time after 736 A.D., is represented to have claimed the king of Central India as his master's ally. He is in all likelihood Yaśovarman himself, and, if so, Dr. Stein thinks that Lalitāditya must have subdued Yaśovarman after the date of the embassy, i.e., long after 736 A.D.[1] This goes against the date arrived at from the annular eclipse, but the fact appears to be that, as stated above, Muktāpīḍa did not annex the territory of Yaśovarman to his kingdom, but kept him on the throne and formed an alliance with him, and hence the latter was represented as the ally of the Kaśmīr prince.

From Jaina sources, if they are to be trusted, we arrive at an approximate date for the death of Yaśovarman, which is consistent with those given above. Rājaśekhara, the author of the Prabandhakośa, tells us that a Jaina saint of the name of Bappabhaṭṭi converted to Jainism Āmarāja, the son and successor of Yaśovarman of Kanauj. Bappabhaṭṭi was initiated as a monk in 807 of the Vikrama era. Soon after that event he met Āmarāja, who lived as a voluntary exile in Gujarat. After he had succeeded his father, Bappabhaṭṭi was, at his suggestion, raised to the dignity of Sūri. This occurred in 811 A. V. Between 807 A. V. and 811 A. V., corresponding to 751 A.D. and 755 A.D., i.e., about the year 753 A.D., therefore, Yaśovarman died.

The Rājataranginī mentions another poet of the name of Vākpatirāja, who also was in the service of Yaśovarman.[2] The Gauḍavadha alluded to above is the work of this poet, and in it also, he mentions the fact.[3] "There was," he says about himself, "nothing interesting about him, but he derived his importance by resorting to the feet of Kamalāyudha."[4]

1 Transl. Rājatar., Intr., p. 89

2 St. IV. 144, quoted before.

3 Stanza 797 of Pandit's Edn.

4 Ib. St. 798.

Kamalāyudha was a poet, from whose work or works quotations are made by Jahlaṇa and other anthologists. He was thus a contemporary of Vākpatirāja. Then he tells us how, "in his rugged compositions, there still shine certain excellences as if they were the drops of the poetic nectar churned out of the ocean in the shape of Bhavabhūti."[1] Herein he speaks of his indebtedness to Bhavabhūti, from his connection with whom he derived some poetic conceptions or modes of expression. From the manner in which the statement is made, Bhavabhūti appears to have lived long before he wrote this. Since Vākpatirāja mentions the annular eclipse of August 14th, 733 A.D., not as a recent event, he must have written his work a pretty long time after 733 A.D., and before 753, the approximate date of Yaśovarman's death. We may, in general terms, therefore, state that the poet flourished in the second quarter of the eighth century, and Bhavabhūti in the first.

The date thus determined agrees with all that is known of the chronological relations of Bhavabhūti with other writers. In the first place, Bāṇa's omission of his name from the long list given by him at the beginning of his Harṣacarita is now intelligible. Bāṇa flourished in the first half of the seventh century. A verse from Bhavabhūti is quoted in Kṣīrasvāmin's commentary on the Amarakośa.[2] Kṣīrasvāmin is mentioned

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1 15 St 789—भवभूइजलहिनिग्गयकव्वामयरसकणा इव फुरन्ति ।
जस्स विसेसा अज्जवि वियडेसु कहाणिवेसेसु ॥

Com.—भवभूतिजलधिनिर्गतकाव्यामृतरसकणा इव स्फुरन्ति यस्य विशेषा अद्यापि विकटेषु कथानिवेशेषु । निबन्धेष्विति क्वचित्पाठः ॥

2 दधति कुहरभाजामत्र—Prof. Aufrecht's paper on Commentare Zum Amarakoṣa in Z. D. M. G. for 1874. Prof. Aufrecht, however, traces the verse wrongly to the Kirātārjunīya.

in the Rājataraṅgiṇī as the teacher of Jayāpīḍa,[1] the grandson of Lalitāditya, who reigned from 752 A.D., to 783 A.D., according to Kalhaṇa's Chronology But as Kṣīrasvāmin notices Bhoja as a grammarian and lexicographer, it is highly doubtful whether the author of the commentary was the same as Jayāpīḍa's teacher Supposing the Bhoja referred to was the same as the famous prince of Dhārā of that name, Kṣīrasvāmin will have to be placed between about 1040 A D, and 1141 A.D., the latter being the year in which Vardhamāna wrote his Gaṇaratnamahodadhi, in which he mentions Kṣīrasvāmin[2]

Bhavabhūti is also quoted by Vāmana in his Kāvyālamkāravṛtti Quotations from his work occur in the Kāvyaprakāśa and in a work of Abhinavagupta, who wrote in the beginning of the 11th century. He is, therefore, in all likelihood, the same as Jayāpīḍa's minister of that name Bhavabhūti is quoted by Rājaśekhara, the dates of whose patron, Mahendrapāla, king of Kanauj, are 893, 899, 903 and 907 A D He is also quoted by Somadeva, the author of the Yaśastilaka, who wrote the work in 881 Śaka, corresponding to 959 A D., in the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince Kṛṣṇa III, by Dhanika, the author of the Daśarūpakāvaloka, and brother of Dhanamjaya, the author of the Daśarūpaka, who lived at the court of Muñja of Malwa (974-995 A.D), and in the Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa * attributed to Bhoja of Dhārā, who reigned in the first half of the eleventh century Bhavabhūti is also quoted by Vardhamāna mentioned above and by Mammaṭa, the author of the Kāvyaprakāśa. Verses from his work occur in Jalhaṇa's anthology noticed above, and in Śārṅgadhara's Paddhati and similar works written in later times.

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1 क्षीराभिधाच्छब्दविद्योपाध्यायात्संभृतश्रुतः ।
बुधैः सह ययौ वृद्धिं स जयापीडपण्डितः ॥ IV. 489.

2 See Prof. Aufrecht's paper referred to above. The year of Vikrama in which Vardhamāna wrote is given as 1197.

III

ON JAGADDHARA, THE COMMENTATOR OF MĀLATĪ-MĀDHAVA

Jagaddhara, the author of the commentary on Bhavabhūti's Mālatī-Mādhava was, as he himself tells us, the son of Ratnadhara and Damayantī Ratnadhara was the son of Vidyādhara, and grandson of Gadādhara. This last was the son of Rāmeśvara who was the son of Deveśa, son of Caṇḍeśvara Caṇḍeśvara appears to have obtained from some king or chief the grant of a village of the name of Suragrāma All his ancestors, except perhaps his father, were Mīmāṁsakas He or his father appears to have been a judicial functionary to some chief. His grandfather resided, Dr Hall states, probably on the authority of Jagaddhara's other works, at Videhanagara in Mithilā. Our scholiast gives in some cases, vernacular equivalents for Sanskrit words, but the reading is often so corrupt and uncertain that it is not possible to find out from these what his own vernacular was.

But none of the facts mentioned by him enables us to determine the period when he lived. All that can be done is to arrive, if possible, from the authors and works quoted or mentioned by him, at a date before which he could not have lived In his present work, Jagaddhara refers to Amara, the Dharaṇī, the Śāśvata, the Hārāvalī, the Utpalinī, the Viśva or Viśvaprakāśa,[1] the Śabdaprakāśa, the Śabdabheda,[2] the Anekārtha, the Nānārtha, the Ratnakoṣa, the Medinī, the Amara-

1 What is often called the Viśva is really the Viśvaprakāśa of Maheśvara. I looked for some of the verses quoted by Jagaddhara from the Viśva in the two copies of the Viśvaprakāśa in Dr Bühler's Collection, and found them in both.

2 The Śabdaprakāśa and the Śabdabheda are one and the same work and identical with the Śabdabhedaprakāśa which is an Appendix to the Viśvaprakāśa. I looked for the passages quoted by Jagaddhara in the copy in Dr Bühler's Collection and found them there.

mālā, the Amaralatā,[1] the Dhātusaṁgraha, the Dhātupradīpa, the Nyāsa, Bharata, Daṇḍin, the Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa, the Meghadūta, Māgha, and Naiṣadha.[2] Of the lexicons quoted by him the date of the Viśvaprakāśa is known It was composed, as the author himself informs us in a Śloka at the end of his work, in Śaka 1033 corresponding to 1111 A D[3] Jagaddhara furnishes us with another clue At the beginning of the seventh Act, after explaining that the root प्रच्छ् with आ signifies to "take one's leave finally," or to "bid adieu" he tells us that the same root occurs in the Meghadūta and is explained by the commentator in the same way A great many commentaries on this poem, besides that of Mallinātha, are mentioned in Prof Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum none of which, however, is well known And since Jagaddhara speaks of one commentator only without giving his name, he must be understood to have been aware of one commentary only, so well known as to render a mention of the author's name superfluous I, therefore, take it he alludes to Mallinātha who, in his scholia on the poem, does explain the root in the same way as Jagaddhara. Mallinātha, therefore, lived before our scholiast. Now Mallinātha according to Prof. Aufrecht, flourished after the thirteenth century,[4] since he quotes from a work of Bopadeva in one of his commentaries. Bopadeva was a contemporary of Hemādri who was a counsellor to Mahādeva[5] and Rāmadeva, kings of Devagiri, and consequently flourished at the end of the thirteenth

1 Amaramālā and Amaralatā appear to have been two names of the same book, or the latter is a mislocation.

2 Dr. Hall gives some more names from the other works of the scholiast:—the Gītagovinda, the Uttaratantra, Ratnāvalī, Vala and Vindhyavāsin, and Mattanāga.

3 See Prof. Aufrecht's Oxf. Cat. p. 188b. I do not, however, find the Śloka in the Manuscripts in Dr. Bühler's Collection.

4 Oxf. Cat. p. 118a.

5 Early History of the Deccan, pp. 116 and 117.

century. Mallinātha wrote a commentary on the Ekāvalī, a work on Poetics, and the prince, who is panegyrised in that work, ruled over Orissa till the first decade of the fourteenth century. That is the date of the Ekāvalī, but the commentary must be later by about fifty years if not more.[1] Another circumstance which indicates Mallinātha's priority to Jagaddhara is that while the latter quotes from the Medinī every now and then, the lexicon is never referred to by Mallinātha.[2] If the Medinī were composed before Mallinātha, we might certainly expect quotations from it somewhere in his vast commentaries. Medinīkāra, therefore, very probably lived after Mallinātha and certainly before Jagaddhara

We should make a further advance in the present inquiry if we could determine the age of this lexicographer so often quoted by our scholiast In the introduction to his vocabulary, Medinīkāra mentions Mādhava If this Mādhava is the same as the great Minister of Bukka and Harihara, kings of Vijayanagara, the Medinī must have been written in or after the fourth quarter of the fourteenth century [3] In Rāyamukuṭa's commentary on the Amarakos'a, there are many quotations from this lexicon Rāyamukuṭa wrote his work, as he himself incidentally tells us, in 1353 Śaka and in 4532 Kaliyuga,[4] correspond-

1 See my Report on Manuscripts for 1887-91, p lxix, and note in the Introduction to Mr. Trivedi's Ed of the Ekāvalī. [=Ante, p 333, the note on Ekāvlāī is included in the Volume later] N. B U

2 See Oxf. Cat. p. 113 and Appendices to Mr Pandit's Ed. of Raghuvaṁśa. Prof. Aufrecht has observed one quotation from the lexicon in the commentary on Māgha, but it is a later interpolation. (See the Preface to his Ed. of Ujjvaladatta, p. xiv. notes).

3 See Jour B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IV, p. 107. The date of Mādhava's grant is 1313 Śaka, i. e., 1391 A. D

4 इदानीं च शकाब्दाः १३५३ द्वात्रिंशदब्दाधिकपञ्च [शत?] वर्षोत्तरचतुःसहस्रवर्षाणि कलिसंख्यायां भूतानि ४५३२ । Rāya. on Am. I. 1. 3. 22.

ing to 1431 A D Medinīkāra, therefore, lived after about 1375 A. D and before 1431 A D But, if the Mādhava alluded to by him was another person, we must determine his date with reference to that of Mallinātha instead of Mādhava, and Rāyamukuṭa, but the result is about the same, as Mallinātha must have flourished, as stated above, after the middle of the fourteenth century Probably Medinīkāra lived about the same time as Mallinātha Jagaddhara, therefore, lived after the fourteenth century, but how long after, we have not the means of determining. A Manuscript of his commentary on the present play was written as we have seen in the year 1764 Vikrama, corresponding to 1708 A D., so that his latest limit is the end of the 17th century

Jagaddhara's commentary is very valuable His interpretation of his author is generally correct and proper, but after having given an explanation which alone is plain and sensible, he often attempts several others which are fanciful and far-fetched, probably to show off his learning and acumen. In a few places he is positively wrong I have considered all these cases in the explanatory notes. His quotations from Bharata and other authors and the information that he gives on several points are of very great use, especially to the University student.

Besides the present commentary, Jagaddhara wrote others, on the Veṇīsaṃhāra, Vāsavadattā, Meghadūta, Bhagavadgītā, and Devīmahātmya.

A NOTE ON EKĀVALĪ

(Originally published in the Late Rao Bahadur K P. Trivedi's Edition of the Ekāvali, Bombay Sanskrit Series, No. 63, 1903; pp. XXXIII—XXXVII) —N. B U

In view of the Inscriptions brought to the notice of Mr. K P. Trivedi by Mr. K. B Pathak, and others which Mr Pathak has not mentioned,[1] the remarks made by me on the date of the Ekāvali, in my Report[2] on the Search for Manuscripts during 1887-91, require to be supplemented, though the conclusions at which I arrived from the internal evidence, as to the approximate time, when the author of the work flourished, remains not only perfectly unshaken, but is remarkably confirmed, and the Inscriptions do not yield much in elucidation of the point discussed that was not known before.

The list of the princes who ruled over Orissa given by Sir W. W Hunter and Mr Sewell is based on the Chronicle of the Jagannātha Temple, and like other productions of the kind, contains a good deal that has no surer foundation than fancy or imagination, mixed especially in the later portion with much that is historically true. It should, therefore, be accepted with caution, and confirmatory evidence of a more reliable nature should be resorted to where available. Such evidence we have in the case of the Ganga Dynasty which ruled over the country, and with which alone we are here concerned. Seven Copper-plate Inscriptions of princes of this family have

1 For these Inscriptions, See Trivedi's Introduction to Ekāvalī, p.p. XXVI ff. [N B. U.]

2 Ante, pp. 328–334. It will be seen that Manuscript belonged to the 1884-87 Collection, though the notice thereof was originally contained in the 1887-91 Report. [N. B U.]

hitherto been discovered, three of Coḍagaṅga, two of Narasiṁha II, and two of Narasiṁha IV.

The year of Coḍagaṅga's accession is given as 999 Śaka, and the dates of his three copper-plate grants are 1003 Ś., 1040 Ś. and 1075 Ś. The dates of the grants of Narasiṁha II are 1217 Ś., which was the regnal year represented by the figure 21, and 1218 Ś., and those of the Inscriptions of Narasiṁha IV are 1305 Ś., which as a regnal year, was represented by the figure 8, and 1316 Ś, represented by the figure 22. In representing a regnal year by a figure, 1, 6, and a figure ending in 6, as well as a figure ending in zero except 10, were, we are told by Babu Manmohan in another paper of his, omitted as inauspicious. Thus the figure 8 represented the sixth year of the reign of Narasimha IV (1 and 6 being dropped), and the figure 22, the eighteenth year (1, 6, 16, and 20 being dropped). Thus 1305 Ś. was the sixth year of his[1] reign, and 1316 Ś., the eighteenth. If 1305 Ś. was the sixth year, 1316 Ś., (ought to be the seventeenth instead of the eighteenth. But this difference is probably due to the fact that a new number was given to the regnal year in the month of Bhādrapada, so that in Caitra, 1316 Śaka was represented by the number 17, as 1305 Śaka was by 6, and in Mārgaśīrṣa the month named in the grant of 1314 Ś., by the number 18. Thus, 1217 Ś., which as a regnal year of Narasimha II, is represented by the figure 21, was the seventeenth year of his reign.

The grants also give the genealogy of the dynasty with the duration of the reigns of the princes. This is given by Babu Manmohan Chakravarti in his paper on the grants of Narasiṁha IV, and need not here be repeated. The genealogy is certainly reliable, but the years of the duration of the reigns as certainly not. For, in the first place, in the grants of 1217 Ś.,

1 Uryā Inscriptions of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXII, Part I, No. 1, 1893.

of 1305 Ś., and 1316 Ś., the year of accession of Kāmārṇava, the successor of Coḍaganga, is given as 1064 Ś. If the latter got possession of the throne in 999 Ś., and his son 1064 Ś., he could not have reigned for 70 years as he is represented to have done, but only 65.

Again if we calculate by adding to Śaka 1064, which is the datè of the accession of Kāmārṇava, the number of years for which the reigns of the succeeding princes lasted, we have the following dates for the accession of the last seven princes —

Narasimha I,	1174 Ś	Duration	33	years
Vīrabhānudeva I,	1207 Ś	„	17	„
Narasimhadeva II,	1224 Ś	„	34	„
Vīrabhānudeva II,	1258 Ś	„	24	„
Narasimhadeva III,	1282 Ś	„	24	„
Bhānudeva III,	1306 Ś	„	26	„
Narasimha IV,	1332 Ś			

But from the contemporary evidence of their own plates, 1217 Ś was the seventeenth year of the reign of Narasimha II, and 1316 Ś, the eighteenth year of the reign of Narasiṁha IV. Therefore, either the date of accession of Kāmārṇava, 1064 Ś., for which we have no contemporary evidence, is wrong, or the durations of the reigns or both

Now, if 1316 Ś was the eighteenth year of the reign of Narasimha IV, he must have come to the throne in 1299 Ś. Calculating backwards by subtracting the years of the duration of each reign, we get the following dates for the accession of the seven princes —

Narasimhadeva I	1141 Ś.
Vīrabhānudeva I	1174 Ś
Narasimhadeva II	1191 Ś
Vīrabhānudeva II	1225 Ś
Narasiṁhadeva III	1249 Ś.
Bhānudeva III	1273 Ś.
Narasiṁhadeva IV	1299 Ś.

But according to one of the grants of Narasiṁhadeva II, 1217 Ś., was the seventeenth year of his reign, and he must have come to the throne in 1201 Ś., while according to our calculation, he got possession of it in 1292, i e, eleven years earlier Now since we started from a date vouched for by a contemporary document, and thus come to a conclusion, opposed to another contemporary document, the years of the duration of each reign given in the plates must be wrong The date of Narasimha II occurring in his earlier grant is found on computation to correspond to Monday the 6th August, 1296 A.D., and those of Narasimha IV, Sunday, 6th March, 1384 A D., and to Tuesday, 23rd November, 1395 A D

Now from all this, what we get for our present purpose, is no more than what we got from Sir W W Hunter's list, viz., that about the end of the thirteenth century of the Christian Era, which is the period in which, from the internal evidence the Ekāvalī was composed and the king panegyrised lived, there was a Narasimha who ruled over Orissa. The date of his accession is 1201 Ś, i e, 1279 or 1280 A.D, while in the list, he is represented as having acceded to the throne in 1282 A.D. There is a difference of two years only, which can be accounted for in a variety of ways If the period for which he is spoken of as having reigned, is to be regarded as correct, he held power till 1314 A D, while according to the list, he ruled over the country till 1307 A D

That Narasimha II was the Narasiṁha of the Ekāvalī is rendered highly probable, or I might say, certain by the fact that in the Inscriptions of Narasiṁha IV, he is in one place called कविप्रियः "or favourite of poets" and in another, कविकुमुदचन्द्रः "the moon that made the night lilies in the shape of poets expand" The description applies to the hero of the Ekāvalī, both because he was chosen for his panegyric by Vidyādhara, and because he must have patronized him and others like him.

SOCIAL HISTORY OF INDIA

[FROM C. Y. CHINTAMANI'S INDIAN SOCIAL REFORM, 1901, PART FIRST, PAGES 1—26.]

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INTRODUCTORY

Before entering on the subject of this paper it is necessary to give to the reader a general idea of the comparative antiquity of the different portions of Sanskrit literature referred to therein The hymns contained in the Ṛgveda Samhitā are the oldest , but they were composed at different times and some of them are much later than the others The verses of these hymns when used for sacrificial purposes are called Mantras. The Brāhmaṇas which contain an explanation of the sacrificial ritual come next, but there was a very long interval between them and the hymns Then we have the Āraṇyakas which contain the Upaniṣads. There are treatises of the latter name which are very modern and form by no means a part of the Vedic literature though sometimes they profess to do so Later than these are the Śrauta or Sacrificial Sūtras, and contemporaneous with them, or somewhat later, are the Gṛhya Sūtras. The Dharma Sūtras in which the religious and sometimes a civil law is laid down are still more modern.

The Saṁhitā and Brāhmaṇa of the Black Yajurveda contain the Mantra and Brāhmaṇa portions mixed together. Some of the Mantras may be as old as the later hymns of the Ṛgveda Saṁhitā , but the Brāhmaṇa portion must be of about the same age as the Brāhmaṇas of the Ṛgveda Some of

the hymns of the Atharva Veda may be as old as the later ones of the Ṛgveda ; but others are considerably more modern.

Buddhism rose in the later part of the sixth century before Christ ; and the death of Buddha took place about 477 B. C. The genuine Upaniṣads must be earlier than Buddhism. The Grammarian Patañjali lived about 150 B. C., and Pāṇini, the author of the Sūtras on Grammar, must have preceded him by several centuries Yāska the author of the Nirukta, which contains an explanation of the difficult words in the hymns, must have flourished before Pāṇini.

From about the middle of the third century before Christ, to about the end of the third after, Buddhism was the favourite religion of the masses. During that time Brahmanic literary and religious activity was a good deal impaired. In the fourth century Buddhism declined and there was a Brahmanic revival, and the Brahamans re-edited some of the books on the religious and the civil law which had been written in the form of prose sentences called Sūtras, and gave a new and more popular shape to them. Thus arose the Metrical Smṛtis or Smṛtis composed in Anuṣṭup Ślokas which now go by the name of Manu, Yājñavalkya and other sages of the antiquity. They of course contained mostly the same matter as the old Dharma Sūtras, but they brought the law up to the time This species of literature having come into existence in this way, other numerous Smṛtis of the like nature came to be written subsequently

The old Purāṇas were also re-cast about the period, and a good many new ones written. The Mahābhārata is mentioned by Pāṇini and in Āśvalāyana's Gṛhya Sūtras, but was consolidated into something like its present shape probably three or four centuries before Christ, but passages were interpolated into it from time to time, and it must have been retouched at the time of the revival

CASTE

More than four thousand years before Christ, according to the latest researches, the Sanskrit speaking people called the Āryas penetrated into India from the North West They were at first settled in Eastern Kabulistan and along the upper course of the Indus, and thence they gradually descended the river to the South, and spread also to the east in the upper part of the country watered by the five rivers of the Punjab Their progress at every step was resisted by another race or races which in the Ṛgveda are designated by the name of Dasyu or Dāsa. The Dasyus are contrasted with the Āryas and are represented as people of a dark complexion who were unbelievers, i e., did not worship the Gods of the Āryas and perform the sacrifices, but followed another law The Āryan Gods Indra and Agni are frequently praised for having driven away the black people, destroyed their strongholds and given their possessions to the Āryas "From day to day," it is said in one hymn, "he (Indra) drove the people who were black, all alike, from one habitation to another" Those who submitted were reduced to slavery, and the rest were driven to the fastnesses of mountains. The process was carried on in all parts of the country to which the Āryans penetrated The old word Dāsa came to denote a "slave" generally, and the word Dasyu acquired the significance of a "robber," as those aborigines who had taken themselves to mountain fastnesses subsisted on robbery The latter word came also to signify "one beyond the Āryan pale" as these tribes of robbers were.

While the Āryans were in the Punjab they were divided into a good many tribes, each having a king of its own, and a family or families of priests. There were among them three social grades or ranks To the first belonged the priests, who composed Brahmans (with the accent on the first syllable), i.e., songs or hymns to the Gods and knew how to

worship them, and were called Brahmans (with the accent on the second syllable). The second grade was occupied by those who acquired political eminence and fought battles and were called Rājans. All the other Āryas were referred to the third grade and were distinguished by the name of Viśas or people generally. These three classes formed one community, and such of the aborigines as had yielded to the Āryas, were tacked on to it as a fourth grade under the name of Dāsas, which word had now come to signify slaves or servants. Such grades existed amongst ancient Persians also In the course of time these grades became hereditary and acquired the nature of castes, and were called Brāhmaṇas, Rājanyas and Vaiśyas The fourth class came to be called Śūdras, which probably was at first the name of the aboriginal tribe which had acquired a distinct position in the community, and was afterwards generalised

These four castes are mentioned in one of the latest hymns of the Ṛgveda The first two formed definite classes with a definite sphere of duties and were the aristocracy of the community Since the Vaiśya class included all other Āryas, there was a tendency in it towards the formation of sub-classes or communities and possibly there were such sub-classes, which according to some, formed independent castes The Śūdras being the aborigines, there were in all likelihood several castes amongst them corresponding to the several races which inhabited the country before the invasion of the Āryas These were of course denied the privilege of keeping the sacred fire or performing the sacrifices , and were not allowed to read or study the Vedas. The two highest castes do not seem, in the times to which the old religious literature refers, to have split up into sub-castes. No such are referred to in that literature, though they are supposed by some scholars to have existed There were tribes of Kṣatriyas or Rājanyas and Gotras of Brāhmaṇas , but not castes.

With this social constitution the Āryas spread over the whole of Northern India, and the Śūdra population, incorporated with their community, became so large that it influenced the future development of the country The Sanskrit language was corrupted and the Vernaculars began to be formed

THE ABORIGINES AND THE FORMATION OF THE PRAKRITS

The languages of Northern India including the Marathi are offshoots of the Sanskrit, and they were formed not by a course of gradual corruption and simplification such as we meet with in the case of a language spoken throughout its history by the same race, but by a wholesale corruption of Sanskrit sounds, i e., mis-pronounciation of Sanskrit words by a race, the vocal organs of which were not habituated to utter those sounds, and by a generalization of such grammatical forms as were in common use, through ignorance of the special forms. Thus arose in very ancient times the Prakrit including the Pali or the language of the sacred books of Southern Buddhists; and these have, in the course of time, become the modern Vernaculars The phonetic difference between these and the old Prakrits is but slight when compared with that between the latter and the Sanskrit, which shows that there was, when the Prakrit was formed, a special cause in operation, viz., the incorporation of alien races, and this cause has ceased to exist in later times The Prakrits and through them the Vernaculars have got some special sounds and also words which are foreign to Sanskrit, and this points to the same conclusion.

Thus then these dialects show that the new races that were incorporated with the Āryan community had to give up their own languages and learn those of their Āryan conquerors

The Prakrits and the Vernaculars bear the same relation to Sanskrit that the Romance languages, Italian, French, etc., bear to the Latin, and just as these were formed by communities

composed of the old Romans and an overpoweringly large element of the Celtic and the Germanic races, so were the languages of Northern India formed by mixed communities of Āryans and aborigines. As a matter of fact, some of the vocal peculiarities of the makers of Prakrits are displayed by the people of different Indian provinces at the present day. Thus like the former, the Gujarathis of the present day cannot pronounce the Sanskrit sound औ but always make ओ of it, the Bengali cannot utter the conjunct consonant in Īśvara and other words and invariably changes it into a double consonant, making इस्सर of ईश्वर; the Deśastha Brahmans of Eastern Mahārāṣṭra pronounce a dental nasal as a cerebral, and the Sindhi and also the Bengali cannot utter क्ष but must make क्ख of it The Bengali shows also the peculiarity of the old Māgadhī speakers by his incapacity to utter the three different sibilants and his giving them all a palatal sound This would show that among the speakers of the Modern Vernaculars, there is such a large aboriginal element that it has overpowered the Āryan element, and they may as well be regarded as descendants of the aborigines as of the Āryas.

All this preponderating influence of the aborigines is to be accounted for not only by their large numbers but by the fact that men from the Āryan community frequently married Śūdra wives though the marriages were considered inferior, and sometimes Śūdra men married Āryan women The fact that some of the Law-Books allow of the former and prohibit the latter, shows that in practice there must have been many such cases, since the law never deals with imaginary circumstances but always such as are actual. The origin of certain castes is traced in those books to such marriages, and it is even represented that under certain circumstances, and after the lapse of a certain number of generations, the offspring of those marriages can attain to the caste of the original progenitor If

then, the descendant in the fifth and sixth generation of a child of a Śūdra woman by a Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya or Vaiśya man, could become a Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya or Vaiśya when such marriages were permitted, it must be understood that there is some aboriginal blood flowing through the veins of the high caste Hindus of the present day.

To Southern India the Āryans penetrated at a comparatively late period, when communities and nations of aboriginal races had already been formed They did not settle there in large numbers and thus were unable thoroughly to influence the latter, and incorporate them into their community Hence they preserved their own languages and many of the peculiarities of their civilization, and these the Āryans themselves had to adopt in the course of time The Kanarese, the Tamil, the Telgu and the Malayalam belong to an entirely non-Āryan stock of languages.

THE CASTES AND THEIR OCCUPATIONS

It was not possible in the nature of things that the castes should always follow the profession or calling which brought them into existence, and which is laid down for them in the ancient Law-Books. The Brahmans alone could officiate as priests at sacrifices and in the domestic ceremonies, and a great many devoted themselves to that occupation. There were those who preferred plain living and high thinking, and taking a vow of poverty devoted their lives to study. But there were still others who took to agriculture, trade, and other much meaner occupations and also to politics, and there was in the olden times even a Brahmanic dynasty reigning at Pataliputra. But politics and war were the special occupation of the Kṣatriyas. They also devoted themselves to Philosophy and Literature, and in the Upaniṣads they are several times mentioned as teachers of religious philosophy, and Brahmans

as learners. In one place it is said that Brahma Vidyā was first cultivated by them.[1]

It was on account of this philosophic culture that religious reformers sprang from their ranks. Buddha was a Kṣatriya and so was Mahāvīra, the founder of Jainism Vāsudeva whose name is closely connected with the Bhakti school, either as the name of the supreme being, or as a teacher, was a Kṣatriya of the Yādava Clan A Brāhmaṇa may, says Āpastamba, study the Vedas under a Kṣatriya or Vaiśya teacher when reduced to that necessity The Vaiśyas followed the occupation of trade and agriculture The Śūdras are condemned to be the slaves or servants of the other castes by Brahmanic Law Books But as a matter of fact since by that name several social groups or castes were designated, it was impossible that that occupation should have been enough for them or have satisfied them They often pursued an independent calling and became artizans Patañjali mentions carpenters and black-smiths as belonging to the Śūdra class The lowest of them, the Cāṇḍālas were in the same degradad condition as they are now

ENDOGAMY

Endogamy, i.e., marriage within and not without the limits of a group, is a characteristic of castes. But as already stated, a man from the higher castes could marry a Śūdra woman under the law, and generally, a marriage connection could be formed by a man belonging to any of the higher castes with a woman of any of the lower castes The marriages, were, however, considered to be of an inferior nature, and the issue took rank after that of the wife of the same caste Marriages in the reverse order, i e., of a man belonging to a lower caste with a woman of a higher, were, like the marriage of a Śūdra man

1 See Ante, p. 193 [N. B U.]

with an Āryan woman alluded to before, strictly prohibited by the law books, but since they speak of the issue of such marriages and give the law with reference to them, there must have been in practice many cases of the kind After a time however, these became obsolete, and the marriage of a man of a higher or Āryan caste with a Śūdra woman which had been allowed by the law before and frequently practised, was also prohibited by the later legislators. And in practice, all marriages between members of different castes gradually went out of use

The Brahmanic religious writers mention a good many castes which they assert sprang from inter-marriages between persons of different castes The origin thus assigned to the castes is in a good many cases evidently fanciful. Some of them such as Vaideha and Māgadha must have arisen from the locality, others such as Rathakara or chariot-maker, from the occupation, and still others such as Cāndāla from the race. But it will not do to throw discredit over the whole statement. The Indian authors are always inclined to reduce everything to a preconceived system. The castes are four, and if we find many more in the real life, they must have sprung by inter-marriages from these four This is the theory on which they have gone, and certainly its application to all cases must be wrong But in order to render the conception of such a theory possible, there must have been a few cases actually of castes springing up from such marriages But which of the castes mentioned by them are mixed castes of this nature it is not possible to determine. All the so-called mixed castes are considered Śūdras, which shows that some of them at least were aboriginal tribes which had become castes Similarly some castes are named which are said to have sprung from Vrātyas or persons who had set themselves free from the Brahamanic ordinances about the orders, i.e., had in practice given up the

Brahamanic religion. The same observation as that made above is applicable to this case viz., some castes must have arisen from this cause, but which we cannot say.

COMMENSALITY

Commensality within and not without a group is in almost all cases another characteristic of castes But in the olden times we see from the Mahābhārata and other works that Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas could eat the food cooked by each other. Manu lays down generally that a twice-born should not eat food cooked by a Śūdra (IV. 232), but he allows that prepared by a Śūdra, who has attached himself to one or is one's barber, milkman, slave, family friend, and co-sharer in the profits of agriculture, to be partaken. (IV. 253). The implication that lies here is that the three higher castes could dine with each other Gautama, the author of a Dharma Sūtra, permits a Brāhmaṇa's dining with a twice born (Kṣatriya or Vaiśya) who observes his religious duties (17. 1). Āpastamba, another writer of the class having laid down that a Brāhmaṇa should eat with a Kṣatriya and others, says that according to some, he may do so with men of all Varṇas who observe their proper religious duties except with the Śūdras But even here there is a counter-exception, and as allowed by Manu, a Brāhmaṇa may dine with a Śūdra who may have attached himself to him with a holy intent (I. 18 9, 13, 14)

CONNUBIUM

In modern times it is of the essence of caste that there should be connubium only within its limits, and commensality also except in the case of a few sub-castes. But if in ancient times there could be inter-marriages between the three Ārya castes, and also, in times earlier, between all the four, and inter-dining between the first three and some individuals of the fourth, in what respect are they to be considered as castes?

Only in this — that a certain dignity of position was transmitted from father to son, and that marriage with a woman from a family of a lower hereditary position, was considered to be of an inferior nature

FORMATION OF NEW CASTES

For a long time the four castes preserved their original Vedic character as social grades though heredity had become associated with them. But we can plainly observe the operation of strong tendencies to greater exclusiveness, in the gradual contraction of the sphere of connubium and commensality which we have noticed above. We can also discover the operation of causes which lead to the multiplication of castes

The difference of locality gave rise, as we have seen, to a difference of caste in the case of Śūdras. Brahmanic law-givers represent several provinces such as Avanti, Magadha, Saurāṣṭra and the Deccan as unholy and consequently not fit to be inhabited by the Āryas (Baudhāyana's Dharmasūtra, 1 2, 13, 14), and persons who have gone to others, such as Puṇḍra and Vanga are considered positively to have lost castes, and cannot be readmitted except by the performance of certain purificatory rights This shows a tendency to the formation of separate castes among the Āryas, on account of change of locality The Magadha Brahmans are spoken of even in sacrificial Sūtras as a degraded class. Udīca (Northern) Brāhmaṇas are frequently mentioned in Budhist Pali Works in a manner to show that they constituted an order or even a Jāti (caste) of Brahmans. This class or caste seems to have been regarded as highly respectable.

The operation of race in the formation of castes we have already observed The original Śūdra caste and a good many others that afterwards came to be included in it, were due to this

cause. As the Āryans spread far and wide in the country, these two causes came into full operation.

A third cause is the same as that which brought about the formation of the Vrātya classes. When the ordinances and usages of caste are violated by some members of it, the others excommunicate them, or regard them as having ceased to belong to their castes. This cause came into active operation probably during the time when early Buddhism enjoyed ascendancy and was followed by the Kṣatriya and Vaiśya castes. Animal sacrifice was prohibited by the Great Aśoka in the first half of the third century before Christ; and along with that some of the ordinary usages were given up. The Brāhmaṇas must have looked upon those who did so as having lost caste, and this fact is probably at the bottom of the view held by them that in this Kali age there are only two Varṇas, the Brāhmaṇas and the Śūdras, the other two having disappeared. The prevalence of Jainism and some of the other religious systems must have contributed to the same result. And the laying down of certain sins liable to lead to excommunication in the Law Books, shows that the practice must have prevailed. A fourth cause also came into operation in the early centuries of the Christian era or even before. It was the formation of Śreṇis or trade guilds. They are mentioned in some of the Law Books and in the Nasik and Kanheri Cave Inscriptions. In these, we have an allusion to a Tailika Śreṇi and a Mālika Śreṇi, i.e., the guilds of oil-makers and gardeners. These guilds must have had a regular organisation, since charitable persons deposited money with them for the benefit of Buddhist monks, on which they paid interest from generation to generation And in the course of time the guilds of oil-men and gardeners became the castes of Telis and Malis. Some or good many—not all, as has been supposed by some writers,—of the modern castes have got an organisation

with a headman or president, and this they owe to their having sprung from such guilds or imitated their practice. The followers of each occupation thus formed a caste and the numbers multiplied.

A fifth cause has also been in operation for some centuries. Religious schools or sects have given rise to different castes. The followers of the Mādhyamdina Śākhā or recension of the White Yajur Veda form a different caste from that of the followers of the Kāṇva recension, and those of Madhva from that of the followers of Śaṃkara, though there is commensality between them except in some cases.

THE PRESENT POSITION

These five causes have been in brisk operation during more than two thousand years, unchecked by any influence of a unifying nature, and the principle of divisions has become strongly ingrained in Hindu Society, and perhaps in the Hindu blood. During all this period various religious and philosophical sects have been founded. Religion has been developing and not quite on wrong lines, and spreading elevating ideas. But all these sects, including that of the Buddhists, occupied themselves with man's eternal interest, and thought it no concern of theirs to promote his worldly interest. The Buddhists and also some schools of the Vaiṣṇavas considered caste to be of no value. Men from all castes were admitted into the fraternity of Buddhist monks, and the Vaiṣṇavas disregarded caste restrictions in their dealings with each other. But the re-formation of the Hindu Society by relaxing the bondage of castes, was not an object with them

Thus the result is that Hindu Society is now cut up into more than three thousand castes. Each of them is a community by itself and having no connubium of, or commensality with another, and has developed peculiar manners and tastes which distinguish

it still further from the rest and renders social intercourse impracticable. Thus, the two hundred and forty millions of Hindus living in India, form about three thousand distinct communities, each on an average composed of eighty thousand people i.e., about two-thirds of the population of a single town of ordinary size such as Poona.

SENART'S THEORY OF CASTES

The germs of the Caste System existed among some of the principal races in the West. For a long period there was no connubium between the Patricians and the Plebians in Rome, and traces have been discovered, we are told, of the existence of restrictions as to inter-marriage and eating together among the Greeks, Germans and Russians But those germs were trampled under foot there, while here they have found a congenial soil and grown into a huge bunyan tree, throwing its dark shadow on the whole extent of this vast country. And what is the reason? This is what M. Senart, the great French scholar who has recently published an essay on Caste, is represented to say about it.

" M. Senart shows how the growth of strong political and national feeling constantly tended in the West, to weaken and at last succeeded in removing, these (caste) restrictions. He suggests that the absence of such feelings in India may be one reason why the disabilities have not also there been gradually softened away. It is, indeed, very suggestive for the right understanding of Indian History, that they should, on the contrary, have become so permanent a factor in Indian life."

M Senart's theory appears to be that the innumerable castes of the present day existed even in very olden times and that the four Varṇas or grades belonged to pre-Vedic times, — when the ancestors of the Parsis and Hindus lived together — and were traditionally handed down to the Vedic times; and these

traditional grades were fused together with the numberless castes that really existed so as to form what he calls a 'Hybrid' system. The modern castes have not grown out of the old Varṇas or grades. Hence he speaks of the caste restrictions as 'not having been softened away.' But agreeing as I do with Oldenberg, a German scholar who has expressed his dissent from M. Senart, and believing that the view I have put forth above is alone sustained by the evidence available, I should say that "the old slight restrictions have in the course of time become very heavy fetters that render all movement impossible." And this is the result of the entire absence of "Political and National feelings" Pride and other feelings that divide man from man have had full swing in the History of India, and sympathy or fellow feeling has been confined to the narrowest possible sphere

MEAT AND DRINK

Connected with the question of Caste is that of the use of meat and drink It is generally supposed that abstinence from meat is an essential condition of Brahmanism But according to all authorities, the Brāhmaṇas and other twice-born used meat in ancient times. The flesh of five species of five-clawed animals is permitted to be eaten in the Dharma Sūtras; and even beef is allowed by Āpastamba (I 17, 30, 37). Most of the sacrifices of the old Vedic religion were animal sacrifices, and the animals killed by suffocation for the purpose were goats, sheep, cows, or bulls and horses It is impossible that the idea of offering meat to Gods could have originated unless men themselves liked it and used it. But the influence of Buddhism, and later, of Jainism threw discredit on the practice; and those who re-edited Hindu Law in the fourth century of the Christian era and later i.e , the writers of the Smṛtis of Manu and Yājñyavalkya, lay down the old

permissive precept, but hedge it round with so many restrictions that it amounts almost to prohibition.

But in modern times the Brahmans of Bengal, Mithilā, Kashmir and Sindh do use meat, while in countries which were for a long time under the influence of Buddhism and Jainism, such as Gujarath, even the lower castes abstain from it. But the killing of cows or bulls for any purpose—whether for sacrifice or meat—went out of use early, and was prohibited in the books

Similarly in the Vedic times the popular drinks were Soma, a species of intoxicating liquid, and also Surā or fermented liquor This last however was soon given up, and we find the use of it enumerated among the seven deadly sins even in such an old work as Yāska's Nirukta

POSITION AND INFLUENCE OF WOMEN

In the list of the old teachers or Ācāryas of the Ṛgveda, given in Āśvalāyana's Gṛhyasūtra, occur the names of three women, Gārgī Vācaknavī, Vaḍavā Prātitheyī, and Sulabhā Maitreyī. The works of some of the male teachers mentioned therein have come down to us, and those of a few others are alluded to in other works, wherefore it must be admitted that they were actually living individuals. So these ladies were not imaginary persons but really existed and taught Gārgī Vācaknavī is mentioned in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad as having been a member of a large assembly of learned Ṛṣis held at the court of Janaka, king of Videhas, and taking active part in the debate on Brahman or the Universal Essence, that is reported to have taken place

Sulabhā Maitreyī is introduced in the Mahābhārata as discoursing on Brahman with king Janaka. In another part of the same Upaniṣad, Maitreyī, the wife of Yājñyavalkya is represented to have asked him when he expressed his

intention to retire from family life and divide his property between her and another wife, whether wealth could confer immortality on her On Yājñyavalkya's denying it, she said she did not care for that which would not make her immortal, and begged of Yājñyavalkya to explain to her what he knew about Brahman. And so Yājñyavalkya discourses on it to her and she interrupts him with intelligent questions. This discourse is famous and often referred to in the Advaita Vedānta taught by Śamkarācārya.

Draupadi is represented as carrying on a keen controversy with Yudhiṣṭhira about God's dealings with men The poet would not have brought forward such a scene, unless in his time there were women able to speak with such intelligence and knowledge as Draupadi shows Among the Buddhists there was an order of nuns as of monks, and there exist works written by the female religious elders. All this shows that women in those days were not condemned to ignorance but took part in the discussion of religious and philosophic questions, and even appeared in assemblies of men

THE IDEAL WIFE

A wife and husband became by their marriage Dampati or "two masters of the house" The Gods gave her to him (the bridegroom) for house-keeping, their union was as permanent and intimate as that of the Earth and the Heaven, and she became his friend and companion. — This is the substance of the Vedic Mantras repeated by the bridegroom at the marriage And in keeping with the ideal here shadowed forth, the Vedic ritual makes her a partner in all the religious duties. The husband cannot keep the sacred fire without her, her presence and co-operation are necessary in all the great sacrifices. The fire kindled on the occasion of marriage had

to be kept up, all the domestic ceremonies concerning him, her, and the children were to be performed on it, and when either died, he or she was to be burned by means of that fire. The fire was thus a standing symbol of their union.

This ideal of the relations between the two was in all likelihood observed even in worldly matters in the well conducted families as the following praise contained in the Mahābhārata indicates —"She is a wife who is diligent in household duties, she is a wife who has children, she is a wife to whom her husband is the breath of life, she is a wife who is devoted to her husband. A wife is one-half of a man, a wife is the best of friends, a wife is at the root of the accomplishment of the three objects of life (righteousness, worldly prosperity and satisfaction of desire), a wife is at the root when final deliverance is attained Those who have wives perform their duties, those who have wives become householders, those who have wives enjoy peace, those who have wives are prosperous. In solitude they are friends, whose conversation is sweet, in religious duties they are fathers and in illness they are mothers. To a traveller they are a repose in the wilderness He who has a wife is trustworthy, therefore wives are our highest resources." (Mahābhārata I 74 39 ff)

When Buddha was going about preaching his gospel, his great supporters were women, who gave him and his numerous disciples many gifts and fed them at their houses. One such female devotee, frequently mentioned in the Pali Buddhistic books was a rich lady of the name of Viśākā who resided at Śrāvastī, the capital of Kosala. She had many healthy sons and grand-sons and was looked upon as an auspicious person. All men invited her to dinner first. whenever there was a sacrifice or any festive ceremonial. This gives an idea of the influence and popular esteem that a woman could attain Her husband is nowhere mentioned and she is represented as doing things of her own motion, as also those

females, who belonging to respectable families, gave up a worldly life and became nuns. This shows that women enjoyed a good deal of independence. In later times too, a great many benefactors of the fraternity of Buddhistic monks were women, and their names are found inscribed on the monuments of those times.

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PICTURE

The picture has also another side. Though a wife was highly respected, a woman as such was held in little esteem. In the Taittirīya Samhitā it is stated that women are unsubstantial, and consequently excluded from inheritance. Yāska gives two views, one agreeing with this, and another to the effect that they can inherit Those who hold the former, say that daughters on that account are exposed, given or sold but the others retort that sons also are treated in the same way, and give the instance of Śunaḥśepa who was sold by his father to Rohita, the son of Hariścandra, king of the Solar race, to be sacrificed to Varuṇa in his place Thus it will be seen that the general opinion of the Āryas was wavering and had not become definitely hostile to females In the Ṛgveda-times, girls were free and could choose their own husbands, and enjoyed a great deal of independence. But a daughter is always a source of anxiety to the father on account on her difficulty of finding a suitable husband Hence even in such an old work as the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, while the wife is called a friend or companion, a daughter is spoken of as (the source of) humiliation.

In the Mahābhārata, "women" it is said "while enjoying themselves with men, deceive them, no man who has once got into their hands, can be free All the wiles of Śambara, Namuci, and Kumbhīnasa are to be found in women. They laugh when a man laughs, weep when he weeps; even one they do not like, they subdue by endearing words.

Uśanas or Bṛhaspati does not teach a device that women do not know by their natural wit. What is false they pronounce to be true, what is true they make out to be false, how is it possible for men, O brave one, to watch them? There is nothing more wicked than women, women are burning fire, they are the illusive jugglery of Maya, put the edge of a razor, poison, serpent and fire in one scale, and women in the other" (XIII. 39 and 40)

In actual life the relations between man and woman are so varied that it is quite possible that under certain circumstances a man should speak thus about a woman But when the legislator Manu is equally hard on women, it must be acknowledged that the estimate of the old Ārya of womanly nature, is not flattering to them generally They are debarred from reading the Vedas, any religious rite in which they alone are concerned is directed to be performed without Vedic Mantras. Even the Bhagavadgītā gives expression to the general belief that it is only a sinful soul that is born as a woman, Vaiśya or Śūdra.

Thus women began to suffer in the estimation of men about the time of Yāska, and the downward movement which then commenced, resulted in their being subjected to definite disabilities by the fourth century of the Christian era, when the Metrical Smṛti of Manu was written, and the Mahābhārata retouched, and it has continued to this day and rendered their condition still more deplorable

AGE OF MARRIAGE

(I) OF GIRLS

When the Mantras addressed by the bridegroom to the bride at the time of marriage (the substance of some of which I have given above[1]) were composed, there can be no question that the

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Ante p. 459 [N.B.U]

bride must have been a girl who had arrived at an age of discretion and could understand what marriage meant. In the time of Āśvalāyana, Āpastamba and others who in their Gṛhya Sūtras give the details of the marriage ceremony and say nothing about the age of the bride, we have to suppose that then too she was a grown-up girl, and this is confirmed by their allowing intercourse on the fourth day after marriage Hiraṇyakeśin and Jaimini prescribe in express terms that the bride should be a mature girl who has been chaste, while Gobhila, Gobhilaputra and the Mānava Gṛhya lay down that a girl not having intercourse previously with a man should be married This also means that the girl should be one who has reached womanhood. "But", they add, "it is best *to marry one who has not arrived at womanhood*" Manu and other writers of Metrical Smṛtis require that a girl should be married before she has arrived at maturity.

In these various injunctions we observe a regular downward course Āśvalāyana is silent about the age of the girls; and the reason must be that late marriages—which the Mantras that were repeated, and the rule about the intercourse on the fourth day, presuppose—must have been a matter of course and alone in practice. When, however, Hiraṇyakeśin expressly enjoins the marriage of mature girls only, the opinion of the Āryas, about the time when he lived, must have begun to become unsettled, and early marriages to be thought of as better But when Gobhila first of all lays down a precept which in effect is the same as that of Hiraṇyakeśin, and afterwards recommends an immature bride as the best, the opinion in favour of early marriage must have become more predominant. And it went on acquiring still greater predominance, until when the Metrical Smṛtis were written, or the religious law was revised, it had completely triumphed, and the other was driven out of the field. Manu, however as the earliest of the writers of these

works, has not entirely forgotten late marriages, and allows under certain circumstances a girl to remain unmarried for three years after she has attained womanhood And since his time, late marriages have become entirely unknown, and in these days girls are sometimes married even when they are a year or two old.

(II) OF BOYS

The old law was that after Upanayana or the ceremony of making a boy over to a Guru or preceptor, he should study the Vedas for twelve, twenty-four, or even forty-eight years, and then relinquish the Brahmacarya or student's vow , or that he should give up the vow after he had completed his studies without reference to the number of years he took to do it. It was then that he was allowed to marry. The Upanayana ceremony was performed in the case of a Brāhmaṇa boy when he was at least eight years old, and in the case of a Kṣatriya or Vaiśya boy, when he was eleven or twelve. As the lowest period of twelve years for a student's life must have been fixed, because the studies generally occupied so much time, a young man was free to marry when he was at least twenty years old. But as a rule he entered into that relation at a later age, and Manu lays down thirty or twenty-four years as the proper age.

Now here the law upto the time of Manu was entirely in favour of late marriages in the case of boys. But gradually the duration of student life was curtailed, until now in the Maratha country it lasts for three or four days only, and the relinquishment ceremony (Samāvartana) is performed on the fourth or fifth day. The Upanayana ceremony and the Vedic study have thus for a long time become a solemn farce, and a boy is married when he is about twelve years old. It is considered necessary for the reputation of a family that the boys in it should be married at about that

age, and the delay of marriage till about sixteen is regarded as throwing discredit on it.

BURNING OF WIDOWS

The custom of burying or burning a widow with the dead body of her husband prevailed among a good many ancient Āryan races settled in Europe It was in practice among the Teutonic tribes and also among the non-Āryan Scythians. But in the whole of the Ṛgveda there is no allusion to the practice Still it must have prevailed among the Indian Āryas before the time when the hymns were composed For there are two verses, one of which occurs in the Atharva-Veda Saṁhitā and in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, and the other in the latter and in the Rgveda Samhitā (Ath-Ve XVIII. 3 1, Taitt Ār pp 651 and 632, Ed. Bibl Ind, Rgv X 18 8) of which the first is repeated when the wife of an Agnihotrin is made to lie down by the side of her dead husband on the funeral pile, and the other when she is raised from it by her brother-in-law or her husband's pupil or an old servant (Āśvalāyana Gṛhya, IV 2 18) The sense of the first is, " O mortal, this woman, desirous to go to the world of husbands, lies down by the side of thee who art dead, in accordance with ancient usage (Purāṇa dharma), give her children and wealth", and of the second, "Rise, O woman, for the world of the living, thou art lying by the side of this dead (man). The wifehood of a second husband stares thee in the face".

The whole ceremony is a mimicry of the once practised custom of burning a widow, and the fact of raising the woman from the pile shows that it was afterwards given up The word Didhiṣu which occurs in the latter verse is taken in an etymological sense by European scholars and Sāyaṇa in his commentary on the Ṛgveda, and made applicable to the dead husband, but in the commentary on the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, Sāyaṇa takes it

in the sense of "a second husband", and that is the usual sense of the word and that alone is appropriate here. But I must not go into the reasons in this paper intended for the general reader.

Thus the Vedic Āryas had consciously given up the custom of burning widows, and there is no trace of it in the older books on the religious law. But it must have prevailed among some of the many Āryan tribes that migrated to India, or among the aboriginal Śūdras, and there is an indication of it in the story of Mādrī, one of the two wives of Pāṇḍu having burned herself with her dead husband, and in another part of the Mahābhārata, where a female dove is represented to have burned herself with her dead mate She went like a human widow to the "world of husbands" and becoming re-united with him, lived happily with him.

But when the deterioration of the Āryan moral feeling had established itself, the custom was generally adopted from the tribes among whom it existed, and the precept about the burning of widows was laid down in some of the Metrical Smṛtis, though, however, not without a protest from others. But the later Panditas, in their exposition of the law, denied the authoritativeness of the protesting texts and decided that the burning of widows was lawful And so it became the general practice, though it was optional, and looked upon by some as an irrational act, as is shown by the beautiful passage against it in Bāṇa's Kādambarī, and was eventually prohibited by the British Government in 1830

WIDOW MARRIAGE

We have seen that the wife of the dead Agnihotrin was raised from the funeral pile by a promise of re-marriage The text which refers to this is one of the indications contained in the Vedas as to the existence of the practice of widow-marriage. There is another in the Atharva Veda in which it is stated that

"when a woman, who has had a husband before, marries another after his death, they are never separated from each other if they perform the rite of Aja Pañcaudana" In the Aitareya Brāhmana we have a third passage in which it is said that "one man may have many wives, but one woman cannot have many husbands at one and the same time" This last expression implies that she can have many at different times. The re-married woman was called a Punarbhū, and the word occurs in the Atharva Veda and in the Metrical Smṛtis. The marriage of widows however is not allowed by an express precept in the older works on the religious law Of the Metrical Smṛtis, two—that of Parāśara and Nārada—permit it; but all the rest are opposed

The fact appears to be that in ancient times, the practice of widow re-marriage did exist and it continued to be followed up to the time when the Metrical Smṛtis were composed But in the meanwhile it had come to be considered not respectable or had fallen into disrepute Hence a controversy arose between the legislators Some ran it down entirely, but Manu argues with those who held it to be legal, and says that the giving of a widow in marriage is not mentioned in the law about marriage, and makes a compromise by allowing the re-marriage of a widowed girl who has not arrived at maturity Others, however, represented by Parāśara and Nārada stoutly defended the practice and laid down a direct precept to legalise it The writers on the other side admitted the fact of the existence of re-marriages, in so far as they put into the list of sons a Paunarbhava or one born of a Punarbhū or a re-married woman But they gave him a low rank, and allowed him a right to inheritance on the failure of those above him, or a fourth part of the estate if they existed Yājñyavalkya even rules that the debts of a man who has deceased should be paid by him who marries his wife Thus there is no question

that the practice did exist at the time when these works were written, that is from about the fourth to about the sixth century of the Christian era. It was not forgotten till the beginning of the eleventh century. For in a Jaina work written in 1014 A D, to discredit Brahmanism and glorify Jainism, a certain legend is narrated in which a man is represented to have been excluded from the table of his fellows because he had become a recluse without going through the previous order of a married house-holder. He was advised to marry, but as no one would give his daughter to such an old man as he was, it was suggested that he should marry a widow, and in support of the suggestion the text from Parāśara legalizing such a marriage was quoted But though Parāśara legalized the practice, it was not rehabilitated, and continued to be held in disrepute Hence it gradually fell into disuse and was entirely forgotten in later times

PRESENT CONDITION OF WOMEN

We have thus seen how the disabilities of women gradually multiplied. But the tale does not end here In still later times the disregard for the life and happiness of the female creatures grew until it became almost abnormal, and female infants were destroyed in certain provinces and girls to the number of a hundred or two were married to one man in another The first practice has now been put an end to by the British Government, but the second still flourishes Again in these days a man marries a girl of twelve or thirteen after he has lost his first wife, she dies after a time, and another is brought into the house, this also meets with the same fate, and a fourth is married when probably the man is past fifty and even verging on sixty, and she is left a widow before she has arrived at womanhood or soon after Sometimes negotiations for the new connection are entered into, in the burning ground while the dead body of the old wife is being consumed by fire Now it is a fact that a connection between a girl of thirteen or fourteen years

and a man of thirty-five or above, proves fatal to the life of the girl. A great many instances are now before my mind's eye in which when a man married a second girl-wife, he had soon to marry a third, and a fourth. The husband thus causes the death of the poor girl And still even highly educated men of the present day do not scruple to resort to the practice. It is in their power to marry a grown-up widow and make an unfortunate female creature happy, and secure for themselves a suitable companion, and to shun the guilt of causing the death of an innocent and helpless creature But no, they have not the courage to withstand the criticism of the caste-criticism, I say, not persecution, for in reality there is very little of that.

The downward course which began many centuries ago has landed us here And anxiously thinking about the matter, one asks himself why should this degeneration have gone on continuously for a long time without impediment. The reason seems to be that the tyranny under which the Hindus have lived from times immemorial, have weakened their moral fibre —if not entirely destroyed it. We have been subject to a threefold tyranny , political tyranny, priestly tyranny, and a social tyranny or tyranny of the caste. Crushed down by this no man has dared to stand and assert himself Even religious reformers have shunned the legitimate consequences of their doctrines to avoid coming into conflict with the established order of things. The promptings of his better nature or the pangs of conscience, a Hindu has had to suppress for fear of the three agencies, and now the better nature has almost ceased to prompt or the conscience to bite At present, however, though we live under a foreign Government, we enjoy a freedom of thought and action, such as we never enjoyed before under our own Hindu princes. But have we shown a capacity to shake ourselves free from priestly and social tyranny ? I am afraid, not much. But this is certain, that unless we rouse our conscience,

and cultivate the higher feelings of our nature, and, with the strength derived from these, stand erect against priests and caste, there is no hope of our being able to turn back the current of deterioration and degradation, that has been flowing from the very olden times and increasing in force as it advances.

THE INDIAN CASTE SYSTEM

[From the Report of the Second Aryan Brotherhood Conference, Bombay, 1915, pp 13—24]

In the Volume on "Indian Social Reform" issued by Mr. Chintamani in 1901, there is an article on the "Social History of India"[1] contributed by me This article contains a short sketch of the development of caste among the Hindus, the substance of which with some variations, I must here reproduce. During the early portion of the period, occupied by the composition of the Ṛgveda Saṁhitā, two Varṇas — which word afterwards came to signify a caste — are alluded to · (1) The Ārya Varṇa i e., Ārya colour or group of men ; (2) The Dasyu Varṇa i e., Dasyu colour or group of men. Later on, there appears a mention of Brahma, Kṣatram and Viśas which indicate three occupations, viz , that of priests, rulers and politicians, and the ordinary people These occupations had not yet become hereditary and anyone could assume them in accordance with his own circumstances. Devāpi, who is represented by Yāska as belonging to the Kuru race, is mentioned in X 98. 5 as having assumed the function of a sacrificial priest, and brought down rain. The person for whom he acted as priest was his brother Śantanu, and since according to Yāska they belonged to the Kuru race, they must both be considered to have followed the occupation of rulers or politicians. This is an instance in which a Kṣatriya may be considered for a time to have become a Brāhmaṇa.

There is a story related in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa that the old Ṛṣis held a sacrificial session on the banks of the

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1 Printed, Ante pp. 448 ff. [N.B U.]

Sarasvatī. There was among the sacrificers a man of the name of Kavaṣa Ailūṣa, and being a non-Brāhmaṇa of a disrespectful character, and thus not authorised to be a sacrificer, was driven out to the dry sands that he might not drink the water of the Sarasvatī. There he became a seer or a Ṛṣi and composed a hymn in consequence of which the Sarasvatī ran up to him and enabled him to quench his thirst Having thus composed a hymn, he became, non-Brāhmaṇa as he was, a Brāhmaṇa.

And there are stories of Viśvāmitra's having been originally a Kṣatriya, current in the Epic Period. Viśvāmitra and his descendants were the authors of the Third Book of the Ṛk-Saṁhitā and consequently Brāhmaṇas pre-eminently. There are no plain indications in the Samhitā itself of his having been once a Kṣatriya, but according to a very old tradition, current in the time of Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, and of Yāska, he was The latter in explaining the expression कुशिकस्य सूनुः or the son of Kuśika, occurring in one of Viśvāmitra's hymns, tells us that Kuśika was a king. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, Śunaḥśepa is represented to have addressed him as Rājaputra or the son of a king, and Bharatarṣabha or the great Bharata. Thus the epic story seems to have been confirmed by a very old tradition, and Viśvāmitra having been born as a Kṣatriya, became a Brāhmaṇa and a Ṛṣi.

Thus originally, there were these three orders, and as anybody was at liberty to take up any of them that suited his circumstances, the orders were in no sense castes In time, however, they became hereditary, and no one could assume that order into which he was not born. In one of the latest hymns of the Saṁhitā, that known as the Puruṣasūkta, the four castes Brāhmaṇa, Rājanya, Vaiśya and Śūdra are distinctly mentioned. The first three belong to the Āryan stock and the last is clearly distinguished from it. It has already been mentioned that when the Āryans invaded India, they met with hordes of indigen-

ous tribes to whom they gave the general name of Dasyus. In the course of time one or more of these tribes became incorporated with the Āryan Society and to them was assigned the function of menial service. Probably one of the main tribes was called by the name of Śūdra, and that term acquired a comprehensive sense so as to render it applicable to all non-Āryan tribes

But though these orders had become hereditary and acquired to that extent the nature of castes, still, commensality and connubium between the members of a certain group to the exclusion of persons of another group, which are the essential characteristics of a caste at the present day, did not exist for a long time The epics are full of instances in which Brāhmaṇas dined with Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas, and in some cases with Śūdras also. And the members of a caste were allowed to marry wives from the lower ones in addition to one from their own Such marriages are called Anuloma marriages, i.e., marriages in conformity with the established gradation of castes Marriages in the reverse order, i.e., of a woman of a superior caste with a man of an inferior one were prohibited by law but still were in practice The authors of Dharmasūtras and the Metrical Smṛtis give the names of the mixed castes formed by these two kinds of marriages. Among the names mentioned by them are such ones as Vaidehika and Māgadha which are clearly names derived from the locality in which the people belonging to the castes originally lived, i e, these were considered as separate castes only because they lived in the provinces of Videha and Māgadha, and were thus isolated from the rest, just as the Vadnagars and Visnagars have become separate castes in consequence of the locality to which they belonged.

Cāṇḍālas and Niṣādas are also mentioned among the mixed castes and were evidently aboriginal tribes. The authors of the Dharmasūtras finding a number of castes prevalent

in Hindu Society endeavoured to account for them by the theory of the mixed marriages we have mentioned. Probably a few castes were formed by such marriages; but it has been our mental practice to form a theory based upon the instances falling within our ordinary observation and extending that theory to other instances also, in which the origin is unknown. But the enumeration of these mixed castes shows us this at least — that there were some which owed their origin to mixed marriages, that there were others due to the difference of locality and still others which properly were original races

Difference of race has been a very fruitful cause of the difference of castes. Not only did the aboriginal races form so many independent castes, but there were other races also who made incursions into the country in historic times and swelled the number. The Yavanas or Bactrian Greeks made their appearance in the country, a few centuries before Christ and were followed later on by Śakas. Though these held large portions of the country, they entered it as conquerors and remained there as rulers. When they lost power they were probably absorbed in the existing castes. I may here mention a colony of Persian priests called Magi who brought the worship of Mihira or the Sun into the country about 200-300 A. D These are known to Sanskrit literature as Magas and are considered as Brāhmaṇas The Maga Brāhmaṇas exist as an independent caste in Rajputana and elsewhere in Northern India to this day.

But from about the first century after Christ to about the sixth, large hordes of tribes of the name of Abhīras and Gūrjaras poured into the country and settled in it. The Abhīras occupied the country from the East of the Punjab to about Mathurā and southwards to Kathiawad and Konkan. The Gūrjaras followed afterwards. They came by way

of the Punjab, to a province of which, they gave their name now known as Gujarat. Then they entered Rajputana and founded a kingdom at Kanauj which subsisted for a few centuries. Subsequently they turned to the south and established a kingdom in Northern Gujarat at Anahilpaṭṭana and gave the name of Gujarat to the old province of Lāṭa which it still holds The Abhīras and Gūrjaras formed separate castes and we have at present Abhīra and Gūrjara goldsmiths, Abhīra and Gūrjara carpenters and even Abhīra and Gūrjara Brāhmaṇas Later on came also a small horde of Huns called in Sanskrit Hūṇas These Hūṇas seem to have formed a caste and there are some people in the Punjab whose Gotra is known by the name of Hūṇa

In addition to these three causes there were others also which contributed to the multiplication of castes We have epigraphic evidence that there were in the early centuries of the Christian era a number of trade-guilds such as Tailikaśreṇī or the guild of oil men, Mālikaśreṇī or the guild of gardeners which had their own constitution. This enabled them to receive in permanent deposit, sums of money, the interest of which was to be devoted for the benefit of Buddhist mendicants Guilds such as these became exclusive castes in the course of time. Then there arose a number of religious sects which too hardened into castes eventually

But the most fruitful source for the multiplication of castes was the number of persons who were called Vrātyas. Those whose Upanayana ceremony was not performed at the time prescribed or not at all, were called Vrātyas and all communication with them was prohibited In general terms it may be stated that those who violated the Brāhmanic ordinances were excommunicated and formed separate castes. This principle of excommunication went on, being largely resorted to in later times even when there was a slight departure from the ordinary usages of castes From the

operation of all these causes the number of castes has now swollen to more than about 3,000, and the Hindu population of India is now divided into so many distinct communities, differing in manners and customs and often hostile to each other

The germs of the caste system existed among the nations of the West. There were no inter-marriages between the Patricians and the Plebians of Ancient Rome for a long time, and there were traces even amongst the Greeks, Germans and Russians of the same prohibition and of not eating together. But these traces disappeared in the course of time among those nations, while they have had a luxuriant growth in India until they have developed into a mighty and extensive banian tree casting the dark shadow of its branches over every province, city and village of India! And what is the reason? This is what M. Senart, a French scholar who has written an essay on "Caste" says on the subject "The growth, of strong political and national feelings constantly tended in the West to weaken, and at last succeeded in removing, these (caste) restrictions." He suggests that the absence of such feelings in India may be one reason why the disabilities have not also there been gradually softened away "Softened away" indeed! There is no talk here of caste restrictions softening away, they have instead hardened into a rock, in a manner to challenge the skill and power of the greatest athlete among us to break it.

Not only have political and national feelings not grown among us, but whatever rudiments of those feelings existed at and before the time of Buddha, have on the contrary softened away, and now there is no trace of them. But we have received an English education, and European ideas have been grafted on our minds and they are filled with new national aspirations. As a result of the terrible war that is now being

waged in Europe, there is a hope that some of these aspirations will be realized and the aim of the British Government will be, as the Viceroy has recently declared, to make India a friend of the Empire and not a trusted dependent. To become the friend of the Empire, India must be one and one-hearted, and this can only be effected by the obliteration of caste distinctions among the Hindus, and a good understanding between them and the Mahomedans. Our efforts therefore must now be directed towards achieving such a result

But during all this time that I have been speaking of, was there no gifted soul to stem the torrent of this caste formation? There was—and I may say—there were Buddha taught the doctrine that all the four castes were equally pure and denied the claim of the Brāhmaṇas to a superiority in this respect over the rest It is stated that while he was staying at Śrāvastī, the Brāhmaṇas deputed a learned young man of the name of Assalāyana (Āśvalāyana) to discuss the question with him The questions that were put to him by Buddha were whether there was any difference between the Brāhmaṇas and the other three castes as to the manner in which persons belonging to them were conceived and developed in their mother's womb and afterwards were born, whether their moral liabilities and the consequences of the violation of what is right and proper, were different, i.e., whether a Śūdra murderer, was more sinful than a Brāhmaṇa murderer, whether heaven was the reward of a virtuous Brāhmaṇa only and not a virtuous Śūdra and so on. Āśvalāyana did not recognize any difference. At last Buddha declared that the superiority claimed by the Brāhmaṇas was a heresy propounded by some Ṛṣis in consequence of which they lost their spiritual power. And Buddha admitted to his spiritual dispensation members of all castes whatever, even Cāṇḍālas and scavengers The Brāhmanic dispensation was open to the three higher castes only, though there was a difference even here, and the Śūdras were excluded.

The Śūdras are declared not to be qualified for the study of the Vedānta, to attain Mokṣa or eternal bliss, and the way open to them was to discharge their duty of service to the higher castes faithfully and thus be born in future life as Vaiśya, Kṣatriya or Brāhmaṇa when alone they could study the Vedānta and be emancipated

But Buddha was a religious reformer and not a social or political reformer, and therefore he stopped after admitting all castes to the benefit of his system of redemption, and did not impose upon his followers the duty of neglecting their castes in social relations and thus practically giving it up. Similarly Vaiṣṇavism was a religious reform intended to supersede the old sacrificical religion and even the Aupaniṣada religion of contemplation But Bhagavad Vāsudeva in the Bhagavadgītā, and all his subsequent followers, confined themselves to admitting all castes to the new dispensation of Bhakti or love and Karma or the performance of right actions, and did not run down castes as such, or preach its abandonment, though the Vaiṣṇavas of later times such as Rāmānanda and his followers, R a e d ā s the currier, Kabir, the Mahomedan weaver, etc., neglected it very perceptibly in their ordinary relations. Even our Tukārāma declares his readiness to worship a Vaiṣṇava as such to whatever caste he belonged

But all these saints and Sādhus did not look upon caste as a social evil, but disregarded it in their fellowship with each other as earnest devotees of God whom they loved; and I may here remark that all the revolutions we have gone through since the sacrificial religion came into disrepute, have been Religious and Moral revolutions and not Social or Political Revolutions. A revolution is a change that affects and moves masses of men, and religious revolutions in India had this effect, but political revolutions were perhaps more frequent

than religious revolutions, but they were simply contests between rival dynasties, and the masses of the people remained unaffected They did not care who ruled over them, and if he was found to be despotic and inhuman, their ordinary remedy was to leave his kingdom and dwell in a country governed by another prince Thus the absence of strong political and national feeling to which M. Senert attributes the non-effacement of the original caste distinctions, is illustrated by this our stolid indifference to political revolutions.

But we can no more continue to be stolidly indifferent as to who governs us and how he governs us. Our English education has evoked in us a sense of nationality, and we have been thinking of the evils from which our nation is suffering, and endeavouring to remove them by the introduction of reforms, political, social, moral and religious. These constitute a national question and the elevation of the nation is what we have been seeking. The education of our women attracted our attention very early , then the abolition of early marriages, and afterwards the marriage of widows.

The evils of caste came, about 1850, to be looked upon as seriously obstructive to the formation of a nation, and about that year, the late Rao Bahadur Dadoba Pandurang impressed on his pupils of the Normal Class that he taught, the necessity of eradicating them and organised a society, known by the name of Paramahaṁsa. The society gradually increased in numbers. When a new member was admitted, he was made to read a prayer and afterwards to eat a piece of bread baked by Indian Christians as an indication that he had given up the caste requisites. Once a year or perhaps oftener, all the members who belonged to different castes dined together. But all this was done with closed doors, and the members were afraid of publicity. The pupils of the Normal Class lived on the second floor of Dumete's Chawl in Phanasvadi

while they were in Bombay. A good many of them were afterwards sent to Moffusil towns as vernacular school masters, and there they acted as missionaries of their caste creed.

One of these was located at Ratnagiri where I was a pupil till the end of 1852. He succeeded in making several men Paramahamsas. A class fellow of mine who had come under this influence wanted to convert me to the new creed, and used to take me for long walks in the afternoon when he discussed with me the absurdity of caste distinctions and their destructive effects on national unity I was of course intellectually convinced of all this but was not admitted as a member of the body till the beginning of 1853 when I went to Bombay for the prosecution of my studies in the Elphinstone College About that time i e., when I was in the 16th year of my age, the initiation ceremony was performed in a room in Dumete's Chawl in my case, and I was made to eat a piece of bread, which made my hairs stand on end because of a vague feeling that I had done something awful. The Paramahamsa society went on in the manner above described till about the early sixties, when the book in which the names of the members were written down was stolen, and every body was afraid that he would be exposed to caste persecutions, and the society naturally broke up and the caste question was transferred to another sphere.

Some of the members of the Paramahaṁsa society felt that Social Reform could not have a stable and healthy footing unless based on Religious Reform. They, therefore, organised the Theistic body of the Prārthanā Samāja on the model of the Brāhmo Samāja of Calcutta. The guiding principle of this reform was the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man This last implies an obliteration of caste distinctions and much mor . It implies also the levelling down of all social distinctions for which, however, many members of religious bodies are not prepared. But the general attitude of these new re-

formers towards castes is more hostile than that of old reformers like Buddha and the Vaiṣṇavas, and it may be said that these new religious bodies have adopted all the programme of the social reformers One prominent body of these reformers — that of the New Dispensation—has not yet adopted the doctrine of the doing away of the Purdah in the case of women

But a still more wider sphere, which the caste reform has acquired, is the growing public opinion against it, called into being by considerations of self-interests. If you have to travel by rail you must lay aside some at least of the caste requirements. If you want to better your position in life by getting into the Indian Civil Service or the Indian Medical Service, or by becoming a barrister, or an expert in any art or science, you must go to England and Europe or to America This involves decided violation of caste rules, since even if you are supposed not to resort to any forbidden food, you have to eat the food cooked by Indian Christians or by Europeans The caste rules in this respect are set aside without any compunction, and a large number of men secure these practical advantages which result from the violation Caste is given up by these persons not because they thereby contribute to the consolidation of the nation, but simply because they wish to improve their worldly position

The natural effect of this, as I have stated on several previous occasions, is that a man, when he starts for Europe or America, leaves his caste at the Apollo or Ballard Pier, and all the while that he remains in those foreign countries, he lives without it and resumes it at those Piers when he returns. That is, these travellers go through a penance when they come back to purify themselves from the sin which they believe not to have committed, or when they do not do so, they live as members of their own previous castes This at the best may be characterised as unconscious Caste Reform, and is highly pre-

judicial to the healthy growth of Hindu society since it involves hypocrisy. There are, however, a few daring persons who continue the practice of dining at forbidden places, which they had to adopt in foreign countries, even after their return, and there are still others, who, without going to foreign countries, give up the caste-rule of not eating the food cooked by a man belonging to a caste lower than his

In the meanwhile a wave of reaction has been sweeping over us for a good many years I heard of the formation of a Brahman Club in Bombay about 25 years ago, and since that we have had Clubs and periodical Conferences called Parisads of many castes-the Sārasvatas, the Kāyastha Prabhus, the Daivajñas or goldsmiths, the Shimpis or tailors, the Malis or gardeners and others. It is often urged in favour of such conferences or Parisads, that they are the means of the introduction of Social Reform in those communities The object of the Sārasvata Parisad is stated to be the union of all the sub-castes To that extent the Parisad does good no doubt, but the assertion of the exclusiveness of the community, involved in the holding itself of the Parisads or the running of a Club, serves to harden the caste distinctions instead of softening them Hence these Parisads and Clubs are retrogressive in my opinion

Then again we often hear of the bitter relations between the Marathas and the Brahmans in some of the Native States, the Brahmans declining to perform domestic rites by the use of Vedic Mantras in the houses of the Marathas, and the Marathas insisting on their being so performed The partiality of a man in high position, using his patronage in favour of men of his own caste only, has descended to us from very old times. It was thought that English education would cure a man of this caste partiality, but it is a matter of regret that it has not, and a doubt often creeps into my mind as to whether after all, English education will instil into our minds that resoluteness, sincerity of purpose

and energetic prosecution, that are necessary for bringing about a conscious reform on national grounds in the matter of caste, by obliterating the distinctions that it involves.

But how is a conscious reform to be brought about? We violate caste when it suits us, and resume it when the necessity has ceased This insincerity must be given up, and we must set ourselves to destroy caste consciously, for the consolidation of our nation by openly dining together But even this open dining may come to prevail and the caste remain strong For this purpose it is necessary that there should be inter-marriages between the different castes Such inter-marriages are allowed by the old Hindu Law, and it is only Pratiloma marriages that are prohibited But the law of the land at present as shaped by our English courts, is that even Anuloma marriages are illegal This is an artificial obstruction placed in the ways of those who seek to reform the condition of their country by the Courts of that Government, which by its system of education, has taught us to effect reforms. Therefore we should all join in a protest against this, and seek the re-enactment of the old Hindu Law.

Then again it is stated that marriages between members of different castes will result in the degeneration of the race But we have seen that mixed marriages were frequent in the olden times, and the progeny resulting from them became incorporated with the other Hindu communities showing no signs of degeneration The distinction between an Āryan and a Negro is very great, and the offspring of an inter-marriage between them may prove to be inferior But the distinction is not so great between a Citpāvana, a Karhādā, a Deśastha, a Seṇavī, a Prabhu, a Daivajña, as to make us fear that the progeny resulting from the inter-marriages between these castes will be degenerate.

There is however one objection to these inter-marriages. Some of the manners and customs, and even the mode of cooking

food, are different in the case of different castes, and an inter-marriage will cause a great deal of inconvenience to the wife and husband. But these will be passing inconveniences, and to ensure our ultimate freedom from them, it is necessary that even before inter-marriages come into vogue, we should organise an intimate intercourse between the respectable families of the different castes so as to bring about a close approximation to each other But whether we shall have the courage to perform such marriages on any large scale, is doubtful. Still if we place the ideal constantly before our mind and work up to it sincerely, there is nothing to prevent its realization in the course of time. But it may appear impossible to some, and they may propose that the caste should continue to exist especially in matters of inter-marriage, but that our ordinary relations to each other must be based on the supposition that there is no caste distinction between us In our Meetings and our Conferences and Congresses we should accustom ourselves to be guided only by the feelings of a United Nation You will have to consider whether this is possible, whether if one of your leaders in such movements attains to real power, he will not be guided by partiality for his own caste in the exercise of that power Caste feeling is of the same kind as national feeling, but its mischievousness consists in its being confined to a small community following a few occupations only, while the national feeling extends over a vast community, the members of which follow different occupations which are complements of each other and constitute a solid unit. But if this national feeling brings about an estrangement between different bodies of men, notwithstanding great similarities between them in times of peace, and, in much exaggerated form, in times of war, as is the case in Europe at present, how can you expect its bastard kindred — the caste feeling—to bring about a greater harmony between the different castes? The caste feeling dies even harder than the national feeling It subsists among the Goanese Christians to this day.

Its very narrowness and want of self-sufficiency constitute a danger to the growth of the higher or national feeling.

From the preceding it will be seen that I propose that we should keep the ideal of the obliteration of caste distinctions constantly before our mind's eye. The question now is whether we should similarly aim at the destruction of provincial distinctions whether it is desirable that Gujratis, Marathas, Punjabis, Hindusthanis, Bengalis, the Telagus, the Tamils, the Kanarese, the Malayalams and others should be fused together into one mass of humanity. It may be desirable, but is it possible? Innumerable languages are spoken by these people—their manners, customs, aims, aspirations, literature and art differ considerably. Is it possible to bring about their unification? These people are not only as different as, but more different than the nations of Europe. Nationality and race assert themselves in spite of all endeavours to efface them What, therefore, we should seek is to bring out Social Reform inclusive of the obliteration of caste in each of the communities or provinces and not to unify them But the result of having many provincial nationalities must be mutual jealousies, and an uncontrollable desire in those that are enterprising, to subjugate others, and finally a war of annihilation, such as the one now being waged in Europe Will our provincial nationalities not lead to similar result?

With regard to Europe, sober and thoughtful men have perceived the necessity of placing all the nations therein under one central authority, whose decisions and commands should be obeyed by all. The confederation of European nationalities is the ideal conceived by these thinkers, and if the present War ends in a thorough discomfiture of the most aggressive States, and a general weakening of them all, there will be attempts to realize such a confederation

Here in India, however, we have already got a Central Authority to which all our provincial nationalities will be subject.

Under the guidance of this Central Authority, and in virtue of the policy hitherto pursued and to be pursued by it in future, our Provincial Nationalities will combine together for the promotion of Indian interests, as opposed to provincial interests; and an Indian Nationality subordinating to itself the provincial nationalities, will grow up The Indian National Congress and the other National Conferences, as well as the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils, have already given birth to a feeling of Indian Nationality. Things are everywhere tending towards provincial autonomies, controlled and regulated by a supreme power, exercising sway over the whole of India

In social matters also our aim must be the same, and we should seek provincial reform, regulated and controlled by the necessities of a general Indian Social Reform. Confederation here as well as in Politics should be our aim. Lastly, whatever we are able to accomplish in the matter of Social Reform, and even supposing that we do not succeed at all, we should impress upon our minds the idea that we have a duty to perform towards our province and our country, and endeavour to discharge it without regard, in the words of the Bhagavadgitā, to the resulting fruit, i.e , not being depressed by failure, or elated by success into a blind over-confidence and carelessness.[1]

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1 The foregoing was the Address of Sir R. G Bhandarkar, as President of the Second Aryan Brotherhood Conference, held at Bombay on Thursday, the 4th of November 1915 and the following days. [N B.U]

PRESIDENTAL ADDRESS AT THE NINTH INDIAN SOCIAL CONFERENCE HELD IN 1895

[From C Y Chintamani's "Indian Social Reform" 1901, Part Third, pp. 177-190]

Ladies and Gentlemen—I must in accordance with the usual practice begin by thanking you for having elected me your Chairman On the present occasion, however, this is not a mere matter of routine and formality Certain circumstances have this year very widely evoked enthusiasm for the cause of Social Reform, and have led to a sort of constitution being given to this conference similar to that which the Political Congress possesses. I have before me to-day a large number of my countrymen, who, I believe, are sincere advocates of social reform, as calculated to improve the fortunes of our country, and to place her in a condition to enable her to maintain her position in the keen competition and rivalry that is now going on between the different countries and races of the world. To be the Chairman of a body of such true lovers of their country is an honour that cannot but be highly appreciated

About sixty years ago, none among us had any idea of the reform of our society, and a Conference such as this was out of the question But since that time we have come in closer contact with Western Civilisation, chiefly through the means of English education , and that has led us to take interest in the concerns of Indian Society in general, and consider its good to be our good, and has evoked in us feelings of justice and compassion for the various classes that compose our society If then you are animated by these sentiments, the task before us to-day will present no difficulties For the end, aimed at by the propositions that will be laid before you, is justice and fair play to all classes of persons, the alleviation of their sufferings and the

removal of obstacles in the free development of our individual activities.

And first, a good many of the proposals have reference to the condition of the female portion of our society. Gentlemen, one half of the intellectual, moral and spiritual resources of our country is being wasted If our women were educated as they ought to be, they would be a powerful instrument for advancing the general condition of our country They will bring up every new generation in a manner to perform its duty efficiently, and will shed the influence of the benign virtues peculiar to them on men and, so to say, humanise them. All the means of educating women, therefore, that have been indicated in the propositions, you will, I feel sure, approve of. You will see that the opening of High Schools is one of them. That necessarily implies that the study of English language and literature is considered to be beneficial to our women. Though there has been some difference of opinion as regards this point, still I believe the necessity of such education has been recognised by the majority. But I think it still remains an open question whether our ideal for the education of women ought to be the same as that for the education of men,—whether after they finish their High School education, they ought to be made to go through the whole University Course upto the M.A. Degree. If bitter complaints have recently been urged as to the great pressure which our University Education imposes upon our men, much stronger grounds there are for fear as regards women, whose constitution is more delicate and certain incidents in whose life and whose domestic duties tax them so heavily Perhaps after finishing a High School education, if further progress is desired, there should be a selection of such subjects as are more calculated to develop the peculiar aptitudes of womanly nature.

The other points concerning our daughters and our

sisters have reference to the unjust and cruel sufferings to which our present social usages subject them, and which no man—in whom the sentiments of justice and compassion are developed—can find it in his heart to tolerate even for a moment The misery of our widows has been the subject of frequent remarks, I will therefore not detain you long by a full exposition of it. I will only make a general observation that that society which allows men to marry any number of times even upto the age of sixty, while it strongly forbids even girls of seven or eight to have another husband after one is dead,—which gives liberty to a man of 50 or 60 to marry a girl of eleven or twelve, which has no word of condemnation for the man who marries another wife within fifteen days after the death of the first, is a society which sets very little value upon the life of a female human being, and places women on the same level with cattle and is thus in an unsound condition, disqualifying it for a successful competition with societies with a more healthy constitution.

Often times the marriage of a girl under certain circumstances proves her death warrant This matter has within the last few years forced itself powerfully upon my observation A young man of thirty or thirty-five loses his first wife, straightway he proceeds to marry another, who is a girl of ten or twelve. That girl dies by the time she reaches the age of twenty, another takes her place, immediately after, she too dies similarly, then comes a third who meets with the same fate, and a fourth is married by the persevering man and is eventually left a widow before she is out of her teens A great many such cases have occurred within the last few years and amongst our educated men The medical men, whom I have consulted, say that the results are due to the marriages being ill-assorted, i e, to the great inequality between the age of the girl and of the strong and vigorous man. I do not know

how else to characterise these cases except as cases of human sacrifice Surely, if the men who have married girls successively in this manner are educated men, their refined sentiments and feelings ought to make them spare poor innocent girls and marry grown up women,—widows, if unmarried ones are not to be had Gentlemen, this case of ill-assorted marriages deserves greater condemnation at our hands than the other, which is the only one that seems to be contemplated in one of the resolutions to be brought forward and in which an old man of even fifty or sixty marries a girl of ten or twelve

I will next call your attention to those points in the resolutions which concern the institution of castes And first of all, allow me to observe that a very great revolution has been effected in this matter by the mere fact that we are governed by a people, amongst whom the sense of equal justice for all classes of people, has received a high development. A Śūdra at the present day is not more heavily punished than a Brāhmaṇa for the same crimes. Manu, Yājñyavalkya and others have been set aside in this respect, and the privileges which in the eye of the criminal law, men of the highest caste enjoyed, have been taken away from them I remember about 45 years ago when a Brahman was hanged for committing a murder at Ratnagiri, it created a stir among the people, since such a punishment for a Brahman was opposed to all past traditions of the country. But of course the change did not provoke active hostility and has been acquiesced in on all sides. Similarly a Śūdra's tongue is not now cut off for repeating the letters of the Vedas. On the contrary if a teacher in a Government school refuses to teach the sacred Mantras to a Śūdra, he is apt to be dismissed from service. In our schools and colleges we have to teach Sanskrit literature including the Vedas to all castes and classes. But it is very much to be

regretted that the treasures of knowledge which has thus been thrown open to all, is not availed of by the lower castes to the extent to which they should. This is to be accounted for in a great measure by the fact of the old traditional feeling not having gone out—education is not what the Śūdras think of first, nor are endeavours made by others to induce him to educate himself and smoothen his path, to a University Degree. Similarly the railways have been effecting a silent revolution. A holy Brahman does not scruple to sit in a third class carriage by the side of a Mahar, whose very shadow is an abomination on ordinary occassions.

The Mahars and Mangs on this side of the country and the Pariahs on the other, who form the lowest classes, have been entirely neglected. They are the outcasts of Hindu Society, and have been from the remotest times in a very degraded condition The reference made to this fact by a Mahar Haridāsa in his prefatory remarks, while performing a Kirtana at my house a few years ago, was very touching. He said, 'The Vedas and Śāstras have cast us aside, but the Santas or saints of the middle ages have had compassion on us' And be it said to the credit of the Santas of Mahārāṣṭra headed by the Brahman Ekanātha, and to the Santas of other provinces, that they had compassion for the outcasts of Hindu Society, and admitted their claims to religious instruction and a better treatment If then in those olden days, these pious men, with their hearts elevated by faith and devotion, admitted the lowest Śūdra to religious communion and instruction, shall we, upon whom a greater variety of influences have been operating, refuse to exert ourselves for bringing enlightenment in the dense darkness in which his mind is shrouded ? And I believe from the opportunities I have had of observation, that the despised Mahar possesses a good deal of natural intelligence and is capable of being highly educated So that to continue to

keep him in ignorance, is to deprive the country of an appreciable amount of intellectual resources.

And generally allow me to observe that the rigid system of castes, which prevails among us, will ever act as a heavy drag on our race towards a brighter future. To tie men down to certain occupations, even when they have no aptitude for them, renders those men less useful to the country When all men belonging to a certain caste must follow a certain occupation only, the field is overstocked and poverty is the result. You can get a Brahman school master for five or six rupees a month, but a good carpenter or stone-mason cannot be had unless you pay from twenty to twenty-five rupees per mensem. And unless perfect freedom is allowed to men in this respect, and each allowed to make the best possible use of his own powers, the country cannot economically advance Special privileges enjoyed by certain castes must keep the members of others in a disadvantageous position in the rivalry and competition of life In order that a nation as a whole must put forth all its power, it is necessary that there should be no special privileges and special restrictions

Again the principle of caste has throughout our history operated in such a way that each caste has now come to form a separate community with distinct usages, even as to the kind of food that is eaten and the manner in which it is cooked And there is no social inter-communication between them of a nature to bind them together into one whole. Hence, instead of there being a feeling of sympathy between different castes, there is often a feeling of antipathy. As long as this state of things lasts, I shall feel greatly obliged to any one who will explain to me how it is possible to form a united Hindu nation. If therefore we feel at all concerned as regards the future of our country in the great struggle that is going on in the world, something must be immediately done to induce a

feeling of unity among these distinct communities, and to convert active antipathy into active sympathy.

And I will here make bold to assert that the chronic poverty of the agricultural classes and the depredation of the proverbial Savakar or money-lender constitute a great social evil The Government has been endeavouring to do a good deal by means of mere special legislation , but that does not seem to have remedied the evil, and the money-lender continues to charge interest from 18 to 25 per cent on loans raised on the security of lands, and two or four pice per rupee per month, i e., 37½ or 75 per cent on smaller sums lent for shorter periods, and there are also enhancements of interest when the money is not paid at the stipulated time In this manner, the poor peasant is everywhere a prey to the rapacity of the money-lender and is never allowed to raise his head This is a political as well as a social question The Government has been on several occasions urged to establish Agricultural Banks, but it has not yet seen the wisdom of doing so, and we too, whose countrymen the agriculturists are, have not shown particular solicitude to remedy the evil by establishing banks of our own I do not think any special banking institution with elaborate machinery, such as has been recently proposed, is wanted An ordinary bank with agencies at the District towns, and sub-agencies for circles with a radius of about at 10 miles, will, I think, fully answer the purpose Money should be lent on the security of land at an interest from 9 to 12 per cent, payable about the same time as the land revenue Sympathetic, though firm, treatment should be accorded to the peasants, and the agents employed should not be unscrupulous men exacting perquisites for themselves. But I will not trespass on the province of the man of business, and whatever be the scheme that may be considered suitable and whatever its details, this I feel certain about—that shrewed men ought not to be allowed to

prey upon the ignorance and entire helplessness of the agricultural classes, and perpetuate their wretched condition.

Then there are other points in the resolutions, the aim of which is to remove positive obstacles of our healthy development. The early marriage of boys and girls is of this nature, since its effect is to undermine the strength of both, and bring forth a progeny of weak children The growth of the parents themselves, intellectual as well as physical, is stunted, and in the course of evolution our race must become incapable of that energy and stillness of application, which are so necessary, under the conditions brought into existence by the rivalry and competition of races. The prohibition of travel in foreign countries I would put under the same head, since the same acts as an obstacle to the free expansion of our energies and capacities.

These are the principal points aimed at by the Social Reformer. You will see that what is necessary in order that these reforms may come into practice, is that there should spring up in our hearts a sense of justice, a keen sympathy for the sufferings of others, and a love for one's own country and race, and an anxiety for their future well-being. If the feelings have been awakened in us with any degree of intensity, they cannot fail to realise themselves in some sort of action, and I believe that the contrary holds true that when no action follows, the feelings are either not awakened at all, or if really awakened, are very weak. It is this fact and also the general conservatism of our nature as well as the fear of excommunication, that hold us back, and we devise a number of excuses for our inaction

Sometimes we are disposed to leave the whole matter to the action of time, thinking that all that we desire will come into practice just as the rigidity of caste rules is being gradually lessened by railway travelling and

such other circumstances. But time is not a force—it is simply a conception of the mind to connect events together—and cannot work any changes If therefore any changes have come on in the course of time, they must be brought about by the force in the human heart that leads to action As a matter of fact, such changes are often very extensive and important. For instance, the practice of early marriage of girls, and of female infanticide and Kulinism have come into existence in comparatively recent times But if you examine their origin, you will find that the first owes its introduction probably to the circumstance that when the girls grew up, they went wrong in some cases. In order to prevent such a result, they were tied down to a husband before they were of an age to go wrong. To avoid sin was of course a laudable object, but the desire was not under the guidance of reason Consequently the many evil effects of early marriages were overlooked, and the attainment of that one object was exclusively attended to If, however, the desire to prevent the evil had been under the guidance of reason, other modes would have been devised for avoiding it than the one actually chosen.

Similarly the practice of female infanticide and of Kulinism must in the beginning have arisen from family pride One's daughter should not be married into a family possessing no importance or distinction. To marry her into a high family requires a heavy expenditure of money, which the father cannot afford, and in the case of Kulinism, such a family is not available Hence rather than suffer the disgrace of allying himself with a low family, he allowed his daughter to be destroyed, and in the other case to be married to one who had innumerable wives already. Here again you will see that the motive of action was not under the guidance of the higher feelings of love and tenderness for a human being, and especially for one's own child.

Thus then what time brings about is very often not under the guidance of reason or the higher feelings of our nature, and consequently, very often, degradation is the result and not elevation. It will, therefore, not do to leave reform to time or the slow or unconscious operation of causes It must be effected from a conscious intention, and the motive force should be, as above remarked, a sense of justice, a keen sympathy and an anxiety for the future of one's own country. Unable to appreciate the feelings of the true reformer, we often accuse him of being hasty in desiring to do everything at once, —we sometimes say that if he had adopted a particular way, the reform he desires would have long come into practice Comments such as these I always suspect, especially when they come from a man who has done little or nothing practical I am, however, not an advocate of headlong action. The motive forces of reform should be powerful in our hearts, but they must be tempered in a manner not to lead us to cut ourselves from a vital connection with the past. We should not adopt the procedure of the French Revolution, but imitate the mode of action of the English people, whose pupils we are They have realised as great changes as the French Revolution sought to effect, but in a manner which connects them with the past history of the country It will not be impossible to devise such a mode of action One who has returned from foreign travels should live like an ordinary Hindu A remarried widow should conduct herself just like an ordinary Hindu lady And even as regards caste, we should behave towards each other in ordinary matters as if no such distinction existed between us, while as to eating together and inter-marriage, they must come in by and by, especially when the sharp distinctions as to usages and customs between the several castes are obliterated by a closer intercommunication than that which exists at the present day.

But the great danger of delayed reform is that in a short time the feeling which dictated it becomes cool, and the necessity for it is entirely forgotten. To prevent this result it is essential that the motive springs of reform should always be kept alive in our hearts We should make an earnest effort never to lose sight of the goal we have to reach. But the modest proposal that will be laid before you as regards these two matters, viz, inter-communication as regards eating, and marriage-alliance between members of the sub-divisions of the same castes, involves no violent change whatever, consequently, there is, I believe, no excuse for delaying its realisation.

Generally it may be observed that what we have to avoid is the formation of a separate caste cut off from all social intercourse with any of the existing Hindu castes,—that is to say, we should avoid such complete isolation, as for instance, conversion to Christianity leads to And most of the reforms we advocate involve no break of continuity. Some of them will be welcomed by the orthodox people themselves, and as regards a great many others, what we propose is merely to go back to the more healthy condition in which our society once existed In ancient times girls were married after they had attained maturity, now they must be married before, widow marriage was in practice, now it has entirely gone out, women were often highly educated and taught even music and dancing, now they are condemned to ignorance and denied any accomplishments. The castes were only four in number, now they are innumerable Inter-dining among those castes was not prohibited, now the numberless castes that prevail cannot have inter-communication of that nature Consistently with the maintenance of continuity in this manner, there ought to be, I think, as much action as possible A strong public opinion must be created among the whole body of educated natives condemning any departure from the programme of reform,

while no mercy should be shown to one who does what even the orthodox disapprove, and at sixty, marries a girl of ten or twelve, or another wife immediately after the death of the first. The exhibition of any caste partiality must also be severely condemned, as no religious rules require it. Unless we act in this manner, all our advocacy of reform will sink into the merest sentimentality more demoralising in its effects than sturdy orthodoxy.

But even sentimental advocacy is an homage done to a right cause, and consequently is better than stolid indifference or active hostility This, however, is unfortunately the mental attitude of a great many educated natives in all parts of the country In Bengal, as was pointed out by our friend the Honourable Mr. Justice Ranade the other day, social reform is now confined to Brahmos. The great body of educated Bengalees, who are not Brahmos, are indifferent or hostile. The late Ishvara Chandra Vidyasagara, who inaugurated the reform about widow-marriage, and first ransacked our Smṛti literature to be able to make out that it was sanctioned by the Śāstras, and worked for a life-time to make it popular, was in his later days filled with despondency, and expressed his conviction to visitors from this side of the country that Hindus as Hindus would never accept Social Reform It is certainly a matter of the deepest regret that it should be confined to a religious body. We on this side have not come to this pass yet, though we have our full share of indifference and hostility The aim of the reformers here has always been to reform our society—our nation I am happy to find that our Madras friends agree with us in this respect Reform through the agency of caste, which is attempted in some parts of the country, is very unsatisfactory. Very little can be effected in this way. The reduction of marriage expenses and measures of this nature only can be carried out by its means, and the great danger of

this method is, that caste which has corroded the vitals of this country, will be strengthened by it.

Thus then we should nurture in our hearts the great forces which bring about the reform of society, viz., truth, justice and sympathy Two of the greatest historians of England have told us that the Moral Law governs the affairs of the world, its observance alone ensures national prosperity. One of these I have quoted elsewhere, and will now ask your attention to the observations of the other The strongest of the forces, which are steadily bearing nations onward to improvement or decay are, according to Lecky, the moral ones. 'Their permanent political well-being,' he says, 'is essentially the outcome of their moral state' The Moral Law seeks to purify private life and to effect social justice, and through these alone is the political well-being of a nation possible.

And Evolutionary Science is beginning to teach us the same lesson Competition and rivalry are the necessary conditions of progress towards a higher condition among men as well as among the lower creatures This competition and this rivalry tend to establish the supremacy of the stronger individual over the weaker, his race propagates itself and that of the other disappears It is this law that is leading or has led to the extinction of the aboriginal races in the presence of the stronger European races in America, Australia, New Zealand and other islands. This competition and rivalry need not assume the form of an actual war of extermination. It has been clearly ascertained that even in the midst of profound peace, the primitive races show a tendency to disappear If this law was in operation in our country, our future must be very gloomy. But our climate will, I think, come to our rescue, as it has been ascertained that the stronger races of Western Europe cannot, if settled here, exhibit the same energy and perseverance that they do in temperate regions Colonisation of India by the European races

is, therefore, an impracticability, but does not deliver us from the dangers of competition and rivalry with them. And again that law must be in operation among us to ensure our own progress. But to estimate its full effects we must understand the conditions under which it acts in the case of man.

Man is a social animal, and the competition that comes into operation in his case is a competition between societies. The ancient history of the human race consists of wars between such societies and the triumph of one and subjugation of another. This competition and rivalry between different societies is going on still, and in order that a society may carry on the contest to a successful issue, it is necessary that it should be so organised, that the individuals composing it, should not be borne down by artificial restrictions, but be able to put forth their best powers and capacities.

The history of England, for example, shows a gradual emancipation of the classes that were once in a condition of little better than slavery, and a renunciation of their privileges by the dominant classes. The effect of this has been to place the individual in a more advantageous position to conduct the battle of life, and thus to render the society, of which he is a member, fitter for competition and rivalry with other societies. But it is the development of sympathetic or altruistic feelings only amongst the privileged classes and the society generally, that can lead to the removal of the disabilities of others and the redress of their grievances Without such feelings, internal dissensions and eventual degradation must be the rules. And these feelings are now leading the English people to devise means for relieving the chronic poverty of the lower classes, to readjust the relations between labour and capital, and undertake a variety of schemes to relieve distress and misery. It is a patent

fact acknowledged by all disinterested persons that, the English people have developed the altruistic feelings in a higher degree than any other European nation, and by the way, this constitutes the basis of our hopes in a future for our country. Just as England has been endeavouring to remove the disabilities and sufferings, of the lower classes of her population, so shall efforts not be wanting on her part to remove our disabilities and sufferings, but the law of social evolution cannot cease to operate, and in order that our society may be able to hold its own in the competition and rivalry with other societies, which is inevitable, we must abide by the conditions of that law That law is thus stated by the latest writer on the subject, whose book has created a great stir · "That the moral law is the unchanging law of progress in human society is the lesson which appears to be written over all things. No school of Theology has ever sought to enforce this teaching with the directness and emphasis, with which it appears that evolutionary science will in the future be justified in doing In the silent and strenuous rivalry, in which every section of the race is of necessity continually engaged, permanent success appears to be invariably associated with certain ethical and moral conditions favourable to the maintenance of a high standard of social efficiency, and with those conditions only"

If then social efficiency and consequent success are what we desire in our contest with other races, we must, because the law is immutable, endeavour to realise those ethical and moral conditions. We must cultivate a sense of justice and a love and sympathy for others, relieve the poor widow of her sufferings, remove the disabilities of woman-kind and of the lower classes, and allow free play to the energies and capacities of all. And the necessity for our doing so becomes the more imperative from our political condition If we ask England to remove our disabilities, we must as a necessary preliminary,

show that we are worthy of the favour by removing the disabilities of the oppressed classes of our society. Thus and thus alone will our country prosper. Every scheme for bettering our condition is destined to fail, if it does not make provision for the growth of these sympathetic virtues, and through them, for the realisation of Social Reform.

Let us then invigorate and elevate our souls by ever placing before our mind's eye the precept of the Great Indian Reformer of the sixth century before Christ, the lion of the Śākya race, Gautama, the enlightened, "Cultivate a mind boundless (as sympathy) for all beings as is that of the mother who protects her only son by sacrificing her own life", and with him proclaim from the Social Conference Hall, "May all living beings, feeble or strong, long, great, middle-sized or short, small or large, seen or unseen, living far or near, born or to be born, be happy".

SOCIAL REFORM AND THE PROGRAMME OF THE MADRAS HINDU SOCIAL REFORM ASSOCIATION

[From "The Indian Social Reform", Edited By C. Y. Chintamani, 1901; Part Fourth, pp. 218-229]

Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar delivered the following Address as President of the Second Anniversary Meeting of the Madras Hindu Social Reform Association, held on the 27th of December 1894 —

I have been all my life a schoolmaster and as such it has been my duty to castigate boys and young men In the observations I am going to make, therefore, you may find a good deal not flattering to you nor to your taste, but I assure you it will be said with a pure and unmixed desire to promote the real good of my country. The Hindu Social Reform Association has done me very great honour by inviting me to preside at its annual meeting But great as the honour is, it had not a sufficiently attractive power to drag me about seven hundred miles away from my closet in Poona. What I come for, is to encourage the Members of the Association, and congratulate them on having begun real practical work in matters of social reform by taking pledges, and on their determination to withstand all the inconveniences or persecution that may result therefrom, for the sake of truth and their country's good. They have thus shown rare moral courage, and given evidence of the possession of what I call moral force. By moral force I mean in the present case strong indignation against the evils, injustice, and even the cruelties that at present disgrace our society, and an earnest dessire to eradicate them. Moral forces of this sort our race has not

shown within the last twenty centuries, and we have allowed ourselves, without any thought and feeling, to be drifted into our present deplorable condition

The Social Ideal was much higher and more rational in ancient times than it is now I will, therefore, go into the history of the several institutions and practices which your pledges refer to. For this purpose, I propose to glance at what might be called the several layers of Sanskrit literature. The oldest layer is that of the Mantras of the Vedas. Next in antiquity come the Brāhmaṇas and Āraṇyakas or forest-chapters including the Upaniṣads. Then we have the so-called Sūtras which deal with sacrificial matters and the religious concerns of daily life of the first three castes. Next we have the epic poems, the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, and last of all, the Metrical Smṛtis or law-books and the Purāṇas. The point of view from which I shall consider this extent of literature is that of the critical scholar, whose object is to trace out history, and not of the Pandit, according to whom sequence of time either does not exist or is unimportant

EDUCATION OF WOMEN

Now with reference to the first point—about the education of women—there is no question that in the very olden times, they were not debarred from the highest education. In the list of teachers which a Ṛgvedi Brahman has to repeat in connection with a daily ceremony called the Brahma Yajña, there are the names of three women — Gārgī Vācaknevī, Sulabhā Maitreyī, and Vaḍavā Prātitheyī. The works of some of the male teachers therein named have come down to us, wherefore, they were historical persons. Hence the three women, mentioned along with them, were also historical persons, and were teachers though there are now no works which go by their names. The first of these is also mentioned

in an Upaniṣad, as forming a member of an assemblage of learned Ṛṣis in which the highest problems about the world and the supreme and individual soul were discussed, and as taking part in the debate In the epic poems girls are represented as going through a regular course of education of which dancing, drawing and music formed parts; they are represented as mixing freely with men and taking part in conversation on the highest subjects. Buddhistic literature also represents women as actively assisting the reform which Buddha had inaugurated, and as discussing with him points about virtue, duty and absolution Gradually, however, their importance lessened and about the time when the dramatic literature arose, we find that as a class they were not taught Sanskrit, though they could read and write in the popular languages and even compose poetry in them Even so late as the eleventh century, women were not condemned to exclusion, and were taught scientific music, as follows from a copper-plate Inscription (recently edited and translated by me[1]) in which a queen, one of the wives of a king of the Deccan, is represented to have sung a beautiful song in an assembly composed of the highest officers of that and the surrounding kingdoms, and to have obtained as a reward the consent of her husband to give land in charity to Brahmans The seclusion of women and their ignorance is, therefore, a custom that was introduced in later times, and the Mussalman domination contributed to render it very rigid

AGE OF MARRIAGE

Now as to early marriages, it admits of no question whatever that girls were married after they came of age The religious formulas that are repeated on the occasion of marriage ceremonies even at the present day can be understood only by

1 Published in Volume III of this Edition, pp 340 ff [N B. U.]

mature girls. The bridegroom has to say to his bride that she has become his friend and companion and that together they would bring up a family. It is impossible that a girl below the age of twelve can understand such expressions addressed to her When the formulas were composed, therefore, girls had already arrived at maturity Then again, in some of the Sūtras, the bride and the bridegroom are directed to live apart from each other for a certain number of days, and in some cases for a year It is not possible that such a direction should be given, if the girl was of an age when she could not cohabit with her husband In some of the Sūtras there is an actual direction for their being brought together on the fourth day after the marriage ceremony. All this necessarily implies that the girl had arrived at maturity before the marriage ceremony was performed

In profane literature also, we have the clearest indications that girls were married after they attained maturity But early marriages began soon to come into practice. Āśvalāyana, Āpastamba and others say nothing specific about the age of the girl at the time of marriage, leaving it to be understood from the nature of the ceremonies, that they were to be of a mature age Hiraṇyakeśin and Jaimini expressly prohibit a man's marrying a girl before she has arrived at puberty. After the completion of his study, the student, they direct, shall marry a girl who is Anagnikā, i e, not immature. Evidently when these Ṛṣis wrote, the practice of early marriages was coming in, but they set their face against it as irrational. The authors of later Sūtras, such as Gobhila, and Manu, after giving general directions as regards marriage, lay down that it is best to marry a girl who is Nagnikā, i.e., one who has not arrived at puberty They only thus recommend early marriages. This shows that when they lived and wrote, the feeling against late marriages had grown strong. Of the writers

of Metrical Smṛtis, Manu is not quite decidedly opposed to late marriages, but other writers prescribe early marriages only, under religious penalties.

In this manner late marriages gradually went out of use and early marriages became general When the custom of such marriages became established, the evils arising from them were not perceived by anybody, and gradually in this part of the country in particular, the age at which boys and girls were married became lower and lower, until now a female infant nine months old is tied in holy wedlock to a male infant about a year old Here there is an instance of the fact that our people through the influence of custom lost all sense of the utter absurdity of the practice

REMARRIAGE OF WOMEN

The practice of re-marriage of women also prevailed in the olden times The Aitereya Brāhmaṇa contains a statement which may be thus translated 'Therefore one man may have several wives, but one woman cannot have several husbands simultaneously' This shows that polygamy was in practice, but not polyandry And to exclude that only—and not a woman's having several husbands at different times—the writer uses the word 'simultaneously' Thus a woman can have several husbands at different times.

In the performance of the funeral ceremonies of the keeper of the sacred fire, the practice prevailed of making his wife lie down with his dead body, but before setting fire to the latter, the wife was made to rise and a verse was repeated the sense of which is 'Rise Up, O woman, to join the world of the living Thou liest down with this man who is dead, come away, and mayest thou become the wife of this second husband, who is to take hold of thy hand'. This verse occurs in the Ṛgveda Saṁhitā and in the Taittirīya

Āraṇyaka. In the latter it is explained by Sāyaṇa in accordance with my translation, but in the former he explains the word Didhiṣu, which occurs in it, not as a second husband as he does here, but 'as one who impregnates,' and makes it applicable to the first husband. European scholars of what might be called the 'Etymological school' also explain the word in the latter sense, but the word Didhiṣu acquired by usage the sense of a 'second husband,' and it is not proper to set aside that sense and explain it etymologically as 'one who impregnates' And another School of Vedic scholars, who attend more to usage, is growing up in Germany, and I feel confident that they would explain the word and verse in the manner in which Sāyaṇa explains it in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka This verse is in the Atharva Veda preceded by another, the sense of which is 'this woman wishing to be in the same world with her husband lies down by thy side, O mortal who art dead, following the ancient practice, grant her in this world children as well as wealth.' If he is asked to give her children after his death, they must be children from another husband. In another place in the Atharva Veda, it is stated that 'she, who after having had one husband before, gets another afterwards, will not be separated from him if she and he perform the rite called Aja-Pañcaudana'. Here you have a clear statement about the re-marriage of a widow

In later times the practice began to get out of use, and in the time of Manu it was restricted to a child-widow. But the condition of remarried women was considered lower than that of the wife of a first husband Still, however, in two other Metrical Smṛtis occurs a text, in which women under certain circumstances are allowed to marry a second husband, and the death of the first husband is one of these circumstances. This shows that even in later times, the practice of widow marriages prevailed in some parts of the country, while the

existence of texts prohibitory of it in the Purāṇas and some Smṛtis, shows that it had gone out of use in others.

Widow-marriage was a thing by no means unknown even at such a late period as the beginning of the twelfth century of the Christian Era, for, in a work written by a Jain in 1170 of the Vikrama Era, corresponding to 1114 of the Christian era, a story is told of a certain ascetic sitting down to dinner along with other ascetics. The other ascetics rose up when he sat down and left their seats. He asked them why they had done so, upon which they told him that he had committed an irreligious deed in having taken the vow of an ascetic, before going through the previous condition of a married life They then directed him to go away and marry a wife. He went away and demanded the daughters of men belonging to his caste in marriage. But as he had become an old man, nobody would give his daughter to him, whereupon he went back to the ascetics and told them of what had occurred Then they advised him to marry a widow, and he went away and did accordingly In connection with this, the same text about the re-marriage of women, which I have quoted above, is given as occurring in their Śāstras But in still later times the practice became entirely obsolete

THE PRACTICE OF SATĪ

There prevailed among us, you know, the practice of burning widows on the funeral piles of their dead husbands, till it was put a stop to in 1830 by the British Government Now in the Ṛgveda Saṃhitā there is no trace whatever of the existence of this practice, and it is supposed by a German scholar that it was adopted by Indian Āryas from another Āryan race, with which they afterwards came in contact, for it did generally prevail amongst some of the cognate European race such as the Thracians. But the Vedic Āryas had given it up, and that it

once prevailed amongst them and was afterwards given up is indicated by the second of the two texts which I have quoted from the Atharva Veda in which it is said; "This woman following the ancient custom lies down by thee, O mortal". Thus you will see that the custom, which had gone out of use amongst the Vedic Āryas was revived later on about the time, when the Metrical Smṛtis were written, through the influence of the practice of other races.

CAUSES OF DETERIORATION

The corruptions which the more rational practices of olden times underwent must have been due to such foreign influence and also to other causes. A few centuries before the Christian Era and a few after it, India was exposed to the inroads of foreign races from the West some of which afterwards settled in the country. The lowering of the status of women generally must have been due to the influence of these new settlers. But other causes also may have been in operation, for instance, the fact that when girls remain unmarried for several years after puberty, a few some times went wrong, must have contributed a good deal to the introduction of the practice of early marriages. But the great point to be noticed is that the excesses, to which even a good motive led, did not strike our people. Thus the later practices of female infanticide and Kulin marriages in Bengal must have been due to the feeling natural in parents to marry their daughters into a respectable family But it is not everybody that can get a husband for his daughter in a rich or respectable family, and to marry her to a man in a lower condition of life, or belonging to a low family was considered disgraceful, and rather than suffer such a disgrace, the Rajputs destroyed their female infants, and the Bengali Brahmans gave their daughters to a man even though he had wives already; and he came to have a number of them, often so many as 125.

Here you will find the inability of our people to perceive the cruelty or the absurdity of a practice, when they are under the influence of an idea, sanctioned by custom, than which nothing is more sacred

THE CASTE SYSTEM

One social institution, and that perhaps, the most important, remains to be noticed. In the very early times the system of castes did not prevail, and it seems to have developed about the end of the Vedic period It arose from a difference of avocations or professions. The feeling of a father that a son should follow his trade or calling is natural, and it is this which in the beginning, at least when unchecked by other influences, gives rise to separate castes. The word Brahman signifies in the older portion of the Veda a hymn composed in praise of a deity There were some men, who were skilled in the composition of such songs In return for these songs the Gods, to whom they were addressed, were believed to confer favours on the singers, and on those kings and princes for whose sake they were composed. Singers such as these were therefore always in requisition, whenever a God had to be propitiated, and it became a lucrative trade. And fathers bringing up their sons in that trade, — there came to be in course of time a certain number of families devoted to the avocation of composing these songs and singing them in the worship of Gods The members of these families became 'Brāhmaṇas', and thus they came to be recognised as a separate caste

Similarly the descendants of princes, chiefs and soldiers followed the avocations of their ancestors, and came to form a caste of warriors. The cultivators of soil constituted the Vaiśya caste. When the Āryan race left the Punjab and spread over Northern India some of the aboriginal races were incorporated with their society, and formed the caste of Śūdras. Thus there

four castes, but the rules about these were by no means so rigid as they afterwards became. Even in the time of the Epics the Brāhmaṇas dined with the Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas, as we see from the Brahmanic sage — Durvāsa, having shared the hospitality of Draupadi, the wife of the Pāṇḍavas. A member of higher caste could marry a woman belonging to any of the lower castes, there were also many instances in which a man belonging to a lower caste married a woman from the higher castes. Amongst the composers of the Vedic hymns there were some such as Kavaṣa Ailūṣa, who did not belong to the Brahman caste, but was still admitted into it on account of the faculty they possessed.

What caste has become in the course of time you need not be told. The smallest difference as regards locality, trade, or profession and practice, was enough to constitute a separate caste, and thus the four original castes have grown to four thousand, and there are no inter-marriages or inter-dining between any two of these. These four thousand castes form so many different communities and the phrase 'Hindu community' is but a geographical expression The evil results of such a system on the social, religious and political condition of a country cannot be overstated.

THE TYRANNY OF CUSTOM

Thus then you will see that our social institutions and practices were healthy and rational in the olden times, and they have latterly become corrupt and irrational through some cause or other. But the most wonderful thing about the matter is that the excess which in the downward course our race was led to, did not attract attention and rouse the moral sentiments or excite moral indignation, and women were committed to the flames, crying child-widows were forcibly disfigured and condemned to a solitary and unhappy life, little girls were sacrificed at the hymenal altar in numbers, female infants were

were murdered—and there was no body to protest against these cruelties as Hiraṇyakeśin and Jaimini once did against early marriages. On the other hand, these later practices acquired the force of custom. Custom is a god whom our race devoutly worships, and religious sanction was accorded to these practices by the insertion of texts in the later books. The moral sentiments were not strong enough to burst through the thick veil of custom, and assert the claim of truth, justice and humanity.

The question now is, whether with our minds liberalised by English Education and contact with European Civilisation, we shall still continue to worship custom and be its slaves, and allow our moral sentiments to remain dead and unjust, and cruel social practices to flourish If our education does not lead us to protest against them, that education must be considered to be merely superficial. Gentlemen, we have in the course of our history not emancipated ourselves from the tyranny of our political potentates and from the tyranny of custom, our social potentate Fortunately, now, the British Government has freed us from the former, and granted us rights and allowed us a large measure of freedom, but not satisfied with that we are seeking for greater freedom Shall we then with the spirit of freedom thus awakened stoop slavishly to the tyrant custom, and bear all the cruelty that it inflicts upon us? If we do, the spirit of freedom that we think is awakened in us, is illusive and delusive No! if we have to march on along with the progressive races of the West, with whom we are now indissolubly united, our social institutions must improve and become moral, rational, and just. There can be no advancement politically, I firmly assert, without social and moral advancement. And by seeking the several reforms that we have in view, we certainly shall not be taking a leap in the dark, for the condition of our society once was what we are now endeavouring to make

it. This is the spirit in which we should approach the question of sweeping away from our institutions the corruptions of later ages.

It has often been suggested that on the strength of the texts in the old books, we should convince the orthodox leaders of our society of the reforms we seek being sanctioned by the Śastras, and endeavour to introduce them with their aid and consent But such a thing to my mind is an impossibility. Our old books do not constitute the real authority in religious matters that we obey Custom has been and is our authority,—custom is our religion Texts creep into our religious books, as I have already observed, sanctioning current customs and even when they do not do so, our Pandits, who in later days have developed a great deal of logical acumen, prove, by means of their subtle arguments, customary practice to be the only one sanctioned by our religious books. The later development of the Hindu religious law has proceeded just on these lines. We must therefore begin the work of reform in spite of the orthodox leaders, trusting simply to our awakened moral consciousness, and to the fact that it is not an entirely new thing that we are going to introduce.

EXHORTATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

I am therefore glad that you have begun the work in earnest and taken certain pledges These pledges are good as a first instalment, though that about caste does not signify much in accordance with the standard prevailing in my part of the country. No one can excommunicate us in Western India for eating food prepared by Brahmans in the presence of members of most of the lower castes. I do not wish you, however, to obliterate all distinctions at once. Caste has become so inveterate in Hindu Society that the endeavour to do so, will

only result in the formation of new castes. But the end must steadily be kept in view. We must remember that caste is the greatest monster we have to kill. Even education and intercourse as regards food does not destroy it. The feeling that we belong to a certain caste, and are different from those constituting another caste. returns again and again in a variety of shapes, even when we have broken through the restraints imposed by caste as regards eating and drinking, and if not studiously driven away, will ever keep us apart from each other, and prevent the formation of a homogeneous nationality I will ask you to consider whether a pledge not to be guided by caste considerations in the disposal of your patronage, if you happen to be placed in a position of influence, and in the whole of your ordinary practical life, and to act in all matters except inter-marriage and inter-dining as if you belonged to one community, will not be a more effective pledge. You might also gradually pledge yourself to dine with members of sub-castes.

Your pledges about concubines and nautch-women are also highly commendable in my eyes They show a correct appreciation of one of the problems before us. One who takes liberties in these matters, cannot claim that he has respect for his wife's personality or for womankind generally Our aims about the elevation of woman and the assignment to her of her proper position in society, from which she may exercise a humanising influence over us all, cannot be realised, unless respect for her becomes a part of our nature Again, looseness in these matters deteriorates the character of a man and this deterioration must produce evil effects in other respects also Your determined attitude in this matter, therefore, and the earnest efforts you have been making during the last two years, to propagate your views, have been to me the source of the deepest gratification, and deserve all the

commendation that is possible for me to bestow. Moral rectitude here as elsewhere is the essential condition of progress all along the line.

As to your pledge to bring about widow-marriages and to admit the re-married widow and her husband to your table—that indeed is a bold step that you have taken You will fór a time be subjected to persecution, but I hope you have prepared yourself for it, and if your educated country-men who have not had the courage to join you, will but sympathise with you and not aid the orthodox, I have little doubt that this reform itself will gradually become a custom, and cease to be looked down upon. The great thing we have to remember is that we should go on practising what we consider to be good, without making much ado about it. It will then come into general practice, and growing into a custom, will become sanctified. For our previous history has, I again affirm, shown to my mind that custom is the spiritual potentate that sanctifies—and sanctifies even horrid deeds.

The association you have started renders me hopeful There is nothing like it on our side, and everywhere among educated natives, there is lukewarmness about social reform The minds of some are not liberalised at all, others think that the reforms we have in view are good, but flatly refuse to do anything to aid them, while there are a great many who are supremely indifferent. I agree with my friend the Honourable Mr. Justice Ranade in thinking that there has been an awakening. But he has allowed us the option of being satisfied with it I exercise the option and declare that I am dissatisfied The lamp has been lighted; but the light is flickering, and in view of the attitude of even of our educated brethren, it is just as likely to my mind that it will be blown out as that it will blaze In these circumstances, the endeavours that you are making are a

great source of comfort and encouragement, and I earnestly hope you will continue your work as boldly as you have begun it, and that you will find imitators both in your Presidency and in other parts of India, and our country's cause will make a real advance.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS AT THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL SOCIAL CONFERENCE HELD IN 1902

[From the " Dnyan Prakash " of Poona, Dated Thursday, 30th October 1902.]

The Provincial Social Conference was held at Sholapur on the 26th and 27th of October 1902 Dr. Bhandarkar was in the chair. The following is his speech —

Hitherto India has lived an individual life and not a corporate or national life. The advancement of the individual was the object of thought and endeavour with the Hindus; and as spiritual good is superior to temporal, attention was especially devoted to the former Profound religious conceptions were developed in the minds of the gifted ones of the race, and the Summum Bonum was found in union with God, and a condition of perfect purity and holiness which did not admit of the ordinary distinctions between right and wrong which presupposed an imperfect moral condition But these gifted Hindus had in all likelihood, no conception of a national existence, and therefore did not concern themselves with questions about the national weal We have an extensive religious, poetical, and legendary literature, but no work on politics or History Whatever happened in the political world, the people generally followed the even course of their occupation undisturbed by it. The great grammarian Patañjali and his pupils quietly pursued the studies of grammar while a town, very near the place where they lived, was besieged by a Yavana (who was probably Meneandar, a prince belonging to the Greeco-Bactrian dynasty) as if they were totally unconcerned with it. Similarly in later times other Princes of that dynasty and foreign tribes of the

names of Śakas, Kuṣanas, Abhīras and Gūrjaras, established themselves in the country. But the Indian population at large does not seem to have ever troubled itself with the matter, and took no part in the political revolutions This portion of our History we have entirely forgotten, because the foreign races that settled in the country became in course of time Hindus, and were relegated to the Kṣatriya or Śūdra caste. The various tribes in Central Asia, that poured into the country had no specific religion of their own, and became worshippers of Śiva or Viṣṇu when they came here In later times Mahomed gave them a religion, and since that period, invaders of India formed a distinct community when they settled in the country The incursions of the Mahomedans were not a new event in the History of India. They were a continuation of those of similar races of the pre-Mahomedan period The people at large did not care who governed them, and all that the conqueror had to do, was to subjugate the military classes, and this disregard for corporate interest shows itself in trifling matters also Most of our towns in the Maratha and Gujarathi country, had, and even have, their water closets with their hinder parts turned towards the streets. They kept the interior of their houses clean, and considered the street as the proper repository for all sorts of filth, and it was nobody's interest to see whether the streets were kept clean

The effect of this indifference to corporate or national interests was that, from time to time, the country was governed by foreigners In social matters, some of our good customs—such as marriage of girls at a mature age and the practice of widow-marriage—became obsolete. The burning of widows on the funeral piles of their husbands which had been discontinued in Vedic times was renewed, infanticide and the marriage of a great many girls with one man, came into use, and these evils did not attract the attention of any body

and were allowed to go. The number of castes increased a thousand-fold. The germs of the caste-system existed among the European Āryas also. The Patricians in Rome formed at first a separate caste having no connubium with the Plebians, but the Romans and modern races were actuated by intense national spirit and hence the distinction had to give way. Ignorance and poverty gradually increased in our country, and it was reduced to an abject condition

But now with our minds enlightened by our contact with the Western nations, we cannot afford to be indifferent to our national and corporate interests We are on all sides pushed by foreign nations seeking to profit themselves at the expense of our country, and in the keen competition which has already set in, we must suffer and be reduced to a miserable condition It is, therefore, high time to set our houses in order, so that the energies of our people may have full scope, and all obstacles towards development in all departments may be removed, and this is the object of the social reform The political agitation that has been going on for so many years, has for its object the redress of certain grievances and the acquisition of new political powers. But the object of social reform—with which I would associate moral reform—is to render us fit for the exercise of these powers. The social reform movement therefore is of greater importance than the other in so far as it seeks to render the nation vigorous and free from social obstructions and restrictions. Those of us that have seen its importance, have been endeavouring for more than 60 years to introduce certain reforms into our society. And I will devote a short time to the consideration of the history of social reform, in order that the experience of these years may serve us as guide in our future endeavours.

Female education began to be practically undertaken about the year 1848, and schools for teaching girls established in

the principal towns. At first it was in the hands of private individuals only, and latterly the Government has taken it up. But after all the result is very imperceptible. The custom of early marriages necessitates the premature removal of girls from schools, and thus the education that is given is of a very elementary character. As regards early marriage there has been a perceptible improvement in the case of boys, who, in rare cases, are at present married before the age of eighteen, at least in those classes that have come under the influence of new ideas But the improvement in the case of the girls is very little In some cases, they are kept unmarried till twelve, but even that I consider to be a very early age As regards widow-marriage the first on this side was solemnised in the year 1869 And there have been a good many more since then But the number is far from satisfactory, and this reform, I may without contradiction say, has not penetrated very widely into our society. Even highly educated natives, without the slightest compulsion, when they become widowers, even when they are themselves forty-five or more, marry a girl of ten or twelve instead of a grown up widow A good many are afraid openly to enter into social relations with a re-married widow and her husband. In connection with this I may say that the heartless custom of sacrificing little girls by being mated with old men between fifty and sixty years of age, still continues to flourish, and it grieves my heart to say, even among educated men —alumni of the Deccan and the Elphinstone Colleges. The plague which has been committing dire ravages in our country, has thrown many a female child into the condition of widowhood, but there has been no educated man during these five years to rescue any one these helpless creatures, from her pitiable state So that, widow-marriage, upon the whole, seems to have made very little progress.

But in another respect we are distinctly going backward

since we began to speak about reform About 1850, a secret society called Paramahamsa Mandali was formed in Bombay for abolition of caste Since it was composed of men who had not the courage to face opposition, the society became defunct when the doings of the members began to be talked about out-side. In my early days I remember, whenever there was any public movement, all classes, Hindus, Parsis and Mahomedans joined in it, and a feeling of brother-hood existed among them.' But in these days we find these classes conducting such public movements independently of each other, and even the separate castes of Hindus following suit There is as great or even greater estrangement between these large classes and Hindu castes than there existed before Social Reform was thought of. There are separate clubs of Brahmans, Sārasvatas or Śeṇvis, Cāndrasenīya Kāyasthas and Daivajñas What can be more discouraging to the heart of a sincere reformer than this condition of things? Not only has no progress been made towards the union of these classes and castes, but the differences between them have become accentuated "Where are we going?" is the question that constantly troubles my heart

I may here make a passing allusion to the rather bitter disputes between the Marathas and the Brahmans going on at Kolhapur and Baroda, which sets this back-sliding of ours in a lurid light. I have already referred to the fact that during the Pre-Mahomedan Period, the foreigners who settled in the country became Hindus The dynasty that ruled over Kanouj in the 8th and 9th centuries belonged originally, as has recently been proved to a foreign race—that of the Gurjara, and Mahendrapāla, one of the princes of that dynasty, is spoken of by the celebrated poet Rājaśekhara, who was his Guru and calls himself Mahārāṣṭrīya in one place, as having sprung from the solar race. Similarly, *we have reason to believe that the Chahuwans*, Parmars and Solankis belonged to the same race. But they

have in the course of time become Rajputs. If foreigners could become Kṣatriyas in this way, there is no reason why Mahārāṣṭra Brahmans of this presidency should not similarly declare the Rajas of Kolhapur and Baroda to be Kṣatriyas, even supposing that they have not descended from a Paurāṇic line, when a Maratha Brahman of great learning, Gāgābhaṭṭa, decided that the founder of the Maratha empire was a Kṣatriya, and on the other hand one is at a loss to see why such an importance should be attached to the performance of domestic ceremonies according to the Vedic ritual But certainly it is devoutly to be wished that in one way or the other this unseemly quarrel should come to an end

One of the social reforms advocated by us viz, travelling to foreign countries, has been progressing recently at a rapid rate It appears to me that every one who has come more or less under the influence of the new ideas, is ready to go to England, Japan or other countries, and the only obstacle in the way is the want of sufficient funds. What the advocates of this reform look to, is that the men who travel to foreign countries should on their return be received back into their castes This is good as a temporary measure, but if truth must be followed, it will not do to ignore the fact that most of those who go to England and other countries are not able to adhere to the rules of castes while in these countries. The caste is thus, in almost all cases, practically given up And to assume it again on coming back to this country is in my eyes going backwards, and points to the inveterate nature of the institution, by means of which, though really giving up caste, we ostensibly or outwardly stick to it

From all I have said, and a good deal more that falls under our observation, it appears as if the germs of castes formed an essential ingredient of our blood To eradicate them is perhaps as hopeless as drying up the Indian Ocean The races of

Europe destroyed those germs in their infancy by using the antidote of the spirit of nationality. In the absence of that antidote, the germs of the disease have had an extensive development and have become extremely strong in India, and rendered the formation of an Indian nationality an impossibility. If, however, you think we can form a nation with caste, let us try. But at least, caste jealousies must be forgotten in practical matters, not opposed to caste rules, and we should act towards each other as if no caste differences existed between us. But we should also endeavour to bring about a fusion of sub-castes, and this is what one of the propositions before us contemplates. This appears to me to be a promising matter but even here it will not do to be too optimistic

I have thus briefly gone over the principal planks in the platform of the social reformer In what I have observed, there is a good deal to discourage an earnest reformer who heartily wishes that his country should progress, and one feels inclined to think with the late Īśvaracandra Vidyāsāgara that the Hindus would never adopt social reform. But there is no cause for despair Sir Auckland Colvin describes, I believe, our position correctly in his article on India in the new Volumes of the Encyclopedia Britannica, where he says 'Torpor is shaken off and a nervous activity takes the place of silence and inaction. The Princess has arisen and moves forward, though with dazzled eyes and uncertain steps, encumbered by the folds of her old world garments" Having slept so long, our eyes are dazzled by the new light we see, we do not see our way clearly before us, our steps are uncertain and we are encumbered by the folds of our former garments. But our steps should certainly become more certain and endeavours must be made to cast off the encumbering folds. For this reason, it appears to me that the proposal you have made for establishing a Central Reform Association at Bombay and branch associations in the districts, is very good

We must, by means of lectures, pamphlets and leaflets, educate the public opinion of our people and bring them to perceive the justice and reasonableness of the reforms we advocate and the dangers ahead which will overtake us if we reject them. At the same time we must form a strong body of reformed public opinion amongst ourselves, which men of sixty, marrying a girl of twelve, or fathers marrying their boys and girls when they are little children, will be afraid of At the same time those who are conducting this agitation for social reform, should themselves be persons who have shown their sincerity by introducing one or other of these reforms in their family The method often spoken of—of winning over the spiritual heads of the different communities and introducing reforms with their help —is, I am afraid, not destined to be successful At the same time to interpret or rather to mis-interpret the Śāstras so as to make them agree with our views, is a method which also is extremely unpromising My view of our people is that the great Śāstra or spiritual adviser whom they obey is custom, and if the Guru or Śāstra goes against this, they will be disobeyed and set aside. The feasible plan, therefore, appears to me to silently but sincerely introduce the reforms we advocate, so that in the course of time, they may themselves become the prevailing customs.

But the great question is whether our conscience has been sufficiently aroused to enable us to withstand whatever opposition or persecution we may meet with in our course. If it is not, it must be, if we are to progress and not sink lower and lower until we are wiped off the face of the earth And there is another question, will the ideal of social reform in itself inspire us with the necessary enthusiasm? In Bengal social reform is almost given up by persons who are not members of the Brahmo Samaj. And it is the latter institution that advocates both religious and social reform Things have not come to this pass here as the present conference shows. But

the very slow progress we have made, and the steps backward that we take, as well as the fact that a social reformer, more or less by his own acts, sets aside the Hindu religion as it is, make one think that the only efficient way is to devise a radical course of reform based upon the reform of Hindu Religion. Religious belief is calculated to invigorate the conscience, and social reform will then become an imperative duty. But for obvious reasons, I must not go into the question further, and leave you to decide the whole matter for yourselves.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS AT THE NATIONAL SOCIAL CONFERENCE HELD AT AHMADABAD IN 1902

[From the "Dnyan Prakash", of Poona, dated 1st January 1903]

The Session of the National Social Conference was held in the last week of December 1902, and Mr Lalshankar Umiyashankar and the Hon'ble Justice Mr N G Chandawarkar, the Chairman of the Reception Committee and the General Secretary of Conference, respectively, had delivered their addresses on the day previous to Sir R. G Bhandarkar's Presidential Address, given below. [N.B U]

LADIES ANE GENTLEMEN

Yesterday you had a glowing and attractive picture placed before you To-day it is our business to see whether the canvas on which the picture is to be painted is torn and tattered and cannot hold it, or of a weak texture and cannot retain it for long If it be of either nature we have to see how it can be repaired and strengthened so that it may answer our purpose. Dropping all metaphor, I may say that the object of Social Reform is to eradicate such evil customs as have undermined the energies of the Indian people and prevent the free expansion of their powers and capacities The three hundred millions of the population of India are divided into about 5000 different communities which are called castes and between which there is no intimate social intercourse The spirit of caste pride has come into free play, and jealousies and discussions are the result No sincere co-operation can be expected under the circumstances Some of the communities are so small that it is difficult to secure husbands for women and wives for men. And often unsuitable matches have to be

formed. And this is, in too many instances, the case in the province of Gujarat where stories of girls of inferior castes being brought from Kathiawad and palmed off on intending bridegrooms as belonging to their caste are not uncommon.

The lower castes are in a very depressed condition; no education is available to them Even their touch is considered abomination and to improve their social condition they often change their religion and become Christians The women of the country are, as a rule, not educated, thus leading to, what may be called, a waste of half the moral and intellectual resources of the country, a waste for which there can be no compensation anywhere Boys and girls, especially the latter, are married at a very early age, and this must necessarily lead to the degeneration of the race, and the education of girl stops when they arrive at about the age of twelve Girl-widows are condemned to a life of misery and often immorality, and a society that connives at this condition of things must become demoralised to a certain extent Travelling to foreign countries is prohibited, and thus there is no scope for the development of the enterprising spirit of the people If, therefore, in the present keen competetion between the nations, our people are to have a fresh start, a strong fight will have to be made against these and such other customs

SOCIAL REFORM, A NATIONAL MOVEMENT

This has been my creed since the year 1853, I gave expression to it at Sholapur by laying stress on the national significance of social reform, and I thought it was the creed of all social reformers I was not aware that I was uttering anything new and was surprised to find that I was so regarded in some quarters. I can have nothing to say to those who expressed an approval, but there were some people, I am told, who regarded widow-marriage, for instance, as called for only

for the removal of the misery of the widow girls and had no connection whatever with national interests. According to these men the removal of misery of certain creatures is the object of social reform The acquisition of social facilities for foreign travel is sought for by the social reformer, but the removal of existing misery cannot be its object So also in a very large number of cases, caste distinctions do not create misery, yet the social reformer seeks to obliterate them. The old Buddhists, especially of Northern India, constituted benevolence as one of the cardinal principles of their conduct. They even sacrificed their lives to promote the good of others; but they did not seek systematically to abolish caste, though amongst themselves the Buddhist monks paid no heed whatever to it. I, however, do not mean to say that sympathy for the sufferings of others is not a motive in itself In fact, it is the highest motive, and the world has now begun to move towards its realisation, though, I am afraid, there is more talk about it than actual work, as is shown by the manner in which President Roosevelt's attempts to be just and impartial to the Negroes in the United States have been received. But if mere sympathy for the sufferings of others is the object of social reform, why should we confine our efforts to the Indians and why not extend them to the Chinese or Europeans? Practically, therefore we have to restrict the operations of this high motive to the people of India, so that, from this point of view even social reform becomes a national movement.

TIME IS NO FORCE

Now, some people there are who believe in the natural operation of the causes which have come into existence and declare deliberate social reform not only unnecessary but harmful, and agitation such as is conducted by this Conference and Social Reform Associations to be mischievous. The causes

that have come into operation are our contact with Western nations, the English education we receive at Schools and Colleges, English law and policy which make no distinction between a Brahman and Śūdra, railways which compel a holy Brahman to sit side by side with a low caste man in a third class compartment, the increase of population consequent on Pax Britanica which is driving even Brahmans to resort to the profession of stone-masons, tailors, weavers and so forth These have no doubt been changing our manners, but their operation must cease with the satisfaction of the immediate need, and it cannot give us systematic reform Besides, if social reform were left to the natural operation of these causes, you cannot trust to the process always yielding rational results The changes that our present circumstances are calculated to produce may be good or may be bad The expression that is often used in connection with this view is that time will work out the necessary changes But time is no force, it is simply a category of the understanding to distinguish one event from another The real force comes from human motives which are invoked by the circumstances in which men find themselves If, therefore, time works out changes, it must be by the force of human motives And as the lower motives are always more powerful than the higher ones though these are nobler in their nature, when you leave things to take their own course, the changes that will be effected will be such as the lower motives of man bring about, that is to say, the changes will not always be good or rational In order, therefore, that the changes which our present circumstances or the causes indicated above are likely to produce, may be good or rational it is necessary to discuss and decide which [we] will have and which not In other words, social changes must not be left to work themselves out, but should always be under the guidance of our reason and moral sense.

WITHOUT THE CONTROL OF REASON

Our previous history is full of examples in which, when things were left to themselves the changes that were effected were irrational and immoral Some of you know that the authors of our Smṛtis or law books enumerate twelve kinds of sons who succeed their father One of these is Kānīna or the son of a virgin that was begotten before a girl was married and who in some cases was regarded as the son of her father and by some as the son of the husband whom she subsequently married This shows that when the practice of marrying girls at a mature age prevailed some of them went wrong And in all likelihood it was to serve this evil that the practice of marrying girls at an early age came into existence Some of the old Ṛṣis lay down the ritual of marriage on the supposition that the bride was a grown-up girl, others after laying down the general rule add "it would be better to marry a girl before maturity." There are still others who did not approve of this new practice that was coming in, and laid down in express terms that only a mature girl should be married. So far the new change was not beyond the control of reason But that control was soon lost, and it went on spreading over a wider area. The possibility of a girl going wrong before maturity was alone looked to and gradually early marriage became a stereotyped custom without reference to the reason that ushered it in, and the limit of age became lower and lower until now a child even a few months old is sometimes married Thus, then, this change was not under the guidance and control of reason and was left to work itself out The manifest evils of early marriage were entirely lost sight of, and early marriage came to be firmly rooted

Similarly the original motive that eventually led to female infanticide and the marriage of about a hundred girls or more to one man was not bad. That motive was the anxiety of

parents to marry their girls into respectable families. But this was not under the guidance of reason, and parents killed their daughters to avoid the disgrace of marrying them into low families or wedded them to husbands that saw them only once in their life. Similarly a too nice regard for female chastity not of the moral but physical kind, led to the proscription of widow-marriage, and no regard whatever was paid to the evil consequences which have come so glaringly under our observation. And the innumerable castes that we find at present owe their existence to the feeling of exclusiveness working itself out unchecked by national considerations This is the result, then, when we allow certain influences to work themselves out and do not subject them to criticism at each step, and arrest their operation when it oversteps the bounds of reason It will, therefore, not do to trust to the new circumstances in which we find ourselves now, to eradicate the prevailing evil customs. There must be discussion and decision and deliberate plans for the introduction of such changes only as are good and rational.

TWO-FOLD OBJECT OF SOCIAL REFORM

The reform movements that are going on have a two-fold object, viz., deliberate eradication of the prevailing evils and the prevention of others that the new causes which have come into operation may bring about if left to work silently For the present the first object is more important, but, as I stated at Sholapur, we have not been able to do very much towards its accomplishment. A European friend recently wrote to me that from all he had observed, it appeared to him that there was no strong force at the back of the Reform Movement, and we must acknowledge that this is true, looking to the persevering and energetic efforts and exertions made by Europeans whenever they have to introduce a reform Most of us have read Morley's Life of Cobden. Can we say that our exertions

can at all be compared with those which that great man and his co-adjutor Mr. Bright, went through, to convince people of the injustice of the Corn Laws. And the number of our people is so large and they are so impervious to ordinary influence, and the social practices we have to eradicate are so many, that more persistent efforts than those of Cobden and Bright must be made by resolute men in all parts of the country to bring even a small minority of the people to the conviction that these practices are baneful. Since like the Corn Laws our agitation is not to culminate in legislation that will compel action, we must begin by introducing our doctrines into practice ourselves

Oftentimes the reproach has been cast at the Social Conference that there is any amount of talking there but very little action, and a danger which is likely to arise from inaction is that it will become a simple matter of routine with us to speak of matters of Social Reform, and for others to hear us, and becoming callous, we shall cease to be really enthusiastic about it ourselves. All this you will, I hope, bear seriously in mind. As I stated at Sholapur, we should form associations wherever we can; there should be lectures, discussions, pamphlets and leaflets, and we should have a public opinion amongst ourselves which will prevent back-sliding A large amount of money will also be wanted But the question is "Are there such resolute men amongst us who will work in the manner in which Cobden and Bright worked to bring about a reform in the Corn Laws?" If we have, or if we shall have, if not now, then only, in my opinion, the future interests of our country are safe, and if no such men arise our future must indeed be gloomy.

As to the second object of Social Reform movement viz., keeping the influences now at work under the guidance and control of reason, a spirit of fair criticism prompted solely by the love of our country must be developed by us Whenever

any evil principle finds introduction into society or a good principle is carried to excess, criticism ought to be brought to bear on it. For instance, it cannot be denied that the spread of the vice of drunkenness amongst the higher castes is due to the circumstances in which we find ourselves. The Social Conference and social reformers generally ought to condemn the practice in no measured terms. Again, there are persons amongst us who secretly violate the rules of castes as regards eating and drinking but outwardly pose as orthodox persons. If the number of such men goes on increasing, demoralisation of Indian society must inevitably be the result This also must be fearlessly criticised, if we have any regard for our future good In this manner, as we go on, other evils hitherto unheard of may come into existence, and the only remedy I can think of is that a regard for national interest must grow up amongst us and we should endeavour to do all that is possible to prevent the growth of any evil arising from these circumstances.

IS THIS PESSIMISM?

I am afraid in consequence of the remarks I have now made some of you will again call me a pessimist or at least say that a pessimistic tone pervades my observations. I am myself unable to see the justification of this title or of this view I have never said that there is nothing good in us Hindus, or that we are not capable of rising, nor have I said that we have done nothing in matters of reform. Though at Sholapur I stated that in our history we Hindus as a whole have shown no concern for national or corporate interests, or were not actuated by the national spirit or sentiment, and consequently allowed ourselves to be conquered by foreigners, still I did not say that the spirit of our military classes was ever permanently crushed, or that the learned, priestly, mercantile and other classes lost their peculiar excellences. After

the Śakas, Yavanas, Pahlavas and Kushans had governed a large portion of the country for three or four centuries, a Hindu dynasty of Guptas rose to power and established itself over the whole of Northern India. The foreigners were driven out by Candragupta otherwise called Vikramāditya, the most famous prince of the dynasty The occasion was seized by the Brahmans to regain the power over the people which they had lost through the influence of early Buddhism, and according to their lights, put the social system in order by remodelling their laws and institutions The Hūṇas or Huns who held power for some time in the country were put down by a prince of the name Yaśodharman who ruled over North-Western Malwa and Rajputana In modern times, Hindu domination was restored by the Sikhs in the North, and the Marathas in the South. In very early times, when the Āryans spread over the different parts of Northern India they appear to have had an aristocratic form of Government in some instances at least In the time of Buddha, while Magadha was governed by a prince and was an absolute monarchy, the Vajjis or Vṛjjis, Kṣatriya inhabitants of a neighbouring province formed a Republic Such other republics are also spoken of And the system of giving to the provinces in which certain Kṣatriya tribes had settled, the name of the tribe itself must have originated from the fact of their being joint owners of the provinces, i. e , having a Republican form of government Thus the country in which Pañcālas lived was called Pañcāla, and that in which Kuravas lived Kuravas In Western countries these aristocratic republics became democracies and existed as such for a long time and political ideas and institutions were highly developed In India they soon became absolute monarchies and ever remained as such and the political growth of the country was arrested. To this result ecclesiastical absolutism that was

established at the same time also contributed since it checked freedom of thought and action.

You will thus see that I do not and cannot deny us the capacity for assimilating the national sentiment and working for the promotion of national interests. But the progress we have made during the last sixty years since we became subject to the new influences, and in Bengal during the last 150 years, has not been considerable, as I have shown in the Sholapur address One cannot help coming to this conclusion when one carefully observes what is going on about one If for declaring this openly, one is to be called a pessimist, verily truth itself is pessimistic and I believe it will do us good if rough pessimistic truth were dinned into one's ears instead of smooth optimistic falsehood The former will rouse us to action, the latter will send us to sleep again, though there is no question the new causes that come into operation have awakened us. Consider for a moment how the Japanese have completely transformed themselves within the short space of 35 years. A Japanese scholar whom I met in Poona a few days ago told me that before the transformation took place, i e, 35 years ago, there was no connubium or inter-marriages between the military and mercantile classes but now this distinction has been obliterated The Japanese are a unique people, and I do not think it is possible for us to make progress at their rate, but still during the twice and five times as many years that we have been under the same influences as they—not the same I should say, but under far stronger and better influences, since we have been positively receiving education at the hands of a European nation, we might be expected to drop the connubial distinction between at least the minor sub-divisions of the same caste. But we have not done it. Now, gentlemen, believe me when I say that I do not feel offended in the least when a pessimistic tone is discovered

in my remarks, but what I want to drive out by referring to this matter is that our people have somehow become fond of praise. They even allow themselves to be misled by certain foreigners who indulge them lavishly with it For progress what is wanted is discontent with the present condition—and praise bestowed upon us and believed in by us is calculated to make us self-satisfied and unwilling to make an effort to rise It is to warn my hearers of this weakness that I have alluded to the matter

In conclusion, allow me to remind you that the great discovery of the nineteenth-century—the law of evolution—is receiving confirmation from every side The law implies that there has been throughout the universe a progress in the material as well as the spiritual world from the simple to the complex, from the dead to the living, from good to better, from the irrational to the rational This is the law of God, and if instead of obstinately changing to what is bad and irrational, we move forwards to what is good and rational, we shall be obeying the law of the Universe and co-operating with God. If, however, we continue to go down from what is bad to what is worse, from good to bad and from the rational to irrational, as we have been doing for so many centuries, we shall have to seek another universe to live in

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A NOTE ON THE AGE OF MARRIAGE AND ITS CONSUMMATION ACCORDING TO HINDU RELIGIOUS LAW

This essay with its Appendices was originally published by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar himself in a pamphlet form in the year 1891, in connection with the controversy on the Age of Consent Bill, then before the Indian Legislative Council. [N. B. U]

I

The question is whether intercourse immediately after maturity[1] is necessary according to the Hindu religious law.

(i) Manu says —

कामममामरणात्तिष्ठेद् गृहे कन्यर्तुमत्यपि ।
न चैवैनां प्रयच्छेत्तु गुणहीनाय कर्हिचित् ॥

Chap IX Verse 89.

"The maiden may even remain till death in the [father's] house after maturity, but he should never give her to one who has no merits."

On this the oldest commentator Medhātithi observes "A maiden is not to be given [in marriage] before puberty, and she is not to be given even after puberty, as long as a meritorious bridegroom is not to be had", प्रागृतोः कन्याया न दानम् । ऋतुदर्शनेपि न दद्याद्यावद् गुणवान्वरो न प्राप्तः ।

(ii) Again —

त्रीणि वर्षाण्युदीक्षेत कुमार्यृतुमती सती ।
ऊर्ध्वं तु कालादेतस्माद्विन्देत सदृशं पतिम् ॥

Manu IX 90.

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1 The expressions maturity, puberty, and grown up are in this note used to denote that stage in the growth of a girl in which a certain physical phenomenon has begun to appear.

"After maturity she should wait for three years; and after that marry a suitable husband herself."

(iii) Baudhāyana also says the same thing —

त्रीणि वर्षाण्यृतुमती काङ्क्षेत पितृशासनम्।
ततश्चतुर्थे वर्षे तु विन्देत सदृशं पतिम्॥

IV. 1. 14.

"For three years after puberty she should wait for her father's order, and then in the fourth year marry a suitable husband herself"

(iv) Vasiṣṭha's Sūtras, XVII. 67 and 68 are to the same effect.

(v) Gobhilaputra in the Gṛhyasamgraha says —

नग्निकां तु वदेत्कन्यां यावन्नर्तुमती भवेत्।
ऋतुमती त्वनग्निका तां प्रयच्छे[1]त्त्वनग्निकाम्॥

Gobhilīya Gṛ Sū, Ed Bibl Indica, p. 839

"A girl is called Nagnikā (naked) as long as she has not arrived at maturity After maturity she is Anagnikā (not naked). He should give that Anagnikā girl" [in marriage].

(vi) Hiraṇyakeśin lays down in his Gṛhya Sūtra that a young man should, after finishing his education, marry, with the consent of his parents, an Anagnikā or grown up girl who is chaste and of the same caste with him, (समावृत्त आचार्यकुलान्मातापितरौ बिभृयात्ताभ्यामनुज्ञातो भार्यामुपयच्छे[2]त्सजातानग्निकां ब्रह्मचारिणीम्।).

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1 त्वनाग्निकाम् (another reading)

2 सजातानग्निकाम् is the reading of my Manuscript, of another, dated 1706 Śaka, found by me in the City of Poona, and of the Poona Hiranyakeśin Brahmans generally It is also the reading of three of Dr Kirste's six Manuscripts. The compound cannot be dissolved into सजाता and नग्निका (सजाता चासौ नग्निका च) as in that case it would be सजातनग्निका by Pānini VI 3. 34. Besides if नग्निका were the correct reading, the following adjective ब्रह्मचारिणी

These texts show that the principal Hindu legislators allow of a girl remaining unmarried till after she has arrived at a certain stage of growth, and three of them limit the period for which she may so remain to three years She may thus have no connection with a man for three years after puberty.

(vii) And Manu specifically allows a girl to remain unmarried till the age of twelve. For, says he

त्रिंशद्वर्षो वहेत्कन्यां हृद्यां द्वादशवार्षिकीम् ।

IX 94.

" A man thirty years old should marry a girl pleasing to him, of the age of twelve years."

Taken in conneción with the texts already quoted, this means that he should marry her even if she has already become mature, i. e., she can remain without connection till the age of twelve

II

But these texts do not show that the legislators allow of a grown up girl remaining without connection with a man *after marriage* The following bear on that point

(i) अक्षारालवणाशिनौ ब्रह्मचारिणावलंकुर्वाणावधःशायिनौ स्यातां त्रिरात्रं द्वादशरात्रं संवत्सरं वैकऋषिर्जायत इति ।

Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra, I 8 10—11

'chaste' ' who has had no intercourse ' ' would be useless, for a नग्निका or one who has not arrived at the particular physical stage is necessarily chaste. The commentator Mātrdatta, in Dr. Kirste's Edition at least, takes सजातां नग्निकां as the reading, which is also the reading of three of Dr Kirste's Manuscripts; but curiously enough he explains the word as आसन्नार्तवा " who is about to arrive at the physical stage, " and वस्त्रविक्षेपणार्हा " who is fit to be denuded," and मैथुनार्हा " fit to have intercourse." Evidently he had a conception of the sense that the context requires, but had a bad reading before him There can be no reasonable doubt that सजातानग्निका is the correct reading

[After the bride has been taken to the house of the bride-groom], the two should not eat corn of certain species, nor taste salt, should be chaste, i. e, have no intercourse, adorn themselves and sleep on the floor for three nights, or twelve nights, or for a year, since thus the wife comes to have the Gotra of her husband (leaving that of her father).

(ii) संवत्सरं न मिथुनमुपेयातां द्वादशरात्रं षड्रात्रं त्रिरात्रमन्ततः।

Pāraskara, Gṛhya Sūtra I. 8 1.

" For one year [after the day of marriage] they should not have conjugal intercourse, or for twelve nights, or six, or at least three.

(iii) Śānkhāyana, Āpastamba, Hiraṇyakeśin, Khādira, and Gobhila impose Brahmacarya or abstinence only for three nights, after the day of marriage in some cases or after the bride is taken home in others.

Now the very fact of the imposition of abstinence from intercourse by all these authors of Gṛhyasūtras, shows the existence of a possibility of the intercourse And since it cannot be contended that there is such a possibility when the married girl is in a condition in which the physical occurrence has not yet taken place, it must be concluded that the marriage ritual prescribed by these authors presupposes the girl to be in a condition of puberty And the rule expressly laid down by Gobhilaputra and Hiraṇyakeśin, and the observation of Medhātithi quoted above confirm this view And even a living Bengal Paṇḍit, Candrakānta Tarkālamkāra, in his comment on the passage in Gobhila which imposes abstinence observes —

त्रिंशद्वर्षो वहेत्कन्यां हृद्यां द्वादशवार्षिकीम्। इत्येवमादिके कल्पे व्यवायस्य नासंभवः।

Ed in Bibl. Ind. p. 327.

i. e., "Under a system implied by such texts as 'A man thirty

years old should marry a girl twelve years old that is pleasing to him,' intercourse is not impossible."

The authors of the Sūtras proceed next to prescribe intercourse after the completion of the period of abstinence together with the ritual to be observed at the time. Āpastamba (III 8. 10) rules that it should take place in the latter part of the fourth night, and prescribes the repetition of certain other Mantras (III 8 10) on the occasion of another intercourse immediately after a monthly course,[1] which portion of the ceremony corresponds to the Garbhādhāna or conception ceremony of the present day. Hiraṇyakeśin's directions are precisely the same. Śāṅkhāyana (I. 19 1) allows of it immediately after a monthly course only (ऋतुवेलायाम्) with the Garbhādhana ceremonies, and Khādira (p. 385, S B. E., Vol. XXIX, p 385, ऋतुकाले), and Pāraskara (I 11 7 यथर्तुप्रवेशनम्) do the same. Gobhila notices the first rule which we find in Āpastamba and Hiraṇyakeśin by saying "according to some there should be intercourse after the first three nights" (ऊर्ध्वं त्रिरात्रात्संभव इत्येके); and then lays down his own rule that "the time for intercourse is immediately after a monthly course" (यदर्तुमती भवत्युपरतशोणिता तदा संभवकालः । p 346, Ed. Bibl. Ind)

It will thus be seen that the authors of the Gṛhyasūtras, whose rules presuppose marriage after puberty, prescribe abstinence for the first three nights after marriage or after the bride is taken away to the bridegroom's house, some provide for intercourse on the fourth night, but the majority on the occasion of a monthly course. Whether the monthly course meant is the one immediately after marriage is doubtful, but there is a

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1 The time meant when intercourse is prescribed by the use of the expression ऋतौ or ऋतुकाले which I have translated by "on the occasion of or immediately after a monthly course" is from the fourth, or according to some, the fifth night after the beginning of the monthly course to the sixteenth inclusive.

strong reason, as will be shown hereafter, to believe that they meant any monthly course generally, even long after marriage. In any case, there is no ground for saying that they prescribe intercourse at the first monthly course after marriage. But Āśvalāyana and Pāraskara extend the period of abstinence expressly to one year as the most righteous course, wherefore it follows that the postponement of the consummation of a marriage that has already taken place, for one year at least after puberty is not opposed to the Hindu religious law.

III

But marriages after puberty have now become unknown among the higher castes, and are considered to be opposed to the Dharmaśāstra A girl is married before she has grown up, and it is contended that the religious books render it obligatory to consummate the marriage immediately after puberty or the first monthly course, though in practice it is not done in many cases in various parts of the country It is therefore necessary to examine the texts relied upon They are of this nature.—

प्रयच्छेन्नग्निकां कन्यामृतुकालभयात्पिता।
ऋतुमत्यां हि तिष्ठन्त्यां दोषः पितरमृच्छति ॥

Vasiṣṭha.

"A father should give his girl in marriage while in the immature condition, being afraid of her attaining puberty; for if she remains with him in a condition of puberty, the father incurs sin."

But this is felt to be too tame. Hence another text is quoted from Yama by recent writers on the domestic ceremonies, which is as follows —

कन्या द्वादश वर्षाणि याप्रदत्ता वसेद् गृहे।
ब्रह्महत्या पितुस्तस्याः सा कन्या वरयेत्स्वयम्।
तस्मादुद्वाहयेत्कन्यां यावन्नर्तुमती भवेत् ॥

"The father of the girl who remains in the house unmarried incurs the sin of murdering a Brahman. The girl should choose for herself. Therefore he should get his girl married before she arrives at maturity."

But this must have been regarded as extravagant even by those who believe in infant marriages only as legal, for they prescribe no heavier penance for the offending father than feeding a few Brahmans, and giving them presents, or simply giving one cow. If the father is rich, however, he has to give away as many cows as the courses passed by the girl without marriage —See Saṁskārakaustubha on the marriage ceremony—.

But the peculiarity of our religious law is that a text is always found to justify any new custom that obtains currency, and often times *it happens that the texts* quoted by the writers of Digests are not found in the extant copies of the works from which they profess to quote them. In those cases where a text is not available, our theologians twist the senses of those which exist in a manner to serve the purpose But of course this argument cannot be used at present. Still in the face of the texts quoted by me from Manu, Gobhilaputra, Hiraṇyakeśin, Vasiṣṭha and Baudhāyana, the texts declaratory of the obligatory nature of infant marriages, cannot, even according to the orthodox rules of interpretation, be allowed full swing. The author of the Nirṇayasindhu attempts a reconciliation, and says that marriage after the age of ten is prohibited, but in consideration of the texts of Manu, Baudhāyana, and others, marriages at twelve and sixteen, even if the attainment of maturity becomes known, are allowable in those cases in which the legal giver of the girl does not exist. (दशवर्षादूर्ध्वं विवाहो निषिद्धः । तथापि दातुरभावे द्वादशषोडशाब्दे ज्ञेये रजोभाव इत्थम्). But there is no reason whatsoever why the late marriages should be restricted to those cases. Manu and others do not, in prescribing them, speak of the non-existence of the father

or other givers. The only fair way is to regard both as equally legal, according to the well known orthodox rule, that when contradictory precepts such as that "he should offer oblations after sunrise" and "he should offer oblations before sunrise" exist, one is at liberty to follow whichever he chooses Thus then marriages after puberty are allowable and not opposed to the Hindu religious law.

IV

The texts as regards the other point are of this nature :—

गर्भाधानमृतौ कुर्यात्। (Bṛhaspati quoted by Nanda Paṇḍita in the Saṁskāranirṇaya).

"He should perform the conception ceremony immediately after a monthly course"

ऋतावुपेयात्सर्वत्र वा प्रतिषिद्धवर्जम्। (Gautama as quoted by Candracūda and Kamalākara).

"He should have intercourse immediately after a monthly course, or on any day except those which are prohibited."

Texts such as these provide only for the ceremony being performed and intercourse being had immediately after a course; but do not require that the thing should take place after the first course. And no text has been brought forward by the authors of the seven or eight Nibandhas or Digests I have consulted, which expressly enjoins the conception ceremony or intercourse on the occasion of the first course.

But there are others of the nature of the following —

ऋतुस्नातां तु यो भार्यां संनिधौ नोपगच्छति।
घोरायां भ्रूणहत्यायां पच्यते[1] नात्र संशयः॥

Parāśara.

1 युज्यते (another reading).

"He who, though living in the same place with his wife, does not cohabit with her on the occasion of a monthly course incurs the deadly sin of killing an embryo, there is no doubt about this."

This text is quoted as from Parāśara by Nanda Paṇḍita, Kamalākara, Anantadeva, and Candracūḍa Nanda Paṇḍita observes—with reference to a text of Manu (III 45) which inculcates that "a man shall always cohabit with his wife on the occasion of her courses, being devoted to her, and go to her with the vow of generating a son, except on certain holy days," —that this precept is mandatory and he must go, for it is laid down that he commits a sin if he does not; and in proof of this he quotes the above text from Parāśara The obligation to have intercourse on the occasion of courses rests upon precepts like this which threaten a man with sinfulness, and since the statement is general, it admits apparently of being made applicable to all courses, even the first, and the view that the consummation of marriage must be effected at the first course, can, if at all, be based only on these precepts. At any rate no other text bearing on the point has been brought forward by the authors I have consulted, and it is not likely that the Bengal author, Raghunandana, whose Saṃskāratattva is not available here, should have said anything different from what Nanda Paṇḍita and the rest have said

Now though this precept of Parāśara and others like it render intercourse compulsory on the occasion of monthly courses, still it can come into operation only when the door is opened for it, and that door can be opened only by the Garbhādhāna or conception ceremony, which is indispensable. For a text, quoted from a Smṛti attributed to Āśvalāyana by Nanda Paṇḍita and Kamalākara, says —

गर्भाधानस्याकरणात्तस्यां जातस्तु दुष्यति ।

"If the Garbhādhāna ceremony is not done, he (a son) who is born of her becomes unclean or sinful."

But we are not told by the authors of the Digests that it should be performed on the occasion of the first course, as the texts adduced only require its being performed immediately after a course. And we have seen that the authors of the Gṛhyasūtras, Śāṅkhāyana, Khādira, Pāraskara, and Gobhila leave the matter equally indefinite. The Pariśiṣṭa or appendix of Āśvalāyana Gṛhya, which takes up points omitted in the Sūtra itself and is manifestly later than the latter, gives however a more definite indication of what is meant The Garbhādhāna ceremony according to Nārāyanabhaṭṭa, the author of a ritual for the Ṛgvedins, consists of two parts, (1) the kindling and consecration of the fire and throwing oblations into it of cooked rice and ghee in honour of certain deities; and (2) the rites preparatory to the actual intercourse, which are directed to be performed at night, when both the husband and wife well dressed have seated themselves on a bedstead. These, however, since priests are wanted to repeat the sacred formulas, are gone through, as a matter of fact, during day time along with the first part of the ceremony, the physical portion intended to be consecrated by those rites, being made to stand over till the night Now with reference to the time, when these two parts, which in the Pariśiṣṭa are mentioned one after the other, and called Prājāpatya and Garbhalabhana respectively, should be performed, the author of the work lays down the following rules —

a अथर्तुमत्याः प्राजापत्यम् । ऋतौ प्रथमेऽनुकूलेऽहनि &c.

"Now for the Prajāpatya ceremony of a woman after a course. On the occasion of the first course, on an auspicious day he should &c."

b अथ गर्भलम्भनम् । ऋतावनुकूलायां निशि &c.

"Now for the Garbhalabhana. On the occasion of a course, on an auspicious night" &c. &c.

Here, evidently, the author of the Pariśiṣṭa looks upon these ceremonies as distinct from each other, and directs that the first, consisting of the consecration of the fire and the oblations, should be performed on the occasion of the first course, but the second, which must be followed by intercourse, on the occasion of a course. The omission here of the word प्रथम or "first" is evidently intentional, and shows that the ceremony introductory to intercourse need not be performed on the occasion of the first course, but may be delayed to any subsequent[1] one. The general statements of the authors of the Sūtras and the indefinite texts quoted above should, in the light of this, be understood to mean the same thing.

Now, if the ceremony introductory to intercourse and intended to consecrate it may thus be delayed, surely the operation of Parāśara's command to cohabit with one's wife on the occasion of a course on pain of the deadly sin of killing an embryo, must be delayed also, and the text cannot be considered as over-riding the Sūtras or Pariśiṣṭas and rendering the liberty allowed by these entirely nugatory But supposing it is rendered nugatory and the rule of Parāśara is in undisputed possession of the field, its province must be determined, according to the usual orthodox principle, as what remains after assigning to whatever exceptions it may have, their own proper place. And the rule has many exceptions.

(1) One of them is contained in the text itself According to Nanda Paṇḍita, because the word संनिधौ i. e, "living in the

1 The omission of the word प्रथम in the case of गर्भलम्भन leaving ऋतौ only, is construed by some as signifying that the ceremony should be repeated on the occasion of each course. But in such a case we should expect ऋतावृतौ, as we have अहरहः (p. 301, Ed. Bibl. Ind), मासि मासि p 306 &c.

same place" is used, a husband does not render *himself sinful*, if he does not have intercourse in consequence *of his being at* a distance from her (संनिधिग्रहणाद्दसंनिधौ न दोषः ।).

Again Vyāsa says —

(2) व्याधितो बन्धनस्थो वा प्रवासेष्वथ पर्वसु ।
ऋतुकाले तु नारीणां भ्रूणहत्या प्रमुच्यते ॥

"If a man is suffering from a disease, or is imprisoned, or away in a foreign country, he is free from the sin of killing an embryo, [if he has no intercourse] on the occasion of a course of women, and also when he abstains on certain junctures."

(3) The following verse from Vyāsa is quoted by Kamalākara, Anantadeva, and Candracūḍa.

वृद्धां वन्ध्यामसद्वृत्तां मृतापत्यामपुष्पिणीम् ।
कन्यासूं बहुपुत्रां च वर्जयेन्मुच्यते भयात् ।

"He should avoid intercourse with his wife when she is old, barren, or ill-behaved, or when her children die, or when she has not yet arrived at the peculiar stage of life, or when she gives birth to daughters only or has many sons"

(4) According to Anantadeva and also Nanda Paṇḍita, the Vedic basis of Parāśara's precept is the statement that a man is born with three sorts of liabilities He owes to the gods a sacrifice, to the manes, offspring, and to the Ṛṣis, the chaste life of a student His liability to the manes he discharges when he begets a son , so that Parāśara's precept is binding on him only till the birth of his eldest son. His other sons are the results of his own appetencies, and there is no religious obligation as to their being begotten. Nanda Paṇḍita quotes Manu IX. 106,7 in support of this.

The province of the rule is thus limited in these various respects according to the writers of the Digests I have consulted.

But the following also must be regarded as other exceptions :—

(5) The precept of Āśvalāyana and Pāraskara in their Gṛhya Sūtras that the married couple should observe abstinence for one year as explained above. This, however, is given by Vijñāneśvara in the Mitākṣarā under I. 81, as a reason for interpreting the texts enjoining intercourse as permissive; (see below)

(6) The following text from Baudhāyana

त्रीणि वर्षाण्यृतुमतीं यो भार्यां नाधिगच्छति ।
स तुल्यं भ्रूणहत्यायै दोषमृच्छत्यसंशयम् ॥

"He who does not cohabit with his wife for three years after she attains puberty incurs sin equal to that of the killing of an embryo. There is no doubt about this."

Parāśara denounces one who does not resort to his wife after she attains puberty generally, Baudhāyana denounces one who does not do so for three years, i. e., according to him, he who observes abstinence for less than three years incurs no sin. If Parāśara's rule is allowed full scope, Baudhāyana's will have to be set aside, while if the latter is followed, the former is not set aside but obtains the scope left uncovered by the latter. In this way of construing them both are allowed scope, and this is the usual way of settling such points in the Hindu Śāstras.

Thus the Hindu religious law allows the consummation of marriage being deferred for three years after a girl attains puberty.

This is the conclusion one can fairly come to, in my opinion, taking the precepts of Bṛhaspati, Gautama, Manu, and Parāśara quoted or translated at the beginning of this section, as mandatory or binding. But this nature is denied to them by Śrīdhara, the commentator on the Bhāgavata. In his comment on XI. 5. 11, he says in substance that there can be no

command in a sacred book about a thing which one does from his own natural desire It would be absurd to think that a sacred precept was wanted to tell a man to drink water when he was thirsty. When, therefore, notwithstanding this, there are precepts such as that "a man should eat the flesh of five species of five-clawed animals" (पञ्च पञ्चनखा भक्ष्याः), what is meant is that the flesh of no other species of five-clawed animals is to be eaten but of these five And even then the eating of the flesh of the five is not enjoined as necessary, for it depends upon one's own desire So the sense of the precept is "If one wishes to eat the flesh of five-clawed animals at all, he should eat that of these five and not of others, i. e., a man is allowed to eat the flesh of the five but not compelled." Precisely similar is the case with the precept " one should have intercourse with his wife on the occasion of a monthly course." This is a thing which no sacred books are wanted to direct a man to do; for his passions lead him to it What is meant then by the precept is that one should not satisfy his passion at any other time or elsewhere but on that occasion and with his wife only The act is not enjoined as necessary, but only the occasion and the subject are defined, for the act depends upon the desire. So then the precept comes to this that if one desires to have intercourse, he should have it with his wife only and on a particular occasion only, but he is not compelled to have it on that occasion The precept therefore is simply permissive. If it is permissive and a man may have intercourse or not as he likes, why is it that Parāśara accuses one, who abstains, of the "deadly sin of killing an embryo?" What Parāśara means is that that man only is guilty of sin who desiring to have intercourse abstains from it, simply because he does not like his wife or hates her.[1]

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1 ननु ऋतावुपेयादित्यादिना विधिर्दर्शितः । सत्यम् । नत्वयमपूर्वविधिः । रागतः प्राप्तत्वात् । किं तु नियमविधिरूपेण रागिणामभ्यनु-

This is Śrīdhara's view, and Kāśīnātha Upādhyāya, the author of the Dharmasindhu, agrees with it Vijñāneśvara in the Mitākṣarā gives the same under I. 81, but remarks that "Bhāruci, Viśvarūpa and others do not approve of it" and proceeds to give their reasons He does not say decidedly what his own opinion is, which shows at any rate that he sees the force of the view which makes the precept permissive only He must therefore be considered as allowing his followers to choose either of the two views

Thus the points I have endeavoured to make out in this Section are these —

1 That the texts prescribing the Garbhādhāna ceremony and intercourse do not provide that they should come off on the occasion of the first monthly course, but leave the matter indefinite

2 That if those indefinite texts are understood in connection with the statement in the Āśvalāyana Gṛhyapariśiṣṭa, they must be regarded as leaving it to the option of the person concerned when to perform the ceremony

3 That since Parāśara's text and others of that nature cannot override the Pariśiṣṭa, they must be regarded as coming into force after the Garbhādhāna ceremony whenever it may be performed.

4. That there are many exceptions to Parāśara's precept, one of these being that contained in a text of Baudhāyana, in virtue of which a man may abstain from intercourse for less than three years.

ज्ञानमात्रं क्रियते। .... ननु यद्यभ्यनुज्ञामात्रमेतद् भवेत्तर्हि ऋतु-
स्नातां तु यो भार्यां संनिधौ नोपगच्छति। घोरायां भ्रूणहत्यायां पच्यते
नात्र संशयः॥ इत्यादि दोषश्रवणं न स्यात्। नैष दोषः। मनसि कामे
सत्यपि तस्यामरुच्या द्वेषादिना वा तामनुपगच्छतो दोषश्रवणोपपत्ते-
रिति सर्वमनवद्यम्॥

5. That the authors of some of the Gṛhyasūtras enjoin abstinence for one year after puberty.

6. That the precepts enjoining intercourse are permissive only according to the views of authors of great repute.

V

It will be seen that Manu in his text III. 45 as interpreted by Nanda Paṇḍita, and in IX 106-7, as also Yājñyavalkya in I. 80, mean to enjoin on a man the duty of begetting a son. Nanda Paṇḍita and Anantadeva taking their stand on a Vedic text interpret the precept of Parāśara as having force only until a man has got a son. Other texts inculcate abstinence when the wife has become old or has not arrived at the peculiar stage of growth From all this and much more that one may find in the religious books, it is evident that in prescribing intercourse, the law-givers have no other object in view than to provide for the birth of a son. And even the junctures at which one should have intercourse in order that a good son may be born are carefully mentioned. The son plays an important part in the religious and domestic life of a Hindu. The law-givers must, therefore, be supposed to have harmonized their precepts with the teachings of the great Hindu medical authorities Suśruta tells us that a man reaches the full development of his physical capacities at the age of twenty-five, and a woman at the age of sixteen,[1] though the courses of the latter begin according to him at twelve[2]

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1 पञ्चविंशे ततो वर्षे पुमान्नारी तु षोडशे ।
समत्वागतवीर्यौ तौ जानीयात्कुशलो भिषक् ॥ 35. 8.
समत्वागतवीर्याविति समत्वं परिपूर्णत्वमागतं वीर्यं ययोस्तौ समत्वागतवीर्यौ ।

2 रसादेव स्त्रिया रक्तं रजःसंज्ञं प्रवर्तते ।
तद्वर्षाद्द्वादशादूर्ध्वं याति पञ्चाशतः क्षयम् ॥ 14. 2.

And later on in describing the treatment necessary, if a girl suffers from a peculiar disease previous to the establishment of intercourse, he uses the word तरुणी which the commentator Dalvaṇa interprets as a girl who has reached the age of sixteen[1] Similarly Vāgbhaṭa says in the Aṣṭāṅga-saṃgraha, that "a man twenty-five years old should act with the view of begetting a son when she [his wife] is sixteen years old For it is then, that being themselves vigorous, they generate a vigorous child, while a fœtus placed by one who is less than twenty-five years old in a girl who is less than sixteen, either dies in the womb or becomes a short-lived, weak, unhealthy, insignificant child, or a deformed child."[2] According to Vāgbhaṭa also, the peculiar physical condition is reached at twelve Hence Manu enjoins marriage at twelve i e., about the time of or immediately after puberty, and he and others allow of a girl remaining unmarried for three years after puberty, i e, till she arrives at the age of sixteen. In a text quoted from the Mahābhārata in the Nirṇayasindhu "a man thirty years old is directed to marry a girl sixteen years old"[3] And hence also does Baudhāyana allow abstinence from intercourse with a wife for three years after maturity i e, till becoming sixteen years old, when she is able to bear a healthy and strong child These are indications that the sacred writers

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1 तरुण्याः षोडशवर्षप्राप्तायाः ।

2 तस्यां षोडशवर्षायां पञ्चविंशतिवर्षः पुरुषः पुत्रार्थे प्रयतेत । तदाहि तौ प्राप्तवीर्यौ वीर्यान्वितमपत्यं जनयतः । ऊनपञ्चविंशतिवर्षेणो-नषोडशवर्षायामाहितो गर्भः कुक्षिस्थ एव विनाशमाप्नुयादल्पायुर्बला-रोग्यविभवो वा स्याद्विकलेन्द्रियो वा ।

3 त्रिंशद्वर्षः षोडशाब्दां भार्यां विन्देवनग्निकाम् ।

विन्देत नग्निकाम् is the reading in the two copies of the Nirnayasindhu that I have consulted. But a woman sixteen years old cannot be a Nagnikā according to the ordinary state of things; wherefore विन्देदनग्निका(म्) must be the correct reading

had their eye on the teachings of Hindu medical science. If so, all the other indefinite texts must be interpreted so as to harmonize with these teachings.

The following passage in Suśruta has the same sense as that quoted from Vāgbhaṭa —

ऊनषोडशवर्षायामप्राप्तः पञ्चविंशतिम् ।
यद्याधत्ते पुमान्गर्भं कुक्षिस्थः स विपद्यते ॥
जातो वा न चिरं जीवेज्जीवेद्वा दुर्बलेन्द्रियः ।
तस्मादत्यन्तबालायां गर्भाधानं न कारयेत् ॥

X 13

"When a man before he has reached the age of twenty-five, places an embryo in a girl less than sixteen years old, it dies while in the womb Or if a child is born at all, it will not live long, and if it lives, it will be weak Therefore one should not cause a man to place an embryo in an undeveloped girl"

When a writer such as Suśruta who is considered inspired, says this so distinctly, it is treating the Ṛṣis most irreverently to assert that they command "the placing of an embryo" in a girl eleven or twelve years old It will be tantamount to accusing them of ignorance

But apart from this consideration, if the sole object of the legislators is to provide for the birth of a son possessed of capacity, in order to carry out their instructions in the spirit in which they are conveyed, we must see at what age a girl is able to bear a healthy child And the old Hindu medical authors tell us that it is sixteen. Modern science also teaches that if a girl is violated before she reaches full development, she often becomes incapable of bearing a child, and when she does give birth to one, it is weak and unhealthy This full development is not reached before the age of twenty But it

is certain that before the age of fourteen a girl is not in a condition to give birth to a healthy child. These are not matters of speculation but of practical experience. By performing the Garbhādhāna ceremony, therefore, when a girl is ten, eleven, or thirteen years of age, the Hindus most irreverently defeat the object of the Ṛṣis under the pretence of following their commands The endeavour, therefore, to compel them to keep a girl untouched before the age of twelve should be welcomed by them as being conceived quite in the spirit of the old Ṛṣis. If it succeeds, it will make them more faithful followers of those sages, and more essentially religious Hindus, than in these corrupt times they are

Thus the general results we arrive at as regards consummation of marriage are these —

1. That no text has been brought forward by Vijñāneśvara, Kamalākara, Nanda Paṇḍita, Anantadeva, Maheśabhaṭṭa, Candracūḍa, and Kāśīnātha Upādhyāya enjoining the Garbhādhāna or consummation ceremony on the occasion of the first or any specific course, and that the Āśvalāyana Gṛhyapariśiṣṭa allows the liberty of performing it at any time.

2 That the texts which by some are construed as containing mandatory precepts as to intercourse on the occasion of a course have been interpreted by others as involving permissive precepts only.

3. That even if the precepts are regarded as mandatory, their operation must be delayed for one year after puberty in accordance with some Gṛhyasūtras, and for three years in accordance with a text of Baudhāyana.

4 That this delay is quite what one might expect in view of the facts that marriage can according to the Dharmaśāstra be deferred for three years after puberty, and that the rituals con-

tained in the Gṛhyasūtras, especially that of Āpastamba and Hiraṇyakeśin presuppose a girl's having arrived at maturity.

5. That this conclusion as regards delay in the consummation of marriage is confirmed by the circumstance that the sacred writers seem to have their eye on the doctrine of Hindu medical science that a girl is not in a condition to give birth to a healthy child before the age of sixteen

6. That the consummation of marriage only when the girl has fully developed is quite in keeping with the spirit of the Ṛṣi legislators, as the begetting of a son able to do credit to the father is their sole object, and its early consummation is entirely opposed to their spirit as the result of it is barrenness or weak and sickly children.

ADDITIONAL NOTE

I have also found in Sir Rājā Rādhākāntadeva's Śabdakalpadruma an extract from Raghunandana's Saṁskārtattva on the Garbhādhāna ceremony Raghunandana quotes Gobhila's Sūtra given by me above at p 542 (यदा ऋतुमती &c) and observes —

ऋतुः प्रजाजननयोग्यः कालः । तन्निमित्तेन नैमित्तिकं गमनं कार्यम् । अकुर्वतः प्रत्यवायान्नियमः । यदुक्तं स्मृतौ ।

ऋतुमतीं तु यो भार्यां संनिधौ नोपसर्पति ।
अवाप्नोति स मन्दात्मा भ्रूणहत्यामृतावृतौ ॥

" Ṛtu is the time fitted for generating offspring That is the condition, and he should go [to his wife] when that condition exists. If he does not, he incurs sin , therefore this is a mandatory precept. For it is said in a Smṛti 'That dull fellow who does not go to his wife on the occasion of a monthly course, though she is at hand, incurs [the sin of] killing an embryo at each monthly course' "

It will be seen that he does not tell us in express terms to

perform the ceremony on the first occasion, but says the same thing as Nanda Paṇḍita and the rest, so that I need not repeat in detail what I have said in connection with that point. If it is a mandatory precept, its operation must be delayed for the three years allowed by Baudhāyana, or the one year allowed by some of the authors of the Gṛhyasūtras. But it is not mandatory but permissive according to other authors.

In this extract, Raghunandana refutes the view of Bhavadevabhaṭṭa on a certain point, while Raghunandana's view on that point is again refuted by Candrakānta Tarkālaṁkāra (see p. 541), the editor of the Gobhilasūtra (p 347). Thus, as already pointed out by Mr Justice Telang, Raghunandana is not regarded as infallible in Bengal, nor, it may be added, any other author of a Digest.

APPENDIX A

(ON MR. TARKACŪḌĀMAṆI'S PAMPHLET)

My attention has been called to a pamphlet published by Mr Śaśādhara Tarkacūḍāmaṇi, a Bengali gentleman, on the rites of Garbhādhāna. Mr Tarkacūḍāmaṇi devotes a large portion of it to the explanation of the ceremony with which I am not concerned

Though I have on the strength of the little penance prescribed for the omission of the Garbhādhāna considered the ceremony as necessary, still Mr Tarkacūḍāmaṇi makes such an awful thing of it, that it is desirable to go into the matter further. "In all religious books" says he, "whether they be Vedas, Smṛtis, Purāṇas, rituals or commentaries, this ceremony has been emphatically insisted on .. . ..We may therefore safely conclude that Garbhādhāna has ever been an essential part of our religion , " pp 11, 12

But Āśvalāyana does not prescribe it in his Gṛhyasūtra which is intended for the followers of the Ṛgveda, and therefore Nārāyaṇa the author of the commentary says —

गर्भाधानमाचार्येणानुक्तमिति कृत्वा न कार्यमित्येके । अन्ये पुनः शौनकाद्युक्तमार्गेण कार्यमित्याहुः ।

" Some are of opinion that Garbhādhāna should not be performed, since it is not prescribed by the Ācārya (teacher). Others hold that it should be performed in the manner shown by Śaunaka. "

Thus then not only is it not "emphatically insisted on" but not even prescribed , and this "essential part of our religion" may not be performed at all.

Again, he says, " Nay, there are so many observances to be gone through that they would take up the whole day and a few hours of the night in the bargain. Garbhādhāna is thus not an ordinary or common ceremony, " p. 14.

No, the ceremony does not take more than about two, sometimes three hours, while at night, it is all an affair of women and religious formalities are not gone through. Garbhādhāna is a most ordinary ceremony, at least in this part of the country. A good many orthodox people even do not perform it, and I learn it is not gone through in Gujarat.

But Mr. Tarkacūḍāmaṇi reaches the climax in the following.—" The harms arising from the sins and crimes, such as child-murder, in the opinion of the Hindus are less serious than those of not performing Garbhādhāna at the proper time, " p. 21.

I must protest against this wholesale vilification of the Hindu race. At any rate whatever it may be in Bengal, the Hindus on this side of the country do not consider the harm arising from crimes such as child-murder to be less serious than that arising from the omission of Garbhādhāna. Neither is the reason given by Mr. Tarkacūḍāmaṇi at all true. He says " sins and crimes like child-murder can be atoned by penances, but to neglect performing a Samskāra makes our life unholy for both this life and the next and no penances can save us. " But a penance, ridiculously light, *can* save us. For the penance for the omission of Garbhādhāna is —

गर्भाधानस्याकरणात्तस्यां जातस्तु दुष्यति ।
अकृत्वा गां द्विजे दत्वा कुर्यात्पुंसवनं पतिः ॥

" If the Garbhādhāna ceremony is not performed, he who is born [of the woman] is polluted; the husband should, if he has not done it, give a cow to a Brahman and perform Puṁsavana (the next sacrament)".

This is a text quoted as from Āśvalāyana by Nanda Paṇḍita and Kamalākara, and we see from it that the penance for the omission of Garbhādhāna is the giving to a Brahman of one cow the price of which is about a Rupee and a half, while the penance for child-murder is a life of the most abject and humiliating self-mortification for twelve years (see Yājñyavalkya, III. 251). And still this Hindu gentleman does not scruple to say that his countrymen consider the harms arising from child-murder to be less serious than those arising from the omission of Garbhādhāna!

Passing over other such things that I find in the pamphlet, I will notice the texts that Mr Tarkacūḍāmaṇi brings forward to show that the Garbhādhāna must be performed on the occasion of the first course and cannot be delayed He quotes what he calls Mantras in connection with this ceremony, one of which only I will give here

स्वर्गदीप नमस्तेऽस्तु नमस्ते विश्वतापन ।
नवपुष्पोत्सवे चार्घ्यं गृहाण त्वं दिवाकर ॥

"O lamp of the heavens, a bow to thee, O thou, who givest warmth to the Universe, a bow to thee, do accept, O sun, this offering (of water, flowers &c,) on the occasion of the feast in celebration of the new *event* or flowers."

There are three more verses just of this stamp, and these are quoted from Bhavadeva a writer on the domestic ceremonies of the Sāmavedins of Bengal Now in the first place, Mr. Cūḍāmaṇi tells us (p. 5) that "*all* the Mantras in this connection are taken from Ṛgveda." Are these five verses taken from the Ṛgveda? Do they occur there? They certainly do not in the Ṛgveda known to the world. Does not their language show that they belong quite to a profane age? At the most you may call them Paurāṇika Mantras or Mantras taken from the Purāṇas. And they are not used in connection with

the Garbhādhāna ceremony on this side of the country, and are not given by Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, Anantadeva, Maheśabhaṭṭa, or Candracūḍa. And such a thing must be expected with reference to the so called Paurāṇika Mantras, for any one can compose them and put them in They do not occur even in the Mantra Brāhmaṇa of the Sāmaveda, containing, as it does, all the Mantras used by the Sāmavedins For these reasons though they are given by Bhavadeva, they possess no authoritativeness whatever

Again from the sense, it appears that the verses refer to a feast to celebrate new Puṣpa Now it is quite possible that the new blossom of trees in spring is meant to be alluded to, for there is nothing in the verses which necessitates our understanding them as containing an allusion to the celebration of the particular physical event And even if they are so understood, they have nothing to do with the Garbhādhāna ceremony which is not a ceremony for celebrating the new physical event, but a ceremony which consists in the "placing of an embryo in a girl" in the language of the medical writers.

The next text adduced by Mr Tarkacūḍāmaṇi is that quoted by me from Gobhila.[1] In this there is no word which means "first". The author of the pamphlet acknowledges that, but contends that the sense he wants is to be inferred from the expression the event "after marriage" But there is nothing in the original which has the sense of that expression. The mere fact that the rules about Garbhādhāna on the occasion of a course follow those about marriage, cannot necessitate the course meant being taken as the first course For Pāraskara speaks of the Garbhādhāna similarly, but at the same time enjoins abstinence for one year. Here evidently the performance of the Garbhādhāna cannot be understood as being enjoined by

1 See above p. 542. [N. B. U.]

Pāraskara on the occasion of the first course. And Gobhila, like other authors of Gṛhyasūtras, supposes a girl to have arrived at maturity before marriage, as he imposes abstinence for three days after marriage. And this is admitted even by the recent Bengali commentator on Gobhila. So that, even if the text is understood as having reference to the first course after marriage, it cannot mean the very first course It is, therefore, not applicable to the first course after an early marriage, (see Section II of the present Note).

The third text brought forward by the author is that quoted by me at p. 547 of my Note Mr. Tarkacūḍāmaṇi misunderstands the whole matter here What is here enjoined on the occasion of the first course is not Garbhādhāna or Garbhalambhana as it is called, but Prājāpatya which I have explained above, p 548. On the contrary the absence of the word प्रथम or "first" when the Garbhādhāna is described, is to be construed, as I have done, into a permission to perform it when one chooses. This text, therefore, is entirely opposed to Mr Tarkacūḍāmaṇi's view.

Mr B G. Tilak of Poona has pronounced my way of understanding this passage to be wrong But his only reason is based on his not knowing that the practice of performing the second ceremony without the first is enjoined by the highest authorities By taking the two as inseparable parts of each other, he sets aside grammar and propriety, for he thus makes the words ऋतौ "a course," and अनुकूलायाम् "auspicious" occurring at the beginning of the second passage entirely useless and unmeaning, and supplies the demonstrative before ऋतौ against all rules of syntax. The whole style and manner of the passages require the two to be understood as separate ceremonies, though they are sometimes performed together.

In the next three quotations the author himself acknowledges that the word "first" does not occur, but he thinks, it is

implied, because the "event" mentioned is "the event after marriage." But there is nothing whatever about marriage here, and it is a mere gratuitous assumption of the writer.

Now our author proceeds to quote from digests. Vācaspati does not say that the Garbhādhāna must necessarily be performed on the occasion of the first course, as Mr. Tarkacūḍāmaṇi thinks; but only that that time is better or more prosperous than any other (तत्रापि पूर्वः श्रेयानन्यथा गर्भाधाने प्रशस्तः।). He does not pronounce any sentence upon one who does not perform it on that occasion, but recommends it, and must evidently be supposed to allow of the ceremony being delayed.

The next passage is the one I have quoted above from Raghunandana[1]. There is nothing in it which can bear the interpretation "at the time of the first . Garbhādhāna is indispensably necessary," as one will see from the translation I have given above. There is nothing corresponding to the word "first."

Thus not a single one of the texts adduced by Mr. Cūḍāmaṇi contains an indication that the Garbhādhāna should be performed on the occasion of the first course, but on the other hand, that from Āśvalāyana Pariśiṣṭa points quite in the opposite way

And no other text has been brought forward by any body except the one from the spurious Āśvalāyana Smṛti. Vijñāneśvara, Mādhava, Madanapāla, Kamalākara, Reṇukācārya, Raghunandana, Nanda Paṇḍita, Nīlakaṇṭha Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, and Candracūḍa have not adduced any such text, nor have I seen it in any Smṛti And those authors of Nibandhas do not even on their own responsibility lay down in specific terms that the Garbhādhāna should be performed on the occasion of the first course, though what they state might be held to imply

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1 Ante, p. 557. [N. B. U.]

that. But this implied sense I have already dealt with in the Note. Only one author, so far as I have seen, of a manual of rituals intended for the Mādhyamdinas says that in specific terms, but he gives no authority And even if such authoritative texts from the Smṛtis were brought forward, without another text imposing a religious penalty if the thing were not done on the first occasion, they would not be binding, but would have to be construed as permissive only. For the authors of the Nibandhas attribute an obligatory nature to the precepts as to intercourse after courses, only in consequence of other precepts which attach a penalty to abstinence. The same principle would have to be applied in the case of the supposed texts. And again Baudhāyana's text allowing the consummation to be delayed for less than three years would have to be set against them all

The author notices the text of Parāśara and another of the same sense, which I have quoted above from Raghunandana. These it will be remembered enjoin intercourse on the occasion of a course on pain of the deadly sin of killing an embryo He also speaks about the mandatory nature of the precepts about intercourse. I have discussed these points fully in the Note, and there is nothing new brought forward by Mr Tarkacūḍāmani which requires attention. I will therefore not repeat what I have said already.

APPENDIX B

(ON THE ARGUMENTS OF MR. B. G. TILAK AND ANOTHER WRITER IN THE *MARATHA*)

Mr. B G Tilak and a writer in the *Maratha* claim to have "destroyed the fabric" raised by me But he or they have evidently not taken the trouble of understanding my argument, and excuse themselves a detailed examination of it by saying that "the very foundation of my theory being destroyed, it is needless to examine my other statements,"—an excellent plea, indeed, for a man who wishes to destroy an opponent, but cannot do so If Mr. Tilak or the writer in the *Maratha* will carefully read Section IV of my Note, a copy of which he will get for the mere asking at Mr Shiralkar's shop in Poona City, he will see that what I say in that section is briefly this —

(1) Texts directly enjoining intercourse or the performance of the Garbhādhāna ceremony on the occasion of the first course have not been produced by the authors of the Nibandhas or Digests but they rely on others which denounce one who has no intercourse on the occasion of courses generally, from which the inference is legitimate that the first course also must be availed of But these texts can come into operation only after the Garbhādhāna ceremony.

(2) We find an indication in the Āśvalāyana Gṛhyapariśiṣṭa that the Garbhādhāna may be performed on the occasion of *any* course. The operation of the obligatory precepts, therefore, must be delayed till that time

(3) It must be delayed also for three years in virtue of a precept of Baudhāyana, who attaches the same penalty that those precepts attach to abstinence generally, to only continuous abstinence for three years ,

and (4) It must be delayed for one year in consequence of a provision in the Gṛhyasūtras of Āśvalāyana and Pāraskara and even Baudhāyana.

Mr. Tilak or the *Maratha* attacks the first two positions only, and has got nothing to say against the last two, and still he says he has destroyed my fabric This can deceive only one who wishes to be deceived

As to the fifth position, viz, that the precepts are permissive, Mr Tilak disposes of it in a most general way, and evidently does not seem to know anything about the matter, as I shall show hereafter

Now as to Mr Tilak's or the *Maratha's* arguments He brings forward a text quoted as from the Āśvalāyana Smṛti by Anantadeva, in which is enjoined the performance of the Garbhādhāna on the occasion of the first course I possess a copy of a Smṛti attributed to Āśvalāyana, in which I had found this text, but I rejected it on these grounds —Nanda Paṇḍita Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, and Kamalākara quote a verse[1] from Āśvalāyana Smṛti, and another[2] is cited by Kamalākara and Candracūḍa. Again, the first of these and six more describing the actual Garbhādhāna are quoted from the Smṛti by the commentator on Āśvalāyana Gṛhyakārikās[3] None of these eight occurs in my Manuscript And the verse enjoining the performance of the Garbhādhāna on the occasion of the first course which occurs in

1 गर्भाधानस्याकरणात् &c as quoted before.

2 प्राग्रजोदर्शनात्पत्नीं नेयाद्गत्वा पतत्यधः ।
व्यर्थीकारेण शुक्रस्य ब्रह्महत्यामवाप्नुयात् ॥

3 आचम्यारोपयित्वा तां पत्नीं सम्यगलंकृताम् &c. ॥ १ ॥ आघ्रापयित्वाश्वगन्धाया मूलम् &c. ॥ २ ॥ कपिलापयसा मिश्रम् &c. ॥ ३ ॥ समन्त्रकमुदीर्ष्वेति &c. ॥ ४ ॥ एवं कृत्वा सकृद्भर्ता ॥ ५ ॥ पत्नीमृतुमतीं स्निग्धाम् &c. ॥ ६ ॥

the Manuscript, does not occur in any of the many Nibandhas examined by me, except in the Saṁskārakaustubha; nor does it occur in those examined by Mr. Tarkacūḍāmaṇi and Mr. Tilak with that exception. For if it had occurred, they would of course have stated the fact The Smṛti, therefore, in which it occurs was unknown to all except Anantadeva, who is but a recent author It must, therefore, be condemned as spurious, and so too consequently the text cited by Mr Tilak or the *Maratha* And *this is the only explicit Smṛti text occurring in the whole range of the literature* examined by Tarkacūḍāmaṇi, Tilak, Telang, and myself, which enjoins Garbhādhāna on the occasion of the first course

Next as to the Pariśiṣṭa. Mr Tilak wonders how it has "escaped my critical eye that Prājāpatya is only one part of the Garbhādhāna ceremony, and as one part cannot be performed on one day and the other on another, the whole passage must be interpreted to mean that the Garbhādhāna ceremony must be performed on the first occurrence of the physical condition." Well, I am compelled to say it has escaped my eye, because it is a "critical eye." Mr Tilak thinks that our present practice prevails in all parts of the country, and has descended to us from very olden times, that there are or have been no variations, that that alone is what the Śāstras sanction, and he twists a passage in an old work so as to harmonise it with that practice, in spite of grammar and propriety. He thus belongs to the school of those who find the steam engine and the electric telegraph in the Vedas. The *Maratha* has no doubt whatever that "my first mistake is to suppose that the passage in the Pariśiṣṭa describes two different ceremonies—Prājāpatya and Garbhādhāna." I do not *suppose* that at all. I come to it from grammar, propriety, and old usage as reported by several authors, as well as the practice sanctioned by the Śāstras according even to recent writers. That our present practice has not escaped me, Mr. Tilak would have seen if he

had more carefully read my Note, wherein I state that the Garbhādhāna ceremony consists of two parts, (1) the kindling etc, and (2) the rites preparatory etc. And supposing they are parts of the same ceremony, is it necessary that they should be performed on the same day? Is the whole marriage ceremony performed in a single day? Is not the last part of it to be performed if Āśvalāyana's rule about abstinence 'for one year' is *followed*, a year after the initial rites?

Now my translation of the passage[1] we are concerned with is—(*a*) (First Ceremony) "Now for the Prājāpatya ceremony of a woman after a course On the occasion of the first course, on an auspicious day, he should, etc. (*b*) (Second Ceremony). "Now for the Garbhalambhana On the occasion of a course, on an auspicious night," etc. etc Mr Tilak or the *Maratha* translates (*a*) almost as I do, only using the word "favourable" instead of "auspicious," but in (*b*) he puts in *the* for my *a*, and says that the second ceremony is to be performed on the night of the day on which the first is performed But the word Ṛtu or course is used without any qualifying expression, and Mr Tilak is not justified in inserting *the* simply because our present practice is to perform the two ceremonies on the same day And if practice is his only guide, he ought to go a little further and make the word Niśi, which means "night" to mean "day", for really that ceremony also, except the physical portion, is, as I have said in my Note, performed during the day along with the other And even Anantadeva, whom Mr Tilak quotes, says that Ṛtu here means Ṛtusāmānya, i e., "a course generally" and not a specific course, showing that the force of grammar prevails over him Again, if the author of the Pariśiṣṭa had meant that the two rites should be performed on the same day, he would not have used the word

1 See p 547 f. of the Note. गर्भंलभनम् is printed in accordauce with the Ed. in Bibl Ind., but perhaps it ought to bc गर्भंलम्भनम्.

Ṛtu in speaking of the second ceremony, since it had already been used in the case of the first To take the illustration given by Mr Tilak or the *Maratha* himself, we say "A train leaves Poona on Wednesday morning, reaches Bombay in the evening," and we do not generally say "a train leaves Poona on Wednesday morning and reaches Bombay on Wednesday evening," if the day we mean is the same And yet what we ordinary people in ordinary conversation do not say, Mr. Tilak makes the author of the Pariśiṣṭa to say, though Hindu writers of his school are universally known not to use a superfluous word Again, he would not have used the word "favourable" or "auspicious" in speaking of the night If the night meant is the night of that particular day on which the first ceremony is performed, we have no choice, but must take that night whether favourable or unfavourable. And if the night of the day that is favourable is to be considered favourable as a matter of course, the use of that word in the case of the night is superflous, as the author has already used it in speaking of the day. Thus Mr. Tilak has made the author to use two superfluous words, and has brought in the definite article 'the' notwithstanding that no grammatical rule nor propriety will have it I thought all this was perfectly plain, and had no idea that a man like Mr. Tilak would set aside grammar and propriety in order to support his pet theory that the Garbhādhāna must be performed on the occasion of the first course

Now as to the practice that has made Mr Tilak sacrifice grammar and propriety In the first place I will say that, according to the Pariśiṣṭa these are two ceremonies, since the author gives two separate names to them, says that the first has to do with "a woman who has a course" (ऋतुमत्याः), that is to say, looking to the word "first" that is used, to a woman who has begun to have courses, and calls the second only Garbhalambhana, which Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa takes as equivalent to

Garbhādhāna. And grammar and propriety require that we should understand them as two as I have already shown Mr Tilak knows only one kind of practice But several are reported and allowed in the commentaries and Nibandhas. Siddhāntin, as quoted by Anantadeva, says that the "Homa generally, or the kindling of the fire and offering of oblations, should be done according to some, but, according to others, he should pour the juice of a certain plant into his wife's right nostril, and this they call Garbhalambhana." Anantadeva proceeds to say that Jayanta has adopted the view that Garbhalambhana as prescribed in the Sūtra is simply the pouring of the juice into the nostril without the Homa He quotes other authorities also, and lays down the doctrine, to be followed even at the present day in spite of Mr Tilak, that Homa is optional.[1] The author of the Kārikās also gives only the ceremony prescribed by Jayanta as Garbhādhāna without the Homa So, then, the Garbhādhāna is only that which corresponds to the second ceremony mentioned in the Pariśiṣṭa, and the Prājāpatya fire-oblations are another which is sometimes tacked on to it. But it is by no means an essential part of the Garbhādhāna as Mr. Tilak thinks. Some people may do the two together, while others may neglect the first. Hence they are separately mentioned in the Pariśiṣṭa. If they had been given as constituting one whole, it would not have been possible to dispense with the first Thus the only ground for Mr Tilak's sacrifice of grammar and propriety is removed And the portion of my "fabric" against which he or

1 सर्वथैव होमासंभवेऽश्वगन्धामूलं पेषयित्वोदीर्ष्वातः पतिवतीत्येकयैव ऋचा दक्षिणस्यां नासिकायां निषिच्योपगमनं कार्यम् । यथोक्तं सिद्धान्त(न्ति)भाष्ये । तत्रैक ऋतुकालेऽनादेशाद्धोममिच्छन्ति । अपरे तूदीर्ष्वेत्यनया दक्षिणस्यां नासिकायां नस्तः करोतीत्येतद्गर्भलम्भनमिति । अनुसृतं च होमरहितस्यैकयर्चा नस्तः करणमात्रस्य सौत्रगर्भलम्भनपदार्थत्वं जयन्तेन ।

the *Maratha* directed his attack is safe and sound, and there are no "express texts of Gṛhyapariśiṣṭa and Smṛtis" (mark, the the spurious Smṛti has become Smṛtis here) so far as so many of us have examined them, which warrant the Hindu divines or any body else to conclude that the Garbhādhāna must be performed after the first course, though this may be deduced as an inference

There is another glaring instance of the manner in which Mr. Tilak or the *Maratha* sacrifices context, propriety, and all rules of scholarship, in order to make a text mean what he wishes it to mean. Thus the *Maratha* says that a "host of well-known authorities begin the description of the Garbhādhāna ceremony" by some such remark as that which he quotes from the Madanapārijāta, and translates, "We first describe the time of the first course as it is needed for the Garbhādhāna" Now, if the writer had just read the next line he would have seen that what Madanapāla describes in this section is the nights after a course that are eligible and ineligible, and the first text quoted is the well-known verse of Yājñyavalkya about the sixteen nights, &c. Therefore, what is described is not the "time of the first course," but the eligible and ineligible nights of all courses. There is nothing about the first course in what follows The thing is, the *Maratha* has tacked the word Prathama which occurs in the passage to Ṛtukāla and made the whole a compound, and translated it as "the first course." But he ought to have seen that the context of what follows will not and cannot agree with this. Therefore, even if he had the word in his Manuscript just as he has printed it, he ought to have suspected the reading and compared that Manuscript with another But that will not suit the purpose; and, therefore, he set the context at defiance In my Manuscript the word Prathama is not compounded with Ṛtukāla, but has the form of Prathamam, i. e, it is an *adverb*, so that the translation is, "we describe first the Ṛtukāla or nights after a

course, because that is of use for the Garbhādhāna ceremony" —wherefore first is not an adjective of "course." The *Maratha* has got the word "first" twice, while his own as well as my reading has it once only. Instead of Upayukta, I have Upayuktatvena.[1] If, then, this is the way in which "the host of well-known authorities" begin their description, it is all right, though, however, a good many begin by describing the good and evil conjunctions on the occasion of the first course and the pacificatory ceremonies without alluding to the Garbhādhāna. But if Mr. Tilak means that any one of them begins by saying that they will describe the time of the first course because it is needed for Garbhādhāna, it is absolutely incorrect and misleading

Mr Tilak is perfectly at sea as regards what Mr. Telang calls obligatory and recommendatory precepts, and what I call mandatory and permissive precepts He thinks that they are the translations of the words Nitya and Kāmya, and appears never to have heard of Vidhi, Niyama and Parisaṁkhyā. He explains Kāmya as a certain act which "has not purely spiritual benefit in view, but serves the purpose of regulating the relation between man and man" Where did Mr Tilak or the *Maratha* get this definition ? If he had read an ordinary Sanskrit treatise on philosophy or religious law, he would have seen that Kāmya rites are those that enable a man to obtain heaven and such other desired objects, such as Jyotiṣṭoma and others Now does Jyotiṣṭoma or a Soma sacrifice regulate the relations between man and man ? But apart from this, let us see if the permissive precepts have a bearing on the present question. If it is made out that the Hindu Śāstra only permits a man, if he wishes, to have intercourse, and does not command, the legislator can prevent him

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1 तत्र गर्भाधानोपयुक्तत्वेन प्रथमं ऋतुकालो निरूप्यते ।

from having that intercourse and in doing so does not set himself in opposition against the Hindu Śāstra; while if the Śastra commands, he does assume that attitude. The illustrations given by Mr. Tilak are not at all applicable in the present case. For though idolatory is optional and not necessary, the legislator ought not to prevent it, because it is not a crime. But the violation of a girl before 12 in a manner sometimes to injure her health permanently, or even to cause her death, is a crime, and the legislator must prevent it If it were such a heavy crime as Suttee, it would be his duty to prevent it at once whether the Hindu Śāstra commands it or not. This is not so heavy, nor does the violation produce bad results in all cases; and, therefore, he may desist, if by preventing he goes against the Hindu religion. But if we can show that he does not, and the Hindu religion does not command the violation of a girl, there is no reason whatever why he should desist

Again, the *Maratha* concludes by saying that "the reformers have been ill-advised to take their stand on these strained interpretations of Sanskrit texts." Whom he means by "reformers" I do not know, but I may reply by saying that the reformers have been obliged to publish to the world, what the true Hindu Śāstra is on the point, by men like Sir Romesh, Mr. Tarkacuḍāmaṇi, Mr. Tilak, and others, some of whom have been setting grammar, context, propriety, and all rules of scholarship aside, in order to make out that the Hindu Śāstras do command the performance of the Garbhādhāna on the occasion of the first course, and to frighten Government Tarkacūḍāmaṇi actually goes the length of saying that "the harms arising from sins and crimes, such as child-murder, in the opinion of the Hindus, are less serious than those of not performing Garbhādhāna at the proper time," and that "sins and crimes like child-murder can be atoned by penances," but, "no penance can save us," if we neglect to perform a

Saṁskāra. While the fact is that the penance for the omission of Garbhādhāna is giving one cow to a Brahman, i e., about a Rupee and a half, while that for child-murder is an abject and humiliating self-mortification for twelve years. And according to Nārāyaṇa, the commentator on the Gṛhyasūtra of Āśvalāyana, the ceremony may safely be omitted without even being obliged to give a cow to a Brahman For, says he, " some are of opinion that Garbhādhāna should not be performed since Āśvalāyana has not prescribed it, while others hold that it should be performed in the manner shown by Śaunaka." (Ed., Bibl. Ind, p. 59.)

APPENDIX C

(ON MR. TILAK'S REPLY)

As Mr Tilak's reply to my challenge has not appeared in the *Times of India*, I did not intend to say anything with regard to it But the Manager of the " Native Opinion " had been good enough to send me a copy of the issue of that paper containing Mr. Tilak's reply and it will hardly be courteous to him and to Mr. Tilak himself not to notice it I will, however, be as brief as possible, as it was brevity that I wanted when I gave the challenge.

The first text from Smṛtis is that from the Āśvalāyana Smṛti, which is unknown to the authors of the many Nibandhas I have seen, except Anantadeva, and which is not the same as the Āśvalāyana Smṛti known to them To say that the one is Laghu and the other Bṛhat does not mend matters; for the Āśvalāyana Smṛti known to the authors of Nibandhas is not called Bṛhat by them, nor is the spurious Āśvalāyana Smṛti called Laghu at all in the two Manuscripts of it that I possess, and even by Anantadeva who quotes it. Whenever there are two Smṛtis ascribed to the same author and distinguished from each other by the words Bṛhat or Vṛddha and Laghu, the authors of the Nibandhas use those epithets in referring to them. Sometimes the second is omitted, but not the first. Again that which is called Bṛhat or Vṛddha is a larger work than that which is called Laghu, but in the present case both are of about the same size Besides one of the two Manuscripts of Anantadeva's work existing in the Deccan College Collection does not contain the quotation from Āśvalāyana at all, so that until several Manuscripts of the Saṁskārakaustubha are procured and compared, it must remain doubtful whether Anantadeva himself quotes the spurious Smṛti.

The second text adduced by Mr. Tilak is that from the true

Āśvalāyana Smṛti. But any reader who knows Sanskrit will see that all that the author says is that one should perform the Garbhādhāna when his wife has a course There is not the word first, and still Mr. Tilak calls it an express text. Then he has recourse to an inference which I wanted him to avoid. But one will see that the inference too is utterly unfounded. For he thinks, when the author of the Smṛti prescribes the performance of Abhyudaya or Nāndiśrāddha and Puṇyāhavācana during the day, that it is the Prājāpatya that he prescribes. But Prājāpatya is not here prescribed, but only such ceremonies as one has to go through when an auspicious rite such as even the dedication of a public work for public use is to be performed. And the Garbhādhāna ceremony prescribed by the author is the same as that laid down by Śaunaka, i e, without the Prājāpatya Homa. Hence all Mr Tilak's inference, based as it is on this mistake, is groundless.

The third text is an express text. But I must here quote what I have stated in an article published in the Subodhapatrikā of the 8th instant —" And even if such authoritative texts from the Smṛtis were brought forward, without another text imposing a religious penalty if the thing were not done on the first occasion, they would not be binding, but would have to be construed as permissive only " This therefore is not a text which enjoins, but one which permits (As to this see, below, the observation on Gopīnātha). If Parāśara's text is to be considered as the penal text valid in this case, its exceptions and the case in which alone it holds according to Śrīdhara, have been given in the Note. Again this *text is from* a compilation of the views of twenty-four Ṛṣis and not from an actual Smṛti. It has, therefore, the value of a statement occurring in a Nibandha, and not the value of a Smṛti. And as to Nibandhas, I asked for express statements from the writings of ten authors who might be considered as laying down the law for all India. I myself in my article published in the Subodhapatrikā stated that one

Prayoga did contain an express statement, but no authority is given for it.

Thus then my challenge in this part has not been met. For I asked for texts from Smṛtis other than the Āśvalāyana Smṛti which is unknown to the authors of the Nibandhas and is different from that known to them, and no such text has been brought forward. Now as to Nibandhas —

Prayogapārijāta is not included in my challenge But even here there is no express statement but an inference based on the eternal Prājāpatya, which Mr Tilak still persists in considering an essential part of the Garbhādhāna in spite of Śaunaka, Jayanta, the author of the Kārikās, Anantadeva and others This inference too is groundless For the Prājāpatya is a ceremony consequent on the attainment of puberty and not a part of Garbhādhāna, and consequently though the fit occasion is the first course, still like the Śānti or pacificatory ceremonies consequent on the first occurrence of the physical event at an inauspicious juncture, it is performed at the same time with the Garbhādhāna Again, it ought not to be supposed simply from the fact that a certain time is prescribed in the Sūtras or Pariśiṣṭas that that same time must be meant by the authors of the Prayogas when they give the details of the ceremonies. Āśvalāyana's Gṛhyasūtra, for instance, prescribes the third month of pregnancy for the Puṁsavana ceremony, but Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa gives other times also.

The next statement is from Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa. Mr. Tilak, in the first quotation, connects प्रथमरजोदर्शने with गर्भाधानस्य (see extract in the *Kesari* of 17th February), simply because he wants to do so in order to make this out as a statement in his favour. But it is utterly ungrammatical to skip over the intermediate words मासादौ दुष्टे सति. The connection is प्रथमरजोदर्शने मासादौ दुष्टे सति । i. e., if the month and the others are inauspicious on the occasion of the first course. As to Garbhādhāna, when Nārāya-

ṇabhaṭṭa speaks of it, he uses the words रजोदर्शनात् only, not प्रथमरजोदर्शनात्, showing that according to him also it may be performed on the occasion of any course.

As to the other quotation, Mr. Tilak entirely misses the point I have been insisting on from the beginning All I have been contending for is that the Śāstra does not declare that Grabhādhāna must necessarily be performed on the occasion of the first course, it may be performed on the first or any occasion The quotation prohibits intercourse on the occasion of the first course if the days and the stars are unfavourable, but it does not command it if they are favourable And as to this very quotation Gopīnātha says that what is implied in it is a simple permission, (see below) It will thus be seen that no "statement declaring in express terms that the Garbhādhāna should be necessarily performed on the first occasion" has been adduced from Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa

In connection with Maheśabhaṭṭa, Mr. Tilak places before us an excellent specimen of logic Because Maheśabhaṭṭa says that in the morning Puṇyāhavācana &c, should be performed and in the evening the Garbhādhāna, therefore it follows that he says they should be performed on the occasion of the first course! Similar logic we have in connection with Gopīnāthabhaṭṭa, Nanda Paṇḍita, Kamalākara, and others

Now as to Gopīnāthabhaṭṭa His name was not included by me in the challenge Still I am glad Mr Tilak has brought him forward. He, at least, I hope, will teach Mr Tilak to direct his attention to a broad distinction to which I have, in spite of all my efforts, failed to direct it Gopīnātha says the performance of the Garbhādhāna during that course is permitted (अभ्यनुज्ञात).—*Permitted* Sir, not *enjoined*

Thus, Mr Tilak has not brought forward a single statement from any Nibandha or Prayoga with the exception of the

Caturvimśatimata. Even if the rank of a Smṛti be assigned to this last, the text cannot be mandatory. If he had looked into my Article in the Subhodhapatrikā, he would have found one Prayoga at least in his favour. But no such writer of a ritual, who makes a statement without authority, can come up to the rank of Vijñāneśvara, Madanapāla, Mādhava, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, Nīlakaṇṭha, Kamalākara, Raghunandana and others who were included in my challenge. And from these Mr. Tilak has not produced a single statement. He has only taken advantage of my challenge to prepare a long article, the effect of which unfortunately must be to delude the ignorant

One point more and I have done I have been carrying on literary controversies since 1864, but never did I hitherto meet with an opponent who treated me with such studied discourtesy as Mr Tilak has been doing My task has become disagreeable and even painful, and I should have much preferred to remain silent now, were it not for the fact that the silence was likely to be misconstrued

APPENDIX D

[ON VIJÑĀNEŚVARA'S VIEW]

I have stated in the Note that Vijñāneśvara does not say decidedly what his own opinion is as regards the mandatory or permissive nature of the precept about intercourse on the occasion of a course. This has been denied by some of my critics. For they say Vijñāneśvara begins his comments on I. 81 with the remark, "having laid down a Niyama as regards intercourse on the eligible nights after a course, he now gives a Niyama in regard to the others." This is with reference to the verse 81 itself After the commentary on it is finished, Vijñāneśvara turns back to I 79, and discusses, independently of I. 81, the question as to whether the precept about intercourse therein contained is a Vidhi, Niyama or Parisamkhyā. He says that learned exegetists have regarded it as a Niyama. Now, if that were his own decided opinion, he certainly would not speak of learned exegetists generally here as holding that view, according to the usual style of Sanskrit writers Then again, he explains the nature of these three kinds of precepts, and gives at length the reasons why it should be considered a Parisamkhyā ending with the expression तस्मादृतावेव गच्छेन्ना-न्यदेति परिसंख्यैव युक्ता । "Therefore it is proper that this should be regarded as Parisamkhyā to the effect that he should resort to her (if at all) on the occasion of courses alone and not at other times."

Then he proceeds to say that Bhāruci, Viśvarūpa and others do not approve of this view, and goes on giving their arguments and decisions up to the end of the section, or the beginning of the commentary on the next verse, I 82 There is nothing of his own in all this My Poona opponent considers Vijñāneśvara's own observation to begin with तस्मात्स्वार्थेष्टानि-

पदार्थैकल्पना...परिसंख्या न युक्ता । "Therefore Parisaṁkhyā which involves three faults is not proper"

If this is Vijñāneśvara's observation, why is the one quoted above not his? Both are worded in the same way. He must therefore be considered as advocating Parisaṁkhyā also But this will not do Propriety requires that both should be regarded as conclusions deduced from the respective arguments by the advocates of the two views. Again, if Vijñāneśvara is to be regarded as having decidedly accepted the view of Bhāruci and others, he would have used at the close of their arguments some such expression as "this alone is proper" (इदमेव युक्तम्), "this alone is good" (एतदेव सम्यक्) &c But there is nothing of the sort in the course of the whole discussion

If then the author does not state his own view decidedly here, what is to be understood by the word Niyama occurring in the introduction to the comments on I 81? It must be understood in the most general sense of the word as involving ऋतावेव गच्छेत्, "he should go on the occasion of a course only" i e., a Parisaṁkhyā, and ऋतौ गच्छेदेव "he should necessarily go on the occasion of a course" i e, a Niyama. And these two that it involves, are evolved in the subsequent discussion, when the author gives the technical definitions And that, Niyama generally means both, is plain to every one who has some knowledge of the Śāstras; and Śrīdharasvāmin's beautiful commentary on Bhāgavata XI. 5. 11 will make it plain to any body. Mādhava too speaks of the two as Niyamas, (ऋतौ गच्छेदेव न तु वर्जयेदित्येको नियमः । ऋतावेव गच्छेन्नानृताविलपरः ॥).

I will notice one other point only My Poona opponent quotes the following verse which occurs in Baudhāyana immediately after that in which abstinence for three years only is declared as religiously penal :—

ऋतुस्नातां तु यो भार्यां संनिधौ नोपगच्छति ।
पितरस्तस्य तन्मासं तस्मिन्रजसि शेरते ॥

"The ancestors of him who does not resort to his wife who has bathed after a course and who is at hand wallow in the particular fluid for that month."

Here, he argues, is a penalty laid down for him who abstains generally, i. e., even for one month after puberty, while the above verse prescribes a higher penalty for a continuous abstinence for three years. But is any penalty at all laid down in this verse for the man who abstains? The penalty at the end of the third year, the sin of fœticide, is certainly prescribed for him in the above verse He incurs this sin then, but he incurs no sin of any sort nor does he himself wallow in the fluid according to this verse What then is the bearing of the verse? It is simply this—Nanda Paṇḍita, Kullūkabhaṭṭa, Mādhava, and others account for the penalty of the sin of fœticide prescribed by the authors of the Smṛtis by the circumstance that a man owes a liability to the manes or ancestors, and when he does not resort to his wife for begetting a son, he sets at naught this liability Baudhāyana prescribes punishment in the first verse, and in the second he explains the same basis of the punishment in the form of a certain bad condition in which the manes are, and the duty he owes to them to deliver them from that condition. But as the punishment accrues only at the end of the third year, the bad condition of the ancestors which brings this punishment on him must be understood as coming into existence likewise at the end of the third year To make the two verses harmonize with each other, the general statement contained in the second must be considered as true for all time after the end of the third year, and not as having any reference to the previous time during which no punishment is incurred

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HISTORY OF CHILD MARRIAGE

[FROM THE "ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT, VOL XLVII, 1893, PP. 143-156.]

In his article on the History of Child Marriage, published in Vol. XLVI of this Journal (pp. 413-426), Prof. Jolly discusses from the historical standpoint the question which agitated Hindu society in the beginning of 1891, and was discussed by us in India from the legal point of view. In the course of his treatment of the subject he expresses his disagreement with my views on some of the points sought to be made out by me in my "Note on the Age of Marriage"[1] I deem it necessary in the interests of the history of the institution to notice his remarks on those points. I have read and understood Prof Jolly's article, but as I have had no practice whatever in speaking and writing German, I beg the permission of the Editor of this Journal to write my reply in English.

As to the Smṛti texts adduced by Prof. Jolly, which prescribe marriage before puberty and lay down the limits of the age of the girl, between which the ceremony should be solemnized, I have nothing to say. But he takes the text from Manu IX. 89, to be intended simply for emphasizing the choice of a good bridegroom If it were so and the text had no significance whatever as to the law and usage on the point, and it was considered a sin at the time when the text was written to delay marriage till after puberity, Manu's language would certainly not be so strong as it is —"Better that she should remain unmarried in a state of puberty till her death than that she should be wedded to an unworthy husband." Again the force of Api in the preceding verse (IX. 88) should not be lost sight of.

1 Printed in this Volume immediately before this article. [N.B.U.]

"When a good husband is to be had one should give away the girl even (Api) if she has not arrived Aprāptā [at the condition.]. This shows that usually a girl should not be given away unless she has arrived [at the condition], but this rule may be broken when a good bridegroom is available The word Aprāptā is vague and variously interpreted, but if it is vague, it must be so for the reason that the implied accusative pointed to an event ordinarily well known There is therefore no objection in taking the implied condition to be that of maturity, so that the sense will be that the rule, that a girl should be married after she becomes mature, may be violated if a good husband is to be had Again verse IX 90, allows of the girl remaining unmarried for three years after puberty From all this, one would not, I think, be far wrong in inferring that at the time when the Manu-Samhitā was written, delaying marriage till after puberty was not considered such a sin as it was afterwards The direction to wait for three years occurs in Vasiṣṭha and Baudhāyana also

In giving the views of the commentators, Prof Jolly assures us as regards Mandlik's edition and the Manuscripts of Medhātithi's Manubhāṣya, that they are highly untrustworthy, and that कन्याया न दानम् in the sentence from Medhātithi quoted by me (प्रागृतोः कन्याया न दानम्) must be a mistake for some such expression as कन्यायाः प्रदानम् Why it should be considered a mistake, I fail to see कन्यायाः प्रदानम् makes no sense whatever here. Medhātithi is here commenting on verse IX 89 which I have translated above His interpretation of ऋतुमत्यपि तिष्ठेत् is ऋतुदर्शनेऽपि न दद्यात् यावद् गुणवान्वरो न प्राप्तः। "She should not be given away, even when she is in a condition of puberty as long as a good husband has not become available" Now this expression "even when" (Skr Api) presupposes another condition in which she is certainly not to be given away, and that is the condition before puberty. Hence प्रागृतोः कन्याया न दानम् is appropriate; for the sense is, "as long as a worthy bridegroom is not avail-

able she should of course be not given away before puberty, but she should not be given away even after puberty." Here "she should be given before puberty as long as a worthy bridegroom is not available" which is the translation of Prof Jolly's proposed reading will certainly not do In the translation of the passage given by me in my Note[1] which is "A maiden is not to be given [in marriage] before puberty, and she is not to be given even after puberty, as long as a meritorious bridegroom is not to be had," the semi-colon after "puberty," which was put in before mature consideration, is misleading I have therefore corrected it (in the "Additions and Corrections" given in the original Note) to a comma and added a comma after the 'puberty' in the next line, in order to connect "as long as a meritorious etc.," with both the clauses There is therefore no mistake whatever here, the sentence is appropriate and Prof Jolly's emendation spoils the sense entirely.[1]

It will be seen from this that Medhātithi interprets Manu IX. 89 not as simply emphasizing the choice of a good husband—which is the sense put on it by Rāghavānanda and accepted by Prof. Jolly,—but as positively enjoining that a girl should not be married before puberty so long as a good husband is not to be had Medhātithi therefore is not such an enemy of late marriages as Prof Jolly supposes. In his comment on IX. 93, he only follows Manu, and the case they speak of is different from that mentioned in IX. 89. As to the comment on IX 88, I will not discuss it on account of the hopelessly corrupt reading, though I think Medhātithi there also takes Aprāptā in the sense of one who has not arrived at maturity

The next point I am concerned with is the time of the Garbhādhāna ceremony. That it should be performed on the occasion of the first course is laid down in a Smṛti attributed to

1 "On the Age of Marriage." [N B.U]

Āśvalāyana, which however is not the Smṛti that is quoted by the authors of the Nibandhas under that name. In the last the text does not occur and is quoted by none but Anantadeva. In one Manuscript of Anantadeva's work, however it does not occur. Still Prof Jolly thinks the injunction contained in it is confirmed by Śankha's precept गर्भस्य स्पष्टताज्ञाने निषेकः परिकीर्तितः। and Viṣṇu's गर्भस्य स्पष्टताज्ञाने निषेककर्म. Now even taking Garbha in the sense of Rtu, the meaning is "after the clear observation of Ṛtu the Garbhādhāna should be performed" This prescribes that the ceremony should be performed on the occasion of a course from the fifth to the sixteenth night after the occurrence. We have got nothing corresponding to the word "first" here. Nandapaṇḍita quotes in his comment on the latter passage, as the Professor observes, the passage from Āśvalāyana Gṛhyapariśiṣṭa, अथर्तुमत्याः प्राजापत्यं ऋतौ प्रथमे। But this Ṛtau prathame or "on the occasion of the first course" refers only to the Prājāpatya ceremony which is intended, as remarked by Nandapaṇḍita also, for the consecration of the woman The Garbhādhāna ceremony is mentioned further on in the Pariśiṣṭa in the words अथ गर्भलम्भनम्। ऋतावनुकूलायां निशि etc, where the word Prathame does not occur and we have ऋतौ generally. So that we have no authority here for the necessary performance of the ceremony on the first occasion.

Prof. Jolly admits that in other Smṛtis we have the word Ṛtau generally But he says that the texts in which it occurs may refer to the repetition of the ceremony every month They may, and they may also simply show that the ceremony should be performed during the Ṛtukāla (5th—16th nights) and not on a later day, and consequently they involve no implication as to its being gone through necessarily on the occasion of the first course Again some later writers reject the doctrine of the repetition of Garbhadhana, and according to these, Prof. Jolly thinks, the time for its performance is the first course, and even according to the others, the first of the repeated

ceremonies must take place during the first Ṛtu. The reason given by Prof. Jolly for the first statement is the observation of Nandapaṇḍita quoted above But I have shown that what the Pariśiṣṭa directs to be done at the first Ṛtu is the Prājāpatya and not Garbhādhāna Again, in this matter what one scholar says ought not to be considered as the view of all. In support of the second statement Prof Jolly refers to the doctrine of the sin incurred at each Ṛtu of the daughter when her marriage is delayed But this sin is incurred by the father according to the text, and once he gives his daughter in marriage the provision ceases to be operative on him, and cannot operate on any other Its only object is to compel the father to marry before puberty, and evidently not to compel the husband to begin intercourse on the first occasion, and it is just on this account that the text is nowhere quoted in support of Garbhādhāna at the first Ṛtu If in the Smṛtis we have got the word Ṛtau generally, we ought to understand Ṛtu generally i e, any Ṛtu and not Ṛtu specifically, i.e., the first

If, however, we discuss the point from the legal and scholastic and not scholarly point of view, we have to go through all that I have stated in my Note And of the fourteen or fifteen Nibandhas and Prayogas that I consulted on the occasion of the controversy, a great many, following the Smṛtis prescribe Ṛtu generally for the Garbhādhāna ceremony, one states that the first Ṛtu is better than any other, one, that it is allowable to perform it at the first Ṛtu and one or two only that it should be performed on the first occasion[1] Nandapaṇḍita in his work on the Saṃskāras does not prescribe the first Ṛtu only as the proper time, and it is doubtful whether he does so in the passage referred to by Prof Jolly He quotes the Pariśiṣṭa, only to show that the Garbhādhāna is intended to consecrate the woman And supposing even that he does so, still

1. See the preceding article. [N B U]

to draw a general conclusion from what one or two say is not warrantable So that the first Ṛtu is not and cannot be compulsory.

Prof Jolly brings in here an argument used by one of my opponents The opponent quoting from Madanapāla, तत्र गर्भाधानोपयुक्तत्वेन प्रथमर्तुकालो निरूप्यते । and translating it as "we now explain the time of the first Ṛtu as it is of use for the Garbhādhāna" sought to make out that Madanapāla lays down the first Ṛtu as the time of the Garbhādhāna, and stated generally that "a host of well known authorities begin the description of the Garbhādhāna ceremony" in that way I pointed out that the reading प्रथमर्तुकाल was absolutely wrong, because it did not occur in the Manuscripts I consulted, and the context was entirely opposed to it. What Madanapāla gives in the section so introduced is the Ṛtukāla generally, i e, the sixteen nights, and nothing special with reference to the first Ṛtu So that what according to him is of use for the Garbhādhāna is the Ṛtukāla and not the first Ṛtu The true reading is प्रथमं ऋतुकालो निरूप्यते । i e., "We first explain the Ṛtukāla" And as to "the host of well known authorities," which he spoke of, I said that some began the section on Garbhādhāna as Madanapāla did by explaining the Ṛtukāla consisting of the sixteen nights, while others did so by giving the good and evil conjunction of stars on the occasion of the first occurrence of the physical event and the pacificatory ceremonies, if it took place in an evil conjuncture. His quotation was not अथ गर्भाधानम् । तत्र प्रथमरजोदर्शने as Prof. Jolly takes it

The argument of the opponent based as it was on the misreading प्रथमर्तुकालो will thus be seen to have no bearing whatever on the question whether the Garbhādhāna must be performed on the occasion of the first Ṛtu or course Still Prof Jolly takes it up without showing the connection, without giving any reason, and without even knowing what his quot-

ation was. The quotation however attributed to my opponent, Prof. Jolly brings forward from the Nirṇayasindhu. But what is the connection? Does the mere occurrence of the expression तत्र प्रथमरजोदर्शने without context, without connection, show that the Garbhādhāna must be performed on the first occasion? What we have in the Nirṇayasindhu is this —तत्रादौ संस्कारेषु गर्भाधानम् । तत्र प्रथमरजोदर्शने दुष्टमासग्रहणसंक्रमादि फलं तत्र शान्त्यादि च पितृकृतभट्टकृत-प्रयोगरत्ने ज्ञेयम् । "Among Samskāras we have first Garbhādhāna. The effect of the first appearance of the physical phenomenon in an inauspicious month, and on the occasion of an eclipse or the sun's transit, and the pacificatory ceremonies consequent on that, should be known from the Prayogaratnā composed by my father and the Bhaṭṭa i e, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa" Now Kamalākara here speaks of the evil effects of the first appearance of the physical phenomenon at an inauspicious juncture and of the pacificatory ceremonies in consequence of it. What possible bearing can the words "first appearance" have on the question whether the Garbhādhāna should be performed on the occasion of the first appearance? Yet Professor Jolly thinks that the expression does support the view that it should be performed on that occasion As a matter of fact, the Śāntis on account of the first occurrence at an inauspicious juncture are independent ceremonies independently performed and are omitted when the juncture is not inauspicious.

And what the Smṛtis and the authors of the Nibandhas and Prayogas say is confirmed by the actual practice Garbhādhāna is unknown in Gujarat and some other parts of India. Professor Jolly is misinformed when he says that it is regularly performed in the whole of Bengal In a pamphlet published in the course of the controversy, Mr Mohini Mohan Chatterji, M A, B L, says, "but it is a matter of public notoriety that the highest class among the Brahmans of Bengal—the Kulins—disregard the obligation (of performing Garbhādhāna) every-day without incurring any social penalty" Another writer

says, "We find that the ceremony is not performed by the great majority of the Hindus of India. In half of Bengal it is unknown." But in Mahārāṣṭra it is generally performed, but nobody considers it obligatory to perform it on the first occasion, and often, especially when the girl's health is not good or the husband a mere boy, it is delayed for a year or longer after the first appearance of the physical phenomenon, and no Prāyaścitta or atonement is done for the delay. Thus we practically act as if the Smṛtis and the Nibandhas which have the expression Ṛtau generally mean by it any Ṛtu that suits our convenience In the face of this to say that they all mean to prescribe the first Ṛtu as obligatory is hazardous. And there is an inherent improbability in the circumstance that the authors of the older Smṛtis should mean this when we find (as is acknowledged by Professor Jolly) that Vātsyāyana the author of the Kāmsūtra speaks of late marriages, and the medical authorities including Vāgbhaṭa prohibit intercourse till the girl is sixteen years old The Smṛtis when they give new rules, i e, rules, inconsistent with those laid down in older books, must be supposed to have an eye at or to sanctify the prevailing usage or opinion, and if Vātsyāyana, the medical authorities, and even poets represent the prevailing opinion to be unfavourable to early intercourse, though not quite to early marriage, we must suppose the older Smṛti writers to represent or sanction the same opinion

The last point I shall notice is about the age of marriage indicated in the Gṛhya Sūtras Professor Jolly says· "Although the Gṛhya literature has the rule about Nagnikā in common with the Smṛtis, still distinct indications that the ceremonies of Vivāha have reference rather to a grown up bride are not wanting" One of these indications and the rules concerning it, noticed by me in my Note, are not appropriate, he says, in the case of a Nagnikā Now if the marriage ceremonies have reference to a grown up bride, how is it

possible that the Gṛhya literature in which those ceremonies are given should lay down the rule about the marriage of a girl when she is Nagnikā or immature?

He says "In those few passages in the Gṛhyasūtras which have reference to the age of marriage, a Nagnikā only is spoken of." Here too Professor Jolly seems to have generalized the statement in some of the Sūtras and made it applicable to all, just as he has generalized that about the performance of the Garbhādhāna at the first Ṛtu. But in the case of these Sūtras which give the ceremonies that befit grown up girls only and are silent as regards the age, ought not one to suppose that they mean that grown up girls only should be married, and that their silence is due to the fact that there was in their time no question about marrying immature girls? The marriage of grown up girls was the prevailing custom and therefore it was not necessary to say anything about the mature or immature age of the girls.

But let us examine the Sūtras in which the marriage of a Nagnikā is enjoined Gobhila (3 4) has नग्निका तु श्रेष्ठा which means "but a Nagnikā is the best" The word Tu "but" shows a qualification of the previous statement which is "He should after being permitted, marry a wife, who is not of the same Gotra with him and is not a kinswoman of his mother." The previous statement is general having reference to both, a grown up and an immature girl, but this qualifies it and is to the effect that "an immature girl is the best." Professor Jolly thinks the original reading was नग्निकांस्तु श्रेष्ठान् and observes that the object of the Sūtra is not to recommend Nagnikā as "the best" but to direct that he should marry a Nagnikā and the best. Even supposing the reading was as he takes it, the only difference is that we have an accusative in the place of a nominative, and consequently instead of our having an independent statement, we have to bring on Kurvīta and Dārān from Sūtra 3 [a process known to grammarians by the

name of Anuvṛtti] But the sense is exactly the same, and the process of Anuvṛtti does not and cannot deprive Tu of its sense of "but" and confer upon it the sense of "and" When there is Anuvṛtti of the two words, the sentence means, "but he should marry a Nagnikā as the best" The word Tu is fatal to Professor Jolly's interpretation. Besides he seems to connect the words Śreṣṭhān with Dārān taking it away from Nagnikā, as if it had no connection with it, and to understand the whole to mean "he should marry a wife who is the best and Nagnikā." But what is the propriety of the comparison involved in the word Śreṣṭha? "A wife who is the best" The best of whom? Of womankind generally? If so, the comparison is purposeless, unless Gobhila were a poet; "a good woman" would have quite served the purpose But when you say "but marry a Nagnikā as the best," i e, when the word Śreṣṭha is connected with Nagnikā the "but" shows this—you have told a man before to marry one of several kinds but one of the Nagnikā kind is the best of all those" Here the word Śreṣṭha as involving comparison is proper So that it appears to me that the plain, direct and appropriate sense of the Sūtra is "he should marry a Nagnikā as the best" or "a Nagnikā is the best" And hence Gobhila does not prohibit marriage with a grown up girl but recommends an immature one as the best, i e, he first goes on in the same manner as the authors of other Sūtras, mentioning no age and thus leaving the old custom of marrying grown up girls undisturbed, but afterwards adds something new, viz., that it is best to marry an immature girl. Here he does in effect what he does more formally in his precepts about intercourse after marriage, i.e., gives the views of others first and afterwards his own, with the difference however that in the latter case, he teaches his own doctrine in supersession of that of others, while in the other, he does not supersede the other doctrine but recommends his own as the best. It thus appears to me that Gobhila wrote his Sūtra when the old custom of

marrying grown up girls was falling into disrepute but had not become obsolete, and the new one of marrying immature girls which we find generally prevalent in the times of the metrical Smṛtis was coming in.

The next passage to be examined is that in the Gṛhyasaṁgraha of Gobhilaputra in which he directs the marriage of Anagnikā or a grown up girl (तां प्रयच्छेत्त्वनग्निकाम् II 17) Prof Jolly conjectures that the true reading here must be तां प्रयच्छेतु नग्निकाम् "he should give a Nagnikā in marriage" i e, changes अनग्निका to नग्निका And one of the two reasons he gives is that thus only can the passage be rendered consistent with II 20 in which the author directs the giving away in marriage of an immature girl, and the other is that in this way, the inconsistency between the teaching of the father and of the son is removed Now this last inconsistency is due to Prof Jolly's having neglected the sense of Tu in Gobhila's नग्निका तु श्रेष्ठा, and deprived श्रेष्ठा of its comparative sense, as we have seen, and now to explain away the inconsistency thus created, he proposes to change the reading of the son's text The first inconsistency also is due to Prof Jolly's having changed the कन्यकां तु प्रशस्यते to दद्याद्दुहितरं पिता, and in my opinion does not exist In II 20 Gobhilaputra does not command the giving away of an immature girl, but simply says it is to be commended (कन्यकां तु प्रशस्यते), and in II 17 he gives the general rule that a grown up girl should be given in marriage There is thus no inconsistency between the two texts, and it will be seen that this is what the father says also For we have seen that Gobhila, in नग्निका तु श्रेष्ठा, only says that the best course is to marry an immature girl, and the implication in the three preceding Sūtras is that a grown up girl should be married according to custom, since the marriage-ceremonies are such as to befit a grown up girl only. The son by his II 17 only develops what is involved in the father's Sūtras. Thus then there is no inconsistency anywhere; Gobhilaputra must be regarded as enjoining the marriage of a grown up

girl, though according to him as to his alleged father, an immature girl is to be preferred.

Now कन्यकां तु प्रशस्यते violates the rules of grammar and makes no sense. It is on that account that Prof Jolly, instead of that reading, adopts that which he finds in his old Nepalese Manuscripts of the Nārada Smṛti where also this text occurs, and that is वृथाशुहितं पिता Now if this Śloka is found elsewhere it must be common property, it must be one of those floating texts or verses of which we have so many in Sanskrit but the original authorship of which is unknown and which are appropriated by any writer It is quite possible that Gobhilaputra in appropriating it for himself, meant to change the reading so as to bring out the sense that such a girl is to be commended. Hence we have Praśasyate in the text as we find it in his book Now the accusative must be changed to the nominative and we ought to have कन्यका तु प्रशस्यते Probably it was so changed and somebody afterwards knowing what the words in other books were, restored the original without looking to the grammar Or Gobhilaputra means this to be a quotation up to the word Kanyakām, and then without completing the verse by giving the remaining words, puts in his own to express that what is stated in the verse so quoted is commendable Such a supposition, howsoever unusual it may appear, is not improbable in the varied fate to which our old literature has been subject At any rate this supposition or any other that will meet the case is better than that we should reject the reading of a whole Pāda, and with it the peculiar sense "is commendable" intended to be conveyed, and adopt that found in another book and having a different sense, and to remove the inconsistency thus caused between II. 20 and II. 17, change the negative अनग्निका into the positive नग्निका This is a very responsible proceeding and no scholar ought to resort to it unless there is the clearest evidence for it and no other recourse is to be had. —I must here enter my humble protest in the interest of true

scholarship against the practice which has recently come into vogue of changing the readings of original texts in a light-hearted manner Such changes only are allowable, as at once fully satisfy one's sense of propriety and admit of explanation on the natural or historical processes of transition from one form to another

The third passage to be discussed is that in Hiraṇyakeśin's Gṛhya Sūtra which is भार्यामुपयच्छेत्सजातानग्निकां ब्रह्मचारिणीम् । Another reading which is found in three of the six Manuscripts collated by Dr Kirste for his edition is सजातां नग्निकाम्. This Prof Jolly accepts as the correct reading, while I accepted in my Note the first My grounds are that it is the reading of three of Dr Kirste's Manuscripts, and now it appears it is the reading of a Grantha Manuscript also which he has got since It is the reading of two more Manuscripts consulted by me here in Poona, and it is the reading of the Poona Hiraṇyakeśin Brahmans, that is to say, those who as a religious duty have got the whole of the Taittirīya Samhitā and Brāhmaṇa and Hiraṇyakeśin's Sūtra by heart, repeat this particular Sūtra with सजातानग्निका as the reading. Again, I have stated that this is the correct reading, because, we have in the Sūtra the epithet ब्रह्मचारिणीम्, and as a Nagnikā or immature girl is necessarily a ब्रह्मचारिणी it is not necessary to add this condition, and since it is added, अनग्निका must be the correct reading As to this Prof Jolly has in the first place got Prof Kirste to give his reasons for choosing सजातां नग्निकाम् Prof Kirste says he was guided by the analogy of the following Sūtra from Mānavagṛhya बन्धुमतीं कन्यामसंसृष्टमैथुनामुपयच्छेत् समानवर्णामसमानप्रवरां यवीयसीं नग्निकां श्रेष्ठाम् । That anology "speaks for the separation of सजातां and नग्निकाम् and allows no scope for the choice of a maiden not naked any longer." His remaining reason is that it is the reading of Mātṛdatta.

As to this I have to observe that, because you have got Nagnika in another book with certain epithets, therefore

you must have Nagnikā in this book also containing as it does similar epithets, and because you are told to marry a Nagnikā there therefore you are told to marry a Nagnikā here also,—this is no good reasoning. If we follow a reasoning of this nature we shall have to give up all idea of a historical development. And as against the evidence of so many Manuscripts and of the Veda-repeating Brahmans of Poona, and the impropriety of the use of the epithet Brahmacāriṇīm, this reasoning has no value whatever As to Mātṛdatta, I have already said in my Note that he gives the sense that the context requires, but had a bad reading before him Prof Jolly also adopts Prof. Kirste's *reasoning against all evidence to the contrary* when he says "the above passages speak decidedly for the latter reading" सजातां नग्निकाम्, and adds "especially as the epithet असंसृष्टमैथुनाम् in Mānavagṛhya stands by the side of नग्निका as ब्रह्मचारिणीम् does in Hiranyakeśin",—that is Prof. Jolly accounts for one impropriety by bringing forward another of the like nature But two improprieties cannot constitute one propriety, both are improprieties and must be removed in both the places And I cannot here refrain from expressing my surprise that while Prof Jolly would alter न वानम् to प्रवानम् and अनग्निका to नग्निका i e, turn the negative into positive, and make such other changes in the readings of texts without any *authority from Manuscripts, to remove fancied* improprieties, he should not accept a reading occurring in good Manuscripts and in the mouths of Vaidika Brahmans to remove an impropriety admitted to be so by himself

But the impropriety in Hiraṇyakeśin is removed by adopting the reading सजातानग्निकां and the way to remove it in the Mānavagṛhya is as follows —The passage quoted as one Sūtra must be divided into three or at least two Sūtras The first ends with उपयच्छेत् or यवीयसीम् and means "He should marry a virgin who has brothers and has had no intercourse with a man, who is of the same caste but of different Pravaras and is younger." Here

what the author requires is that she should not have had intercourse with a man, which implies its possibility i.e., her being a grown up girl, so that his command here is that he should marry a grown up girl The next Sûtra is नग्निकां श्रेष्ठाम् in which he adds that "one should marry a Nagnikā as the best." In this Sûtra Anuvṛtti should be made of the verb उपयच्छेत्. Now the impropriety disappears, असंस्पृष्टमैथुनाम् is not an adjective of नग्निकाम् but of कन्याम्, and this result we arrive at simply by a division of the Sûtra different from that which has been made in Prof. Jolly's quotation by somebody whom I do not know, and not by violent changes of reading And this division of mine bears a close analogy to the Sûtras of Gobhila discussed above, the last of which is नग्निका तु श्रेष्ठा, only we have not got Tu here, but simply the superlative degree of comparison. The evidence of analogy having thus disappeared, there is no question that सजातानग्निका is the true reading in Hiraṇyakeśin And the translation of this expression to सजातां नग्निकाम् is a matter that admits of any easy explanation, since it is a question of the addition of a mere dot, and since later readers of the Sûtra among whom child marriages only prevailed would consider the dot as proper Thus then Hiraṇyakeśin requires one to marry a grown up girl expressly as probably in his time the practice of child marriages was coming into vogue, because he is going to prescribe intercourse on the fourth night Āpastamba and the rest go upon the supposition of the bride being a grown up girl, as they enjoin intercourse after marriage, and it was not necessary to name Anagnikā then, because child-marriages were not thought of or were rare when they wrote

Prof. Jolly's change of Rāta to Rāka in Āpastamba is of a piece with his other changes, and the sense of Rāta given by the commentator रतिशीला shows that that author also contemplates a grown up girl

I have said enough to show the nature of the evidence brought forward and of the arguments used by Prof. Jolly to prove

that the Smṛtis contain nothing that is favourable to late marriages, that the Garbhādhāna ceremony should be performed on the occasion of the first appearance of the signs of puberty, and that the Nagnikā rule is common to the Sūtra literature with the Smṛtis My own view as regards the history of child-marriages as gathered from the religious literature beginning with the Gṛhyasūtras is, it will have been seen from the foregoing pages, this —In the time of Āśvalāyana and many other authors of Gṛhyasūtras marriages after puberty were a matter of course, the evidence being the nature of the ceremonies prescribed and their silence about the age of the bride In the time of Hiraṇyakeśin child marriages were coming into practice, and therefore he tells his followers that they are absurd since the ceremonies required the bride to be in a condition of maturity When Gobhila and the author of the Mānavagṛhya flourished, late marriages were falling into disrepute though they were in practice, and hence they lay down marriage before puberty as the best course When the Smṛtis of Manu and Baudhāyana were written, child-marriages were in full vogue but late marriages were not rare And in the time of the authors of the later Smṛtis the custom of late marriage became entirely obsolete as it is at the present day Still however it was not the custom, when the latter flourished, to begin intercourse necessarily on the first appearance of signs of puberty as it is not now It was entirely optional, some people following the practice, others not I would therefore arrange these authors chronologically thus, 1 Āśvalāyana and others, 2. Hiraṇyakeśin, 3 Gobhila, Gobhilaputra and the author of Mānavagṛhya, 4. Manu-Samhitā, Vasiṣṭha, Baudhāyana, 5 the rest.

NOTE I

Since I wrote and despatched my article on Prof Jolly's paper I met K. Rangacharya the Panditaratna in the service of the Maharaja of Mysore who is one of those employed to form a library for the Maharaja, and had conversation with him on

this as on many other subjects. He told me that he had seen a passage in the Jaimini-Gṛhyasūtra in which marriage with an Anagnikā was enjoined and that the commentator had taken that as the correct reading. I told him to send me a copy of the passage after his return to Mysore, and this he has done. The passage is as follows —

No 7 of the Maharaja's Library—Jaimini-Gṛhyasūtra with a commentory entitled Subodhinī

Fol 7 सू०—जायां विन्देतानग्निकां समानजातीयाम्....................
व्या०— . .. .. अनग्निकां यस्मिन्वयसि स्वयमेव लज्जया वासः परि-
दधाति तद्वयस्काम् . .. .

Trans—(Sūtra) He should marry a wife of the same caste with himself who is not a Nagnikā

Com. "Not a Nagnikā" i e, of that age at which through bashfulness she wears a piece of cloth of her own accord

Now I think this text will amply corroborate the arguments which I contend are in themselves conclusive for regarding सजातानग्निका as the true reading of Hiraṇyakeśin It will show that the Nagnikā rule is certainly not common to the Sūtras with the Smṛtis as is laid down so positively by Prof Jolly, and when taken in conjunction with Hiraṇyakeśin's precept, it will indicate the existence of a condition of society in which its religious leaders found it necessary to direct their followers expressly not to marry little undeveloped girls, while there was another when the leaders did not find it necessary to do so, as nobody did it against the spirit of the ceremonies, which required that the bride should be a grown up woman. And all this will necessitate our giving to the words श्रेष्ठा and तु in Gobhila, श्रेष्ठाम् in the Mānavagṛhya, and प्रशस्यते in Gobhilaputra their proper legitimate sense which the Professor has entirely neglected, and to infer the existence of the third condition of society in which the religious leaders recommended, not enjoined, marriage with an undeveloped girl. These three

conditions might be synchronous if we supposed the countries in which the legislators lived were different and far distant from each other, or the sects for which they legislated were unamenable to each other's influence, while they will have to be regarded as existing at different periods of time if we do not make these suppositions. This last view is the only one that is reasonable.

And thus the Gṛhyasūtras, when properly understood and compared with each other, place before us vividly the different stages by which late marriages fall into disrepute and present to our view the new custom of early marriages in the very process as it were of formation. In early times girls were married only when they were fully developed, but after some time marriage before puberty began to find favour. Still the feeling against it was strong, and hence Hiraṇyakeśin and Jaimini expressly prohibit it. But the downward movement gradually became more powerful, and we find the authors of some Gṛhyasūtras recommending child-marriage as the best course. But they do not prohibit late marriages That was reserved for the Metrical Smṛtis to do But even among these we may discover different stages Manu's attitude towards late marriages is not so decidedly hostile as that of some later writers. He allows girls to remain unmarried till the age of twelve, or for three years after puberty, if not given away till then, and permits marriage being deferred if a good bride-groom is not to be had And in all this, we find, it will be seen, fresh evidence for the view that all Metrical Smṛtis are later than the Gṛhyasūtras.

This, I humbly contend is the way to arrive at the true social history of past times, and not by resorting to objectionable processes and reducing all texts to a dull uniformity so as to bring out one sense only which no Gṛhya text hitherto discovered can bear, viz, a positive and unconditional command to marry a Nagnikā or an undeveloped girl. This

procedure of making all Gṛhyas and all Smṛtis tell the same tale forcibly reminds me of the Ekavākyatā of the Paṇḍits who in all cases make the texts of the Vedas, the Sūtras, the Smṛtis, and the Purāṇas mean the same thing, viz. that, which is in keeping with the custom of the day If it is not the mission of European and especially German Critical Scholarship to check this spirit of Ekavākyatā, I have greatly misunderstood it.

NOTE II

When in December 1892 I worte the above article, I had no idea that I had two Manuscripts of the Mānavagṛhya close to my writing table The title they bear on the wrapper is Maitrāyaṇīya-Gṛhyasūtra. They form Nos. 94 and 95 of our Collection of 1880-81. Now the Sūtras which are joined into one, in Prof. Jolly's quotation are thus given in No. 95 विवहंते पंशुमतीं कन्या । मस्पृष्टमैथुना । सुपयच्छेत । समानवर्णा । मसमानप्रवराँयवीयसी । नग्निकाँश्रेष्ठां । No. 94 joins the second and the third of these into one, and after समानवर्णा has no stop in about three lines. Thus it is perfectly evident that मस्पृष्टमैथुनाम् is an adjective of कन्याम् occurring in the first Sūtra, or कन्याम् understood, if that Sūtra is to be independently interpreted as the verb विवहन्ते would show, and the sense is complete with उपयच्छेत, while नग्निकांश्रेष्ठाम् is an independent Sūtra. The author thus does not bring together two inconsistent conditions, viz., that she should be an undeveloped or immature girl, and that she should at the same time have had no intercourse with a man, but lays down that one should marry a girl (fully developed) who has had no intercourse , but it is best to marry an undeveloped girl.

BASIS OF THEISM, AND ITS RELATION TO THE SO-CALLED REVEALED RELIGIONS

[Being the substance of a lecture delivered by Sir R G. Bhandarkar at the anniversary of the Prathana Samaj , originally published in 1883 by the Cheap Literature Committee of the Theistic Association of Bombay.—N B U]

Gentlemen—I have been asked by the Secretary to deliver an English address to you Those to whom this duty was first assigned have been prevented by other engagements from being present to-day Since, therefore, no other person is available and the thing must be done, I appear before you to do it

And why must it be done ? What is the necessity of an English address ? Why is a day assigned to it in the programme of our Anniversary ceremonies ? Our usual service is conducted in Marathi, we pray to our Almighty father in Marathi, we discuss theological questions in Marathi,—we do not expect, at least for a long time, to find converts to our views among those whose mother tongue is English Why then should we have an English address ?

I will answer this question, in part, by referring to something that I have said in my evidence before the Education Commission In reply to one of the questions of the Commission I have stated my belief that there are some sceptics and atheists among educated natives but that this fact is not due to the instruction imparted in Government Colleges In English thought, the agnostic and athestic side has at present acquired a prominence, and as India is now intellectually affiliated to England as it is politically, that side of thought must be expected to cast its reflection here To this influence the students

of Missionary as well as Government Institutions are equally open, and the result in both cases is the same. My idea therefore is that the religious views of a good many of our brethren are influenced by those of some of the leading authors of England. Their mode of thought is European and English and hence can best be dealt with in English.

And there is another reason. The prevailing Hindu Religion is a religion in which we find various shades of belief and modes of action confused together. We cannot say it is not monotheism, we cannot say it is not polytheism or even fetishism. It is neither simply a religion of external observances nor is it a religion enjoining purity of heart only. We are dissatisfied with this state of things and have been seeking a more consistent and rational system of religious faith and action. A foreign religion has for some time been knocking at our door and claiming admission. If we have deliberately refused to admit it we must give our reasons. And this can only be properly done in the language in which its claims are enforced.

And the first thing that I wish to say to both these classes of my hearers is that our religious basis is that supplied to us by the critical method. This method of comparison and criticism has been successfully applied to the determination of historical and literary truth. It has brought about in the short space of about twenty-five years a complete and remarkable revolution in philology. The favourite theories of centuries have been entirely exploded, and the true relations between the many languages spoken by civilized man have been ascertained, and the principles that determine the origin and growth of human speech have been discovered. We expect similar results from the application of this method to religion, to find out how it is that God reveals himself to man, to determine what is essential and necessary in religion and what is

purely accidental, to separate the truth that God himself has taught to man, from the error, with which, in his mental and moral weakness, man has mixed it up.

The fact that we have all of us to face in the beginning is that religion is not confined to one people or one country, but that human beings in all ages and all countries, whether savage or civilized, have had some religion. Religion is inseparable from humanity. Man has always believed in some Invisible Power from which all that is visible has sprung, in something Infinite on which all that is finite rests, in a Power on which he is dependent and which is beneficial and has felt reverence for that power and worshipped it. The belief may be found to have assumed a distinct shape in some conditions of society and to have remained indistinct in others, it may have led to a variety of superstitions and absurdities, but if you endeavour to find the inmost principle of all religions you will I believe find it to be as I have stated it Along with a belief in one's own existence and in the reality of the world, we find a belief in an Invisible Power and in something greater than the finite and beyond the finite, existing everywhere. Is it proper that as philosophers and thinkers we should make light of this fact? Should we not recognize it as fully as any other fact and make it the subject of serious thought? And what are we to conclude from it?—That poor weak humanity is every where subject to hallucinations and that this is a remarkable instance of its gullibility? Why then is the belief in the existence of the external world not to be considered a hallucination similarly? All our knowledge is phenomenal—we can perceive nothing but appearances. These appearances depend upon certain motions of the nerves These motions may be produced by certain laws of our bodily nature and to these may be due the appearances which we attribute to something outside of us. As in certain conditions or diseases of

the brain, a man sees before him things that really do not exist, so may the appearance of things outside himself be due to man's physical conditions. But men have ever believed in the existence of the external world though there have not been wanting philosophers to tell them that this belief is groundless. Similarly they have believed and will continue to believe in an Infinite and Invisible Power upon which they depend and which exacts their reverence, though there have been philosophers to tell them that they are the victims of a delusion. And in every branch of that most certain department of human knowledge, physical science, do we not believe in things that do not fall within the range of our senses? We see that under certain conditions fire burns our fingers, and immediately come to believe that under those conditions fire will burn not only here but there, not only in this country but in that, not only now but hereafter. Do we in such cases stop where our senses cease to operate—do we not naturally go far beyond? The so-called general laws in science are all beliefs of this nature. Are these beliefs, or that general one in the constancy of nature on which these may be said to depend, a delusion then? If it is not, why should the belief in God, which the grand aspect of nature forces upon man, be a delusion?

And the function of religious belief in the development of man is higher than that of physical knowledge. The use of this last is to satisfy the wants of his bodily nature, to enable him to live comfortably But purity of heart, the elevation of the feelings, the depth of the soul, a firm adherence to truth without regard to practical effects, equanimity in the midst of the severest troubles of life—these and such other virtues it is religion alone that can induce. Man can attain to the full measure of his capabilities only through the instrumentality of religious belief Without it he will be a superior kind of beast with aims and aspirations low and stunted. But as he is, he is

a child of the Infinite with his aspirations ever increasing, ever widening. Are we then to believe that that belief which is at the root of the man's higher development is to be considered to have nothing corresponding to it in the world of reality, while that which satisfies his lower nature only is alone real and certain ?

The truth is that this universality of belief in the Infinite and Invisible is as much necessitated by man's apprehensive powers as the belief in an external world and in the constancy of nature At the very dawning of human intelligence, when the heavens above and the earth below excited the wonder and admiration of man, when practically his eyes apprehended no limit to the scene by which he was surrounded, when he saw the play of powers about him, which acted independently of him, and on which depended his happiness, the Invisible and the Infinite forced itself upon him and evoked his reverence and love, and he fell down and worshipped. And does not the whole aspect of nature, the vault of heaven, with the Sun, Moon and countless myriads of stars, and the earth with the mountains, the rivers, the wide ocean and the extensive plains, continue to make as solemn and deep an impression on us as they did on our early ancestors ? When we take our stand on a high mountain and behold a succession of hills one behind another, stretching as far as our eyes can reach, and the dales and valleys at our feet smiling with vegetation, or the bold and deep gorges below, or when standing on a plain we behold darkness just beginning to disappear before dawning light, or at night the rays of the Moon steeping everything in soft and serene lustre, when I say we meditate on scenery, do we not feel a vista into Infinity opened up before us, are we not conscious of something unspeakably grand, does not our heart become dilated with ineffable joy and is not our spirit filled with reverence and love ?

A sympathetic chord in our own hearts does the poet touch when he says? :—

I have felt
A presence that disturbs me with the joy
Of elevated thoughts, a sense sublime
Of something far more deeply interfused
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
And the round ocean and the living air,
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man;
A motion and a spirit, that impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thoughts
And rolls through all things.

Yes, man has ever been seeing his God in the Universe—the True, the Good and the Beautiful has ever manifested Himself to him, and love and joy ever greeted him, in the vast scene in which he finds himself.

My answer to the second class of persons spoken of before who have placed before us a religion which they say was alone revealed by God in all its parts at a certain period in the history of man, and who call upon us to accept in on that ground, also rests similarly on the basis supplied to us by the critical method. Christianity is not the only religion professed by man. Hinduism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism and a variety of other religions have flourished in the world and are flourishing Are these the work of self-deception? If we say so, we shall simply be playing into the hands of the opponents of all religions. What are the special claims of one of these religions to be considered as the only Revelation? There is truth in all, and all have something objectionable which the light derived from the others should enable us to discover and cast aside All have been revealed by God, but man from the very weakness of his apprehension, has mixed a great deal of falsehood with the truth communi-

cated to him by his Father. It certainly is not consistent with our ideas of God's love for man to think Him to have communicated that truth which it is so important for men to know, only at a late period in the history of the world and only to a certain people If religion is of supreme importance to man, we must expect that it should have been revealed to him in the very beginning, being implanted by God in his very nature so that wherever he went he might carry it with him like his shadow. And this is what we actually find. Man has been carrying religious belief like his shadow wherever he goes, religion is as widely spread as humanity itself.

Thus then God's Revelation to man was made not only at a certain period in the world's history, but it began with the dawning of human intelligence and went on progressing through all ages and it is going on still and will go on God is ever with us communicating more and more of his truth to us as our powers of apprehension become purer and keener The latest phase of His Revelation to man is that embodied in the movement which we here represent. It is therefore turning a deaf ear to this appeal from the High to accept one religion only as exclusively revealed by Him. It is disregarding the grand fact that God has ever been the Father of man and has ever been educating him into a knowledge of Himself

And not only does the comparison of the different religions that prevail or have prevailed in the world enable us to determine the significance of each—the idea or ideas which it elaborates and to distinguish the essence of religion from its accidents—but the study of the development of religious thought and action in one and the same country serves the same purpose No country in the world has undergone such strange and wonderful religious revolutions as ours and no where will the faithful servant of God be able to trace more clearly the manner in which He gradually unfolds His truth to

man. I will therefore devote the remaining portion of the time at my disposal to the consideration, necessarily very brief, of what our religious history has to teach us.

It was in the phenomena of Nature that the ancient Āryans first discovered their God or rather God discovered Himself to them. The heavens above, and the earth below, the Sun that traversed the sky from day to day and fructified the earth, the rising Dawn, before which the darkness of the night gradually disappeared and which gave a lovely appearance to the universe about them, the waters that periodically fell from heaven and cooled and refreshed the earth, parched by the summer heat of the Punjab,—these and such other phenomena excited the wonder and admiration of our remote ancestors, and in the visible they saw the Invisible, and found in these phenomena the Gods Dyaus, Pṛthivī, Sūrya, Savitṛ, Uṣas, Indra and others and even Aditi or the Illimitable, the mother of them all The happiness of man depended upon the operations of nature, that is, on the powers of these Gods, and they were invoked to protect and bestow blessings. Observing the regularity with which some of these phenomena repeated themselves they elaborated the idea of order The outside order was likened to the order within, the violation of which constituted sin , and Varuṇa, Savitṛ and others who were the guardians of Order were invoked to rescue them from sin and not to visit them with the severe punishment which their transgression of the Order deserved To most of these Gods, the creation of heaven and earth and supreme power which none could transgress, were ascribed In the course of time men found that each of the Gods possessed the attributes of the Supreme Godhead, and since the Supreme can be but One, they came to regard Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa and Agni as but several names of the One Supreme and declared that "the creator of heaven and earth was but one God"

After they had arrived at this stage there was a halt. As in the history of the physical, social and political advancement of man there are periods when the human spirit after having worked actively for sometime becomes dormant and there is no further progress, so are there in the history of man's religious advancement. Along with the development of the religious ideas which I have sketched, grew a worship of the gods. This worship gradually became complicated and acquired such an importance that every minute point in connection with it became the subject of an inviolable rule Cold and dead formalities took the place of warm and living devotion and the very verses and hymns which contained the fervent prayers of the old Ṛṣis, were repeated mechanically in the course of the formal worship, without even an attempt to apprehend the sense Not only were there certain kinds of sacrificial performances to be gone through, morning and evening, and on the new and full moon days as well as during the four rainy months, but there were grand Soma sacrifices to be performed whenever there was opportunity Of these there were seven kinds each of which occupied six days, and on the fifth day the principal ceremonies, which collectively were called Sūtyā, or extracting the juice of Soma and offering it to the Gods were performed Then there were Sattras or sacrificial sessions the shortest of which lasted for twelve days, the Sūtyā being performed on each occasion, and the longest for twelve years. Longer sessions even are heard of This sacrificial religion became so thoroughly mechanical that the fruit arising from its exercise was considered to be due not to the favour of the deities worshipped but to some miraculous or magic charm in the rites themselves. The deities lost all importance, and in the course of time the theologians of this religion denied God and proclaimed sacrificial rites as the saviour of mankind.

But error by its very excesses rouses the dormant human spirit

and brings on its own destruction. The reaction was on the one hand led by the authors of the Upaniṣads, and on the other, by the Philosophers, principally of the Sāmkhya school, and by Buddhism. The Upaniṣads declared that "sacrificial rites were but frail boats", and enjoined contemplation of the "Omniscient Soul whose greatness we observe in the world—the author, source and pervader of the universe, the lord of all, the unborn, the unchangeable and the pure or holy," and when a man saw him in his heart and everywhere else, he was free from death and attained eternal happiness. This contemplation and the resulting perception of Him were not possible to one "who did not refrain from evil deeds, who had not subdued his passions, and whose soul was not serene" In some of the Upaniṣads this perception of the Lord of all is spoken of as the perception of one's own self. The individual souls are considered as forms of the Supreme and are related to the Supreme as the sparks of fire to the fire, or as earthen jars to the earth of which they are made, or like rivers they have an independent existence at first and lose their individuality when united with the Supreme Spirit as rivers do when united with the ocean

The Philosophers taught that eternal happiness was to be attained by rooting out the cause of all misery which consisted in a union between the individual soul and a certain inanimate principle called Prakṛti. This Prakṛti was the cause of all the finite or definite thought and developed in the form of the world. A perception or feeling of the distinctness of one's soul from the Prakṛti freed the soul from its effects viz, all definite thought and consequently from all misery God was not recognised as either the Creator or the Saviour and friend of man.

The Buddhists adopted this mode of thought, and equally with the others declared that the sacrificial rites were inefficacious, and denied the authority of the Vedas on which it was contended

they were based. Eternal happiness was according to them to be attained by a strict course of moral discipline, by restraining the passions and purifying and ennobling the heart. Buddhism was also a protest against the exclusiveness of the Brahmanical religion of sacrifices which could be exercised only by the three regenerate classes and of which Brahmans alone could be priests. It was not only a religion for all classes of the Indian community but for the whole world, the Mlecchas or barbarians included.

But how was the standard of moral purity which Buddhism set up, to be practically attained by frail humanity? It is all very well to talk of curbing the passions and purifying the heart. Sin is a very subtle enemy of the human soul. It contaminates at the very core of what man considers his most exalted and generous actions, and no one is more alive to his helplessness against his enemy than the man who honestly endeavours to attain purity and has already made some progress. In his despair man naturally cries for help It was here that Buddhism was found wanting By denying God it deprived man of his friend and saviour Even the theistic Upaniṣads trusted too much to man's powers Though they placed the highest happiness in the contemplation of God and in beholding His face, and represented moral purity as indispensable, they left all this to be done by the unassisted efforts of man. To supply this defect the doctrine of Bhakti arose, and the work in which it was distinctly enunciated was the Bhagavadgītā. The Gītā derives its theism from the Upaniṣads, equally with them it enjoins moral purity and the contemplation of God, but in addition, it teaches man to love God and not himself, to live for Him and not for himself, and to place unlimited faith in Him.

The idea of a religion for all and not for certain classes only, which Buddhism first realized was taken up by the Bhakti

school and its method of salvation was open to all. But the purity of religion it was difficult to maintain in a country, the population of which was composed of various elements. The doctrine of Bhakti was first set forth in connection with the worship of Viṣṇu, to whom all the attributes of Godhead as laid down in the Upaniṣads were ascribed Then came in the worship of Śiva and various other gods and goddesses, who must originally have been the objects of adoration with the aborigines of the country Ceremonial religion of another kind than that which prevailed before, came to be practised, and vows, fasts, and observances were multiplied Purāṇas were written to heighten the glories of particular gods and to inculcate the practice of the various observances Amidst all this confusion, however, the monotheism of the Upaniṣads and the Bhagavadgītā was not entirely lost It became curiously blended with popular polytheism. The votaries of each one of the various gods claimed the attributes of Supreme Godhead for their deity, and Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Viṭhobā, Śiva, Mahākāla, Bhairava, Khaṇḍobā and others were in turns the one supreme God And even at the present day, every one of the innumerable ceremonies performed by the Brahmans in honour of innumerable gods, begins with a declaration that it is going to be performed for the propitiation of Parameśvara or the Supreme Lord of all, and ends with the expression of a hope that the performance will please the Supreme god But all this was a drop in the ocean and failed to correct the popular tendencies, and religion again came to be as mechanical as the sacrificial religion was before All religious merit was again thought to lie in the practice of those observances, and internal purity and spiritual worship were neglected

Then there arose the Sādhus or the pious men of the mediaeval period, who protested against this artificial religion, re-asserted the doctrine of Bhakti with vigour and inculcated purity of

heart ; and the last Great Sādhu in this part of the country was our own Tukārāma of Dehu. What the mission of these men was generally, may best be seen from an Abhanga of Tukārāma in which he states the purpose of his coming into the world. I translate it as follows —

> I am a denizen of Vaikuṇṭha and have come for this purpose viz, to bring into practice that which was taught by the Ṛṣis we will sweep clean the ways of (constructed by) the sages ; the world is over-grown with weeds we will accept the portion that has remained.
>
> Truth has disappeared in consequence of the Purāṇas, ruin has been effected by word knowledge
>
> The heart is addicted to pleasures and the way (to God) is destroyed.
>
> We will beat the drum of Bhakti, the terror of the Kali age, says Tukā,—raise shouts of victory throug[illegible].

And this is our mission also The Indian world still remains over-grown with the weeds of falsehood notwithstanding the efforts of those great men. The truth taught by the Ṛṣis of the Upaniṣads still remains neglected, and ceremonial practices have still usurped the place of spiritual worship. Though the mediaeval Sādhus taught a purer form of faith, they did not as a general rule set their face against the popular beliefs and modes of worship with sufficient firmness and decision. This appears to me to be the principal reason why their mission was not completely successful. Let us therefore while endeavouring to realize their humility and single-hearted devotion, attempt to supply this defect

Let us like Tukārāma exert ourselves to bring into practice the teaching of the old Ṛṣis, and learn from all the sources now available to us, indigenous as well as foreign. Let us learn from the Vedic hymns that the temple in which we should find God and worship him is the universe and the

heart of man; from the sacrificial religion which once prevailed, that we should not over-grow and destroy the tender plant of spiritual worship; from the rise of Buddhism, that religion is not a privilege of a favoured class, and that without high moral feeling and action it is an empty nothing; and from its failure, that mere morality will not exalt the spirit and satisfy the religious craving of the heart and cannot be attained, from the Upaniṣads, that purity of heart is the way of arriving at God, and contemplation brings us face to face with Him and elevates the soul, and from the Gitā and the Bhakti school, that man by his own efforts cannot effect his salvation, that God alone is our Father, Friend and Saviour, and that we should lay our souls at His feet, live in Him, and for Him, and not for ourselves. If in all humility we learn this, and learn whatever else is to be learnt from the other sources, that God in His mercy has laid open to us, and follow our guide fearlessly and faithfully, we need not be afraid of our future

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THE POSITION OF THE PRARTHANA SAMAJ IN THE RELIGIOUS WORLD

[Being the substance of a lecture delivered by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar on the occasion of the 32nd Anniversary of the Poona Prarthana Samaj in 1903 Originally published as No. 5 of the Mahārāṣṭra Brahmo Postal Mission "Liberal Religious series".—N B U.]

The subject of to-night's discourse is the position of the Prarthana Samaj in the religious world We are surrounded by men who profess Mohamedanism, Christanity, Hinduism in its various forms and phases, Buddhism and Jainism. What relation does the religion of the Samaj bear to these, is the question to be discussed. To arrive at something like a satisfactory conclusion, we must cast a glance at the history and evolution of religion from the earliest times to the present. The leading thinkers of Europe have recently formulated what is called by them the Science of Religion The object of this science is to collect information about all religions that have prevailed and do prevail, and to trace the evolution of religion from the primitive form in which it was professed by savages to the highest that has been presented to us by Christianity—or I may say, by the religion of the Upaniṣads and the Bhagavadgītā. The conclusion arrived at is that one same principle like a seed has been developing in a variety of forms corresponding to the branches of the tree which spring up from the seed The essence of religion has been considered to consist in a belief in some higher Power, which may be benevolent or malevolent to man. In both cases, however, the belief is that the Power can be made favourable to man's purposes, if but the proper methods are followed, which methods are believed to be

communicated by the Power itself. Revelation thus comes in, even in the very earliest form of religion.

The constituents of religion have been given by Professor Tiele as emotions, conceptions, sentiments, words, and deeds. Emotion is that which moves a man towards that spiritual condition which we call religious. It may be man's feeling of dependence upon an external power, or a perception of the grandeur of nature or the transitoriness of the world. When man's mind is, by any such emotion, directed towards religion, he necessarily forms some conception of the nature of the higher Power which he worships. The Power may be conceived as a spirit dwelling in a natural object or a spirit free to move about, or a spirit presiding over a phenomenon of nature such as thunder, rain, or wind, or an all-pervading Spirit which is the ripest conception of the nature of God Next we have sentiments, and they may be reverence, love or the like. In keeping with such a sentiment, there are certain words used to propitiate the Deity and bring it into man's power, such as prayers or charms, and associated with these words there are deeds, such as the offering of sacrifices and various other modes of conducting worship. In every one of the various forms of religion that have existed, we can discover these five constituents.

The question is asked why is it that man's spirit thinks at all of religion. Professor Max Muller as well as Professor Tiele say that there is a vague sense of the Infinite in man He is not content with things as they are, but always looks for something beyond. Looking for something beyond, therefore, whenever he observes any operation in the external world, he traces it to such a power as he himself is conscious of, in his nature, viz., the power of Will Thus behind the external operation he discovers a Will, that is, a Willing Spirit. This is the rudiment of religion which develops in the course of man's history. In

the earliest form this spirit is believed to dwell in such object as a tree or a rock A further step in the progress is to believe that the spirit is not confined to a particular object but free to move Sometimes such a spirit is looked upon as being forced to live in a certain object, and that object is believed to afford protection and work miracles. It then becomes a fetish. The various phenomena of nature are personified and believed to proceed from the will of certain spirits such as Agni, Vāyu, Indra, Uṣas, etc. These personified deities assume definite character and then they are believed to be gods, and afterwards are located in a certain happy place called heaven The Vedic conception of the deities or the Greek or the Roman conception presents this stage of progress. In the course of time, as we see in the Vedas, these different gods are considered to be but mere names The various phenomena over which they are considered to preside come to be attributed to one Power, and thus dawns the conception of One Supreme Spirit Who has created the heaven and the earth

Even from the beginning a sort of morality becomes connected with religion Savages have certain customs which if they violate, will, they believe, bring upon them the wrath of the spirits whom they worship. Then as man's knowledge of the world develops and he progresses in civilization, higher moral conceptions are developed, and these are considered as representing the will of their gods. In the course of man's history certain religions came to be deliberately founded with the object of bringing about a moral revolution such as Buddhism and Christianity

Some times the development takes different directions amongst different races. Thus the mighty and inscrutable natures of God are emphasized in the Semitic religions. Names are given to God which are significant of His Lordship or Sovereignty and with reference to which

his human worshippers are called servants or slaves. Amongst the Āryans the name that we prominently find is Dyauspitar amongst the Vedic Indians, Zeus-Pater amongst the Greeks and Jupiter among the Romans It means "Father in Heaven". Even from this and the various other modes in which the deity is named and addressed, the idea most emphasized by the Āryans appears to be that God is our Father and men are His children. Amongst both races these ideas have become corrupt, the former having led men to the propagation of their religion by the shedding of blood, and the latter to the attributing of the lowest human qualities to God. Various other characteristics are presented by this evolution of religion, but we must not stop to go over them It would be sufficient to say that the evolution is towards a clearer and clearer realization of the Idea of the Infinite that was implicit in the beginning, leading men to find God everywhere and to form a conception of perfect holiness.

Now the conceptions and the other constituents of religion that I have mentioned, the Prarthana Samaj adopts from the most developed forms of religion as contained in the Upaniṣads and the Bhagavadgītā, in the Bible, or in the literature of the progressive religious thought of the day. We believe God to be immanent in the world directing the process of physical and spiritual evolution that has ever been going on This is an idea adopted by the advanced religious philosophy of the day and there is a shade of it in the Upaniṣads —"That soul who is awake, while all the rest are asleep, creating as He wills, is the light, is Brahma, that alone is called the Immortal. All worlds (or beings) find their support in Him, none can transgrace him". "The great soul, the Lord, brings forth good" "He evolves righteousness and drives away sin" We believe that God's

Dwelling is the light of setting suns,
And the round ocean and living air,
And the blue sky and in the mind of man.

And He is

> A motion and a spirit, that impels,
> All thinking things, all objects of all thoughts,
> And rolls through all things.

And the Bṛhadāraṇyaka tells us —"He is the inward controlling Soul, who dwelling in the earth, the waters, fire, ether, air, the sun, the moon, the stars, the quarters, lightening, thunder, all worlds, all Vedas, all sacrifices, all beings, the breath, speech, the eye, the ear, the mind, the skin, light, darkness, seminal fluid, and the soul (of individual) is different from them, Whom these do not know, Whose body all these are, and Who controls these from the inside." Similarly the Bhagavadgitā says —"God dwells in the hearts of all beings, and placing them as on a wheel moves them by His wonderful power".

Another constituent of religion—the sentiments—are with us; those of reverence and love, and our words and deeds which together make up our worship are fervent prayers, an attitude of humility, an unquestioning faith, self-surrender, a readiness to follow where God leads, contemplation, mutual converse, love of man and loving acts, and fidelity to truth. All these have been taught to us by the Bhagavadgitā, by Christ, and in an impressive manner by our own Tukārāma

I have already observed in the beginning that it is of the essence of religious belief that religion should be regarded as revealed by the higher Power that is worshipped This belief can, I believe, stand the test of reason. If Lord Kelvin has recently told us that evolution in external nature is under the direction of a higher Power, should we not consider the evolution of religion also to be under the direction of that Power? Hence then our doctrine and belief is that God has been leading men, from the times when they were in the primitive condition to the present day, towards the realization of higher and higher religious truth. The evolution of religion therefore means a continuous Revelation.

And there is also another sense in which religious evolution must be considered a Revelation. Just as in the case of a poet or an artist, there are flashes of light which he gives expressions to, by means of words or colour, in the same way, from time to time, in the cases of certain individuals, there are flashes of religious truth which those *individuals* convey to others less gifted. Our own Tukārāma says in one place, "What possibility is there that an insignificant person like myself should speak such words? It is the Sustainer of the universe that made me speak;" and in another "I have broken open the treasure, the things belong to the Lord, I am simply a porter to carry them to you". And in the Abhaṅga sung by us on the morning of the first day, he said "I have been sent to communicate the message". When Tukārāma gives expressions to such ideas as these, are we to consider that he is telling lies? Certainly not. He says so because he really did see flashes of light of which ordinary men have no experience It is in this special sense, therefore, that the religious evolution is under the direction of God.

If, therefore, the doctrines adopted by the Prarthana Samaj are those found in the most developed forms of religion, be sure our religion is a revealed religion It is also a revealed religion in two other special senses. For it is the only religion that acknowledges the influence and hand-work of God in all the religions that existed or now exist; and therefore imposes upon us an attitude of sympathy towards all religious beliefs while hitherto antipathy between different religions has been the general rule. And the study of all these religions has had the effect of clearing the religious vision so as to enable the leaders of the Samaj to distinguish between truth and falsehood, and has led them to adopt the highest form of truth that has hitherto dawned upon the human mind It is in these two special senses that the dispensation followed by the Prarthana Samaj may be considered a New Dispensation.

Thus then here is a religion which God himself has placed before us in the fullness of time, when all the races of the world have come together and have been as it were comparing notes. The question is whether you will adopt this new Revelation, the main doctrines of which, however are those of the most highly developed religions, which for this country may be considered to be those of the Upanisads and the Bhagavadgita, and of the teachings of Saints and Prophets like Tukārāma Will you then accept the best portions of the Upanisads, the Bhagavadgita, and of the teachings of the mediaeval saints, supplemented by certain ideas from Buddhism or from the Bible , or will you adhere to all the religions that go under the name of ordinary Hinduism, the religions which represent all the stages of evolution beginning from the most primitive such as the worship of trees and stones, serpents and cows, and of fetishes ? Will you accept merely mechanical ceremonials which can have no connection with your moral advancement as your worship of God, or take up the spiritual mode chosen by the Prarthana Samaj, which alone is calculated to purify the heart and elevate it, and prepare you to perform your duties in life ? The existing forms of religion belonging as they do to earlier stages of civilization are destined, if India is to advance, to disappear, and along with their disappearance, all that is good in the higher religious thought of the country is also in danger of disappearing, unless we deliberately choose it and make it alone our religion. And the existing mechanical modes of worship must be entirely thrown away and the spiritual mode substituted, to bring about the moral reformation of the country which is so urgently needed.

THE INCORPORATION OF PRE-MAHOMEDAN FOREIGNERS INTO THE HINDU SOCIAL ORGANISATION

FROM THE DNYAN PRAKASH OF POONA, DATED, WEDNESDAY 1st SEPTEMBER 1909

[The following was originally delivered as a lecture at Poona by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in Marathi, and was printed in the Poona paper, referred to above It is here translated by me.
—N.B.U.]

As already announced Dr. Bhandarkar delivered a lecture under the auspicies of the Deccan Sabha on the subject referred to in the above heading, with Prof. Kashinath Bapuji Pathak in the chair Dr. Bhandarkar, in mentioning at the outset the reason which led him to choose this subject for his lecture, said —

On the day on which Mr. Gopalrao Gokhale delivered a lecture at this Sabha on the subject of "The Hindu-Muslim Question" I incidentally remarked that all those foreigners who came into India before the Mahomedans, became included in the Hindu Society. Had not the Mahomedan religion come into existence, the present Hindu-Muslim Question would not have arisen at all Like the foreigners before them, they too would have been incorporated within our society As soon as I remarked thus, Mr Gokhale said " Do please then speak on this subject", and thus left me no alternative but to take up that subject for this lecture. The subject of to-day's lecture is to show how the foreigners, that come to India before the Mahomedans, became absorbed in the Hindu Society To-day's lecture is not of the nature of merely popular commonplaces, every statement therein must be substantiated by proofs Owing to my failing eyesight this work of finding out the references was done by

, [Mr.] Devadatta [Bhandarkar], and during the course of to-day's lecture he would read out the references as required.

EVIDENCE OF THE PURĀṆAS

The Maurya Dynasty is one of the royal Dynasties mentioned in the Purāṇas Candragupta founded the Maurya Dynasty soon after the invasion of Alexander the Great. The Empire of the Mauryas was then extended over the whole of Northern India, i e, from Ganjam to Kathiawad. After the dynasty of the Mauryas, the Purāṇas mention the Śunga, Āndhrabhṛtya, Kāṇvāyana and some other dynasties. The Śātavāhana or the Śālivāhana line of kings at Paithan is also mentioned in the Purāṇas The Purāṇas prophetically describe these kingly lines as ruling in the future. Among such lines, it is mentioned there that the Śaka, Yavana and other kingly lines would reign Such in general are the statements in the Purāṇas, but the (details of the) dynasties themselves have to be established from the evidence of Inscriptions and Coins.

WHO WERE CALLED THE YAVANAS ?

Yavanas are mentioned in the Vāyu Purāṇa. It is necessary to determine first who the Yavanas were In an Inscription of Aśoka reference is made in one place to अंतियोको नाम योनराजा. The name Antiochus is well known to students of European History. Alexander died soon after his invasion of India. After him Seleucus established his sovereignty from Syria to India. Antiochus is the grandson of Seleucus. He has been frequently mentioned in connection with the Mauryas. The Antiochus whom Aśoka, the Emperor of Pāṭaliputra refers to in his Inscription is Antiochus II who ruled from B.C. 261 to 241. They were Macedonian Greek kings and so Aśoka calls them Yoṇa or Yavana. The word Yavana denotes a Macedonian Greek. The earliest allusion to their having founded a kingdom in India is to be had in the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali. There

is a Vartika in the Mahabhāṣya in connection with the usage of the Past Tense, technically called Laṅg, the Vārtika being परोक्षे च लोकविज्ञाते प्रयोक्तुर्दर्शनविषये. This Vārtika means that the Laṅg is to be used in speaking about a thing which the speaker has not seen, but which is well known to the people and which, if he had a desire, he could see. The instance that is given in illustration of this Vārtika is अरुणद् यवनः साकेतम्। It therefore follows from this that the event of the Yavanas having laid a siege to Sāketa occurred in Patañjali's time. The eastern part of Persia was formerly called Bactria, where the Greeks re-established their kingdom These Bactrians had, at one time, come over to and established their power in India.

THE YAVANA KINGS

The Yavana mentioned by Patañjali is probably Menander, the Bactrian Greek It appears from what the Roman historians have written that his date is *circa* 142 B C. There is also another evidence to prove that Patañjali lived at that time, which however it is not necessary to allude to here. This Menander had established his kingdom over the provinces of Panjab and Afghanistan, both of which were at that time included in India The fact that Menander had established his kingdom in India can be proved from his coins as well. It was the practice to mention on the coins of those times, the name of the king as well his epithet The name and the epithet were written in Pali. The Pali is the earliest Prakrit form of Sanskrit It was current in Ceylon, and the Buddhist works are written in Pali The letters on Menander's coins are engraved in Pali, wherefore the conclusion is not unwarranted that the subjects of Menander were also a Pali-speaking people. His coins bear in Pali the legend (literally, the words): महाराजस्स मधुरस्स मिलिन्द्रस. There is a work called Milindra-Paṇho. It contains an account of the discourse between king Milindra and Nāgasena, the Buddhist. The capital of

Milindra was at the town of Śākala in the Panjab. The Menander referred to above and Milindra are one and the same person It is also stated that Milindra in the end became a Buddhist. So much then with regard to Yavana kings. We may now proceed to the consideration of the Yavana subjects

COMMON PEOPLE OF THE YAVANA CASTE

In the Karla caves, there is a stone Inscription, which contains the following :—

(1) धेनुकाकटा यवनस सिहधयान थंमोदान ।

(2) धेनुकाकटा धंम- यवनस ।

(3) रञो वासिठिपुतस सिरिपुळुमाविस सवछरे चतुविसे २४ हेमंतान पखे ततीये ३ दिवसे बितीये २ उपासकस हरफरणस सेतफरण पुतस्य सो [व] सकस्य अबुलमाय वथवस्य इम देयधम मडपो ।

The town Dhenukākaṭa was on the banks of the Sapta-Godāvarī Dhenukākaṭa, and Dhanakaṭaka, the Capital of Śātavāhana, are probably identical A Yavana of this place seems to have taken the name of Sihadhayāna, and led a Hindu religious life

The name of the second Yavana in this Inscription is given as Dhamma (Dharma) which is certainly a Sanskrit name

It is said in extract (3) above that Harapharaṇa, the son of Setapharaṇa made a gift of the Maṇḍapa (the Hall) This Harapharana should be probably Hallophurnus. There does not appear anything like Hindu about this name, still he made a gift and is called an Upāsaka (devotee) There is therefore a very good ground to hold that he had embraced a religion of this country.

There is an Inscription at Junnar which is as follows.—

यवनस इरिळस गतानं देयधम बे पोढियो ।

This Inscription mentions that a Yavana named Irilasa (had)

constructed two tanks From this it appears that these Yavanas had become the followers of the Buddha and that in their ways of making religious gifts, they followed the Hindus.

यवणास चितस गतानं भोजण मटपो देयधम सघे ।

The name Citra (Citasa) the Yavana, who is spoken of in the Inscription here referred to as having given the Dining Hall is also a Hindu name.

यवनस चंदानं देयधम गभदार ।

The name Candra (Candānam) in this Inscription is a Hindu name.

In the Nasik Inscriptions occurs the following —

सिधं ओतराहस दतामितियकस योणकस धंमदेवपुतस इंद्राग्निद-तस धम्मंतमना ।

The word Otarāha (Auttarāha) here shows that the Yavana referred to in this Inscription belonged to the North. This Inscription mentions the Yavana Indrāgnidatta, son of Dharmadeva of the town of Dattāmitra (Dattāmiti) in the province of Sauvīra, near Sind (Sidha) in the North The names Dharmadeva and Indrāgnidatta show that the names of the Yavanas were not like modern Shaikh Wallad, Shaikh Mahomed, (&c.) but were completely Hinduised From this it must be concluded that after they (the Yavanas) came here, they fully became Hindus.

THE ŚAKA KINGS

The Śaka kings came after the Yavanas. They are known by the name of Kṣatrapas. An Inscription in connection with them too has been found at Nasik, which contains the following —

सिद्धं राज्ञः क्षहरातस्य क्षत्रपस्य नहपानस्य जामात्रा दीनीकपुत्रेण उषवदातेन त्रिगोशतसहस्रदेन......देवताभ्यः ब्राह्मणेभ्यश्च षोडशा-ग्रामदेन अनुवर्षं ब्राह्मणशतसाहस्री भोजापयित्रा... ।

The name Uṣavadāta in this may perhaps be a Hindu name, since it could be either from Vṛṣabhadatta or Ṛṣabhadatta. But Dinīka, Nahapāna and Kṣaharāta are not Hindu names. Uṣavadāta was a Śaka and was the son-in-law of a Kṣatrapa of the name of Nahapāna. Some twenty-four thousand coins bearing the name of Nahapāna have recently been found. This Nahapāna did not originally belong to India, but belonged to outside (or, Nahapāna was not an Indian, but a foreigner) He did establish a kingdom, but it lasted for only fifty years, and Gautamīputra soon defeated and extirpated his dynasty, and founded the Śātavāhana Dynasty Some coins of the time of Nahapāna are found in the Nasik District, and they bear the stamps of both Nahapāna and Gautamīputra The Inscription just now referred to mentions that Uṣavadāta, the son of Dinīka and the son-in-law of this Nahapāna gave three lacs of cows to Brahmans and fed annually a lac of Brahmans

This same Inscription also speaks of him as प्रभासे पुण्यतीर्थे ब्राह्मणेभ्य अष्टभार्याप्रदेन. In the town of Prabhāsa, i e, Somanātha-Paṭṭaṇa, he gave the wherewithal of marriages to eight Brahmans. He constructed a cave at Nasik for the residence of the Bhikṣus He made a provision for a permanent income by way of interest for meeting the expense for the new clothes &c., of the Bhikṣus The maximum interest at that time was from five to seven-and-a-half per cent It was not twenty-five per cent as at present. It will be seen from the above-mentioned evidence that the mode of making religious gifts of the Kṣatrapas was exactly like that of the Hindus.

There was another Kṣatrapa or Mahākṣatrapa Dynasty at Ujjayinī, comprising nineteen or twenty kings, and they in all ruled for 200 or 225 years. Their rule lasted from about the beginning of the Christan era to 389 Śaka.

If at all we wanted to give a derivation to the word Kṣatrapa, we could show that it is a Sanskrit word, but such a word (as

Kṣatrapa) is nowhere to be met with in the Sanskrit Literature. The word Kṣatrapa or Khatrapa and the word "Satrap" occurring in the Persian history seem to be identical. This last means the officer or the Viceroy of the Emperor. The Kṣatrapas at once took up Hindu customs and manners.

The geographer Ptolemy says that a king of the name of Tiastenes was ruling at Ujjayinī He also says that Pulumāyi ruled at Paithan. In some of the Inscriptions and coins on our side, occurs the name Caṣṭana, which is the same as Tiastenes. He is the founder of the Ujjayinī Kṣatrapas. His name Caṣṭana looks foreign but the first part in the names of his son and grandson, Jaya-dāma and Rudra-dāma, is Hindu, and the names Rudra-simha &c , of the subsequent kings in this Dynasty are all Hindu names

In the Kanneri Caves near Bombay occurs the following .—

[वा] सिष्ठी पुत्रस्य श्रीसातकर्णीस्य देव्याः कार्द्दमकराजवंश-प्रभवायाः महाक्षत्रपरु [द्र] पुत्र्याः स्य............श्वविश्वस्यस्य अमात्यस्य शतेरकस्य पानीयभाजनं देयधर्म्मः ।

The name Śātakarṇī here is the name of a king of the Śātavāhana Dynasty The present Inscription says that his wife came from the Kṣatrapa Dynasty, and proves beyond the possibility of doubt that a Hindu king had married a Śaka woman.

On a stone-Inscription at Junagad, the Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman is, in one place, spoken of as शब्दार्थ-गान्धर्व-न्याया-द्यानां विद्यानां महतीनां पारण-धारण-विज्ञान-प्रयोगावाप्तविपुल-कीर्त्तिना । That is, this Inscription describes him as having mastered the art of Music, Logic and other sciences. Rudradāman was the grandson of Caṣṭana.

In one of the caves at Nasik, there is an Inscription to the following effect —

सिद्धं शकस दामचिकस लेखकस बुधीकस विष्णुदतपुतस वधुपुरवाथवस लेण पोथियो च दो........।

Of this, Dāmacika may be the name of a place Vudhīka may either be a name, or if it be not a name, it means a money lender. As he (the donor) is called a Lekhaka, (i e , a writer), his profession seems to have been that of a writer , Viṣṇudatta is the name given of his father, and he is called a Śaka

Viṣṇudatta was also a name borne by the Marathas, since in an Inscription on a cistern at Bhaja, there occurs the following—

महारठिस कोसिकीपुतस विण्हुदतस देयधम पोढि ।

This Inscription shows that this Viṣṇudatta, the son of Kauśikī, was a Maratha. That is, it follows that, there was, generally speaking, no difference whatever in those days, between the Śakas and the Marathas

The following occurs in another Inscription at Nasik —

सिद्धं राज्ञः माढरीपुत्रस्य शिवदत्ताभीरपुत्रस्य आभीरेश्वरसेनस्य संवत्सरे नवम ९ गिम्हपखे चोथे ४ दिवस त्रयोदश १३ एताय पुवय शकाग्निवर्मणः दुहित्रा गणपकस्य रेभिलस्य भार्यया गणपकस्य विश्ववर्मस्य मात्रा शकनिकया उपासिकया विष्णुदत्तया गिलानभेषजार्थं अक्षयनीवी प्रयुक्ता ।

The substance of this Inscription is that the lady "Viṣṇudattā", the daughter of Agnivarman and mother of Viśvavarman laid at deposit bearing interest an "Akṣaya nīvī", i. e., a large amount for charitable purposes, for treatment of sick persons Viṣṇudattā was a Śakanikā, i. e , a Śaka woman (Marathi. Śakiṇa) The termination Varman is suffixed to the names of Kṣatriyas. It therefore follows from this that the Śakas got incorporated with the Kṣatriyas The Inscription mentions the era of the Ābhīra Kings, whence it follows that the Ābhīras were the rulers of the country at that time The method of reckoning time in those days was not based on the

month but followed the seasons; and hence the statement in this Inscription to the effect that (the event took place) in the summer (गिम्ह पखे) in the ninth year of Īśvarasena.

MEN OF THE ĀBHĪRA TRIBE

The Ābhīras followed the Śakas They may possibly belong to Central Asia. A mention is made of their name in the [Mahā-]Bhārata and the Viṣṇupurāṇa. They are there called Mle(n)cchas Varāhamihira, in the Śloka म्लेच्छाहि यवनास्तेषु &c., includes the Yavanas among the Mlecchas

The Ābhīras are thus referred to in an Inscription at Guṇḍā in Kathiawad —

आभीरेण सेनापतिबाहकस्य पुत्रेण सेनापतिरुद्रभूतिना ।

There is historical evidence to show that this Rudrabhūti made many religious gifts The Inscription belongs to the time of Rudrasimha, who ruled in 102 Śaka. The Ābhīras were free-booters, and later they established their kingdom here. When, after the demise of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa, Arjuna was escorting the wives of Kṛṣṇa, they were plundered on the way by robbers. These robbers were the Ābhīras themselves, who are there called Mlecchas With regard to the Mlecchas it is said in one place —

रोहिन्स कूपकग्रामः पूर्व्वमासीद्‌नाश्रयः ।
असेव्यः साधुलोकानामाभीरजनदारुणः ॥

THE ĀBHĪRAS ARE THE PRESENT-DAY AHIRS.

The people that are now known to belong to the Ahir caste were orginally Ābhīras. The Ahirs are to be found among goldsmiths, carpenters, cowherds and even among Brahmans. The Ahir goldsmiths of Poona wear the sacred thread (Marathi Jānaveṁ), those of khandesh do not wear it. There arose recently a dispute between those two Ahir Sects. As the Poona Ahir goldsmiths put on the sacred thread, they were excommunicated by the Khandesh Ahirs. The Poona Ahirs

'had come to me (in this connection) when I told them to the following effect —"All these your classes were originally Ābhīra ones. The Ābhīras had no sacred thread. The Khandesh Ahirs have preserved their original practice, and it is likely enough for that reason that they have excommunicated you."

THE TURUṢKAS OR THE TURKISH KINGS.

The Rājataraṅgiṇī calls the kings who ruled in the North about this time as "Turuṣkas" or "Kuṣaṇas" These Turuṣkas belonged to the Turkish stock. Hima Kadphises, one of the kings of this dynasty, is described on his coins as राजाधिराजस्य सर्वलोकेश्वरस्य माहेश्वरस्य. The name of this king is by no means Hindu, but from the description given of him, it appears that he had become a staunch Śaivite. The date of this king may possibly be the second or the third century after Christ. On one side of his coins there is an effigy of him with the Turkish hat, the Fez. On the other side of his coins there is an image of Nandin (=the bull of Śiva), and near it the image of a person, having a trident (the Triśūla) in his hand; wherefore it follows that the image must be of Śiva himself. It thus clearly follows that this king was undoubtedly a devotee of Śiva

THE MAGAS BECOME BRAHMANS

There are also other instances to show that the foreigners coming from outside became Brahmans The "Magas" are one of such people They first established colonies in Rajputana, Marwar, Agra and Bengal There is an Inscription of Śaka 1028 concerning the Magas, which contains the following account of them —

देवो जीयात्रिलोकी मणिरयमरुणो यन्निवासेन पुण्यः
शाकद्वीपस्स दुग्धाम्बुनिधिवलयितो यत्र विप्रा मगाख्याः ।
वंशास्तत्र द्विजानां भ्रमिकिलिखिततनोर्भास्वतः स्वाङ्गमुक्तः
शाम्बो यानानिनाय स्वयमिह महितास्ते जगत्यां जयन्ति ॥

There was a tribe called Maga in the Śākadvīpa, whom Śāmba or Sāmba brought over here Six men of this family became famous poets The Bhaviṣya Purāṇa contains an account of Śāmba who brought the family to India. Śāmba constructed a temple on the bank of the Candrabhāgā 'The river of Chenab was formerly called Candrabhāgā. The Brahmans of that time looked with disfavour upon becoming the worshippers of gods, and so Śāmba could not secure any worshipper He was then asked by the preceptor of Ugrasena to bring over from Śākadvīpa the Magas and to make them the worshippers. Accordingly Śāmba brought the Magas and assigned to them the duty of worshipping the god There was formerly at Multan a golden temple of the Sun. This was the same temple that was destroyed by the Mahomedans in the last but one century (lit. in the century preceding the last century).

Varāhamihira lays down the rule that the Bhāgavatas should set up (the worship &c. of) Viṣṇu, the Magas that of the Sun &c. (He says —)

विष्णोर्भागवतान्मगांश्च सवितुः शम्भोः सभस्मद्विजान्
मातॄणामपि मातृमण्डलविदो विप्रान्विदुर्ब्रह्मणः ।
शाक्यान्सर्वहितस्य शान्तमनसो नग्नाञ्जिनानां विदुः
ये यं देवमुपाश्रिताः स्वविधिना तैस्तस्य कार्या क्रिया ॥

From this it clearly follows that the Magas had a colony (or settlement) here at the time of Varāhamihira. The date of Varāhamihira is 509 Śaka From the Śloka given above, it appears that the practice of consecrating (the temples of) the Sun at the hands of the Magas was in vogue to about that time.

We may now consider for a while who these Magas were. The priests of the Persians are known under the name of the Magi in the history of Persia. The 'Magi' and the 'Magas' are probably identical. The language of the Avesta, the

sacred work of the Persians and that of our Vedas are very nearly similar Though the Persians regard some of our deities as evil spirits, still the deity 'Mitra' is common to both. The worship of this god had even extended to Syria, Asia Minor, Rome and other places, and it must have extended to India in the east, as it had spread to Rome in the west The Magi of the Persians are our Indian Magas.

The Magas came to be regarded as Brahmans after they came over to India They wore round their necks a sacred thread known as Avyanga, which was a cord made of the cast-off skin of serpents The Bhaviṣya Purāṇa contains an account of this (Avyanga), which also says that this cord was to be tied round the middle part of the Sun's image The Magas afterwards gave up the Avyanga-cord and began to wear the Hindu sacred thread (Marathi Jānaveṁ)

THE HŪṆAS

About the time of the downfall of the Gupta Empire - i e., about the end of the fifth century A. D ,- the Hūṇas penetrated into India Two kings of this line are very well known from Inscriptions, viz , Toramāṇa and Mihirakula. Karṇadeva, the ruler of Cedi (Chattisgad) had married the Hūṇa princess Āvalladevī Among the various Rajput Gotras, there is one called Hūṇa. From these two facts it follows that the Hūṇas got incorporated with the Hindus One tribe of these Hūṇas went over to Hungary and established itself there where it still flourishes

INCLUSION OF THE GURJARA KINGS AMONG THE KSATRIYAS

It now remains to consider the Gurjars, who were the last of the foreigners to come over into India The word Gujjara was Sanskritised into Gurjara, and their country was called Gujarath from the twelfth century. Before that, that country was known as the Lāṭa country. The "Lāṭi Riti" is referred

to in the Kāvyaprakāśa also. There is a District known as 'Gujarath' in the Panjab, which was the original place of the Gurjaras. A copper-plate Inscription and a stone one were found at Diḍwāṇā and Ghaṭiyāḷa bearing date Vikrama Śaka 9. In these Inscriptions the province of Gujarath is called Gurjaratrā (i. e., the land that gives shelter to the Gurjaras). The province of Lāṭa acquired that name when these people belonging to the Gurjara tribe moved down to the South. They established their rule in Marwar, and in that dynasty there were six kings, viz., Devaśakti, Nāgabhaṭa, Rāmabhadra, Bhojarāja, Mahendrapāla and Mahīpāla. Bhoja established his power over Kanauj, and his descendants Mahendrapāla and Mahīpāla had their capital at Kanauj itself The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mahārāṣṭra and the Gurjara kings of Marwar and Kanauj were constantly at war with each other. A Mahomedan historian says that the two Kingdoms of the "Jurja" and "Balharā" adjoined each other. "Jurja" is Gurjara, and Balharā is the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty An Inscription says about these [Gurjara] Kings that they belonged to the Pratihārī Dynasty. The Poet Rājaśekhara was the preceptor of King Mahendrapāla of Kanauj. The poet in his Bāla-Rāmāyaṇa includes this king in the family of Raghu and describes him as Raghukulacūḍāmaṇi, (i e., the crest-jewel of the family of Raghu) A tribe known as Guzr is found, even to this day, to have spread itself to the sea of Azab in Russia. From this it follows that after these tribes of cowherds or shepherds wandering in central Asia, came to have dominions in India, they were by Rājaśekhara called "Kings belonging to the Dynasty of Raghu", and were completely Kṣatriyaised.

THE EXPANSION OF THE GURJARA TRIBE

Tod mentions four families of the Rajputs, viz., (1) Paḍihāra, (2) Pramāra or Paramāra, (3) Cāhumāna (Cavhāṇa), and (4) Śoḷaṅkī None of these is a Sanskrit name. To seek a Sanskrit etymology for these names would be as (ridiculous

as) deriving the word खुर्ची (Khurchi=a chair) as खुराः चीयन्ते अस्याम्.—Of the four families mentioned above, the Paḍihāra family is in some places called also by the name "Gurjara". From this it is reasonable to conclude that these four families were Gurjara families. Of those the Solanki Branch was established at Anahilapattana in 961. It was from this time forward that that province was called Gujarath It appears that like the Ābhīras, the Gurjaras came in large hordes, since among the existing (Gurjara) classes, there are Gujar Gauḍa Brāhmaṇas (these are to be found in Rajaputana), Gujar *goldsmiths*, carpenters, blacksmiths &c

CONCLUSION

Thus all the foreigners, viz., the Yavanas, the Śakas, the Ābhīras, the Turks (Turuṣkas), the Magas, the Hūṇas and the Gujars who came into India at different periods got absorbed in the Hindu Society None of the tribes is to be (now) found as distinct from the Hindus. Such was not however the case with the Mahomedans, the reason being that religion is their predominant instinct. As G. K Gokhale (Original—'Gopalrao' only) said, we must also freely mix with them Our tradition from early times has been to incorporate within ourselves all (others) if this tradition were to be kept up in the future, even the aggressive tendency of the Mahomedans is likely to be curbed The foreigners who came here before the Mahomedans were absorbed so quickly and on such a large scale in the Hindu social organisation, that in the modern society (of India) any *attempt to decide who is an Āryan and who a non-Āryan* would be quite futile. Mr Jackson has in one of his wrtings expressed a similar opinion [His words are —]

"It remains to refer to certain kinds of mental bias that are apt to affect the judgment in questions of Indian history. There is, in the first place, what may be called the patriotic bias, though it is shared more or less by European as well as

Indian scholars. It shows itself in a tendency to exaggerate the freedom of India from foreign influences, and to claim entire originality for such inventions as the Indian Alphabet, which bear their foreign origin on their face. This school loves to trace the leading castes of the present day to an Āryan origin and to accentuate the Hindu orthodoxy of the kings and conquerors of old. When these are looked upon as Hindus from the beginning, the most important fact in Hindu history is overlooked. I mean the attractive power of Hindu civilisation, which has enabled it to assimilate and absorb into itself every foreign invader except the Moslem and the European. Those Indians have indeed a poor idea of their country's greatness, who do not realise how it has tamed and civilised the nomads of Central Asia, so that wild Turkman tribes have been transformed into some of the most famous of the Rajput Royal races."

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9. Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts during the Years 1884-85, 1885-86, 1886-87, Extracts from—(pp. 292-348)

10. Social Reform and the Programme of the Madras Hindu Social Reform Association. (pp. 503-517)

1895

11. Presidential Address at the Ninth Indian Social Conference held in 1895 (pp. 487-502)

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12. Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts during the Years 1887-88, 1888-89, 1889-90, 1890-91, Extracts from (pp. 349-412)

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13. Social History of India. (pp. 443-470)

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14. Presidential Address at the Bombay Provincial Social Conference held in 1902. (pp. 518-526)

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INDEXES.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE FOLLOWING INDEXES.

C. = Country.
Cā = Cālukya
Cen. = Century
Com = Commentary, or Commentator.
D = Digāmbara
D. or Dy = Dynasty.
Dś = Dharmaśāstra.
F. = Family.
Gr = Grammar
H P = High Priest.
J. = Jain.
K. = King
Lit. = Literature
Mbh = Mahābhārata.
Med. = Medicine
Mss = Manuscripts
N = Name
Phi. = Philosophy
Rāṣ. = Rāṣṭrakūṭa
Ṛg or Ṛv = Ṛgveda
S = System.
Ś = Śvetāmbara
Sk or Skr = Sanskrit
Tān = Tāntric
U = Upaniṣads
VV = Verses etc

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